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THE WORKES

OF THE MOST HIGH AND MIGHTY PRINCE,

IAMES,

By the grace of God Kinge of Great Brittaine France & Ireland Defendor of ye Faith &c:

Published by IAMES, BISHOP of WINTON & Deane of his Ma^ts Chappell Royall.

1 Reg: 3. 12. v. Loe I haue giuen thee a wise and an vnderstanding heart.

LONDON
Printed by ROBERT BARKER *&* John Bill.
Printers to ye Kings most excellent Maties tie.
1616.

Cum priuilegio.

Renold Elstrack sculpsit

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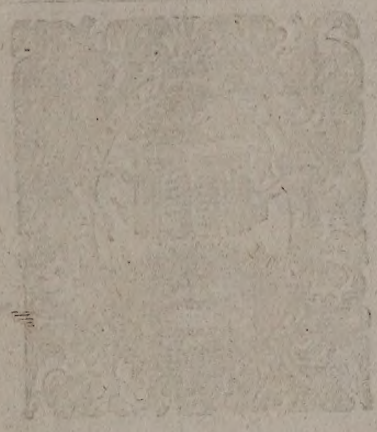
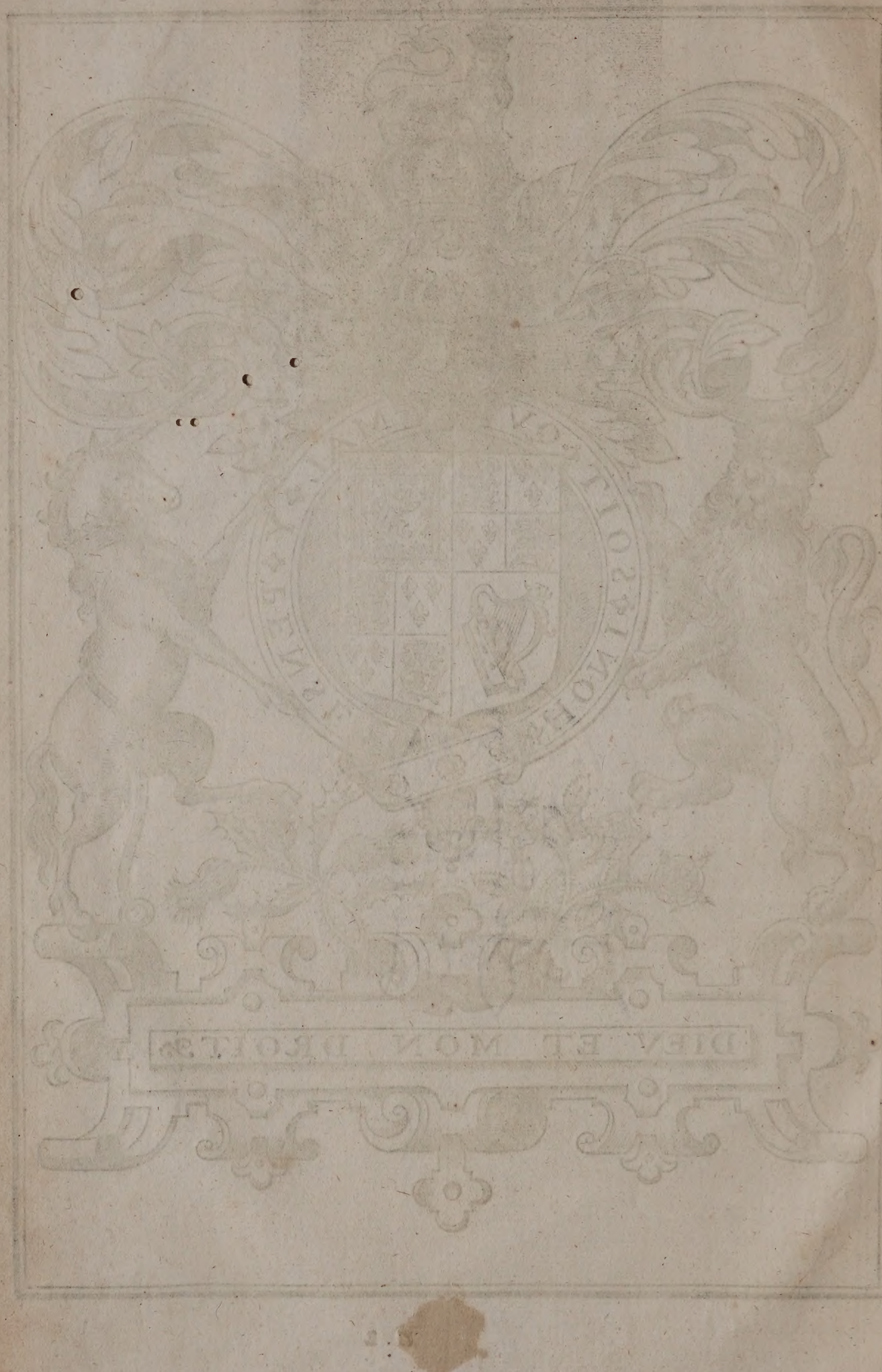


HONI SOIT QVI MAL Y PENSE
DIEV ET MON DROIT


DIEV ET MON DROIT

THE PREFACE TO THE READER.

Mongſt the infinite number of great Volumes wherewith the world ſeemes, as it were, to bee wayed downe, there bee few of them that were written at once, or were at firſt publiſhed together. Writings as they conſiſt of ſundry natures; ſo they will beare a diuers maner of Edition. To ſet foorth an Art by pieces, is to ſhew you a body diſmembred; the one is no more vncomely, then the other is vnproper. To publiſh a Hiſtory *before it be at an end, is to turne the Hower-glaſſe before it bee runne out; neither of both will giue you a trew taſte of the time. But writings of other Natures, Common places and Controuerſies, Meditations and Commentaries, as they are for the moſt part, accidentally taken vp, ſo they are as occaſionally ſet out: They craue no other birth into the world, then they had conceptions in our braines, ſingly by vs conceiued, and ſingly by themſelues ſet out.*

The different maner of God *his ſetting foorth of his owne Workes, may inſtruct vs in this point. His diuine Wiſedome held one courſe in his Naturall Workes, an other in his Ceremonialls, Politicalls and Moralls. In his Naturalls he made a maſſe at once, which ſpeedily he diuerſified into diuers formes. Hee gaue a kinde of potentiall delineation of all things in that vniuerſall matter, which preſently hee diſtinguiſhed into diuers* Species *in*

perfection: But in his Ceremonialls, hee takes another course, he brings not them out of a Masse, but into a Masse: He doeth not out of a Totum *produce the parts, but out of the parts make vp the whole. For example; In the Ceremonialls, first he beginnes with Sacrifice, long after he followes with Circumcision, then hee filleth a Tabernacle with them; at last makes them full vp in a Temple. In his Politicalls, hee beginnes with a paternall Gouernment in a family, proceeds to an Election of a Captaine in an Armie, as in* Iosuah *and the Iudges, perfects it by way of Succession in a setled Kingdome, as in* Solomon *and his Successors. In his Moralls, hee beginnes with the word out of his owne mouth, proceeds with the* Tables *written by his owne fingers, followes on with the fiue Bookes penned by* Moses, *till hee make vp the* Canon *perfect by a number of succeeding* Prophets.

What we haue from God *in a president, it may wel beseeme vs to practise; and since his Bookes came out so farre asunder, it is no reproach to any man, though his Workes come not foorth together: for there is a reason for it in vs answerable in some proportion to that of the Workes of* God, *for workes of Nature haue their roote from within vs, and bring with them a radicall kinde of vertue, that neuer suffers them to rest, till they haue produced their fruite to perfect forme and perfection: Workes of deliberation and Art, haue their foundation from without vs, and giue vs occasion to worke vpon them, as our phantasies thinke fittest for the present time: Hence proceeds it, that the workes of Nature haue so few errors in them, those of Art so many; They of Nature so constant, they of Arte so variable; they of Nature so permanent, they of Art so soone perish; they of Nature so well accepted and approued of all, they of Art accepted or reiected, as it pleaseth the seuerall apprehensions of men to conceiue of them.*

Now, albeit the workes of men be of Errors so full, of nature so different, subiect to so many Interpretations, published at so diuers times; Yet hath it bene euer esteemed a matter commendable to collect them together, and incorporate them into one Body, that we may behold at once, what diuers Off-springs haue proceeded

from

from one braine, and how various Conceptions the wit of man is able to afford the world. To instance in a few of them beginning a little higher then the writings of ordinarie men. The seruants of Hezekiah *are commended in Scripture for collecting together the Sentences of* Solomon. Iesus *the sonne of* Sirach *is praised for searching out the Copies of his Grandfathers workes: But principally* Ezra *is had in great honour for setting in order the whole Bookes of the Old Testament, and deuiding them into Chapters and Verses, which before were caried along in a scroule, by a continuall* Series, *without any distinction at all.* S. Iohn *is reported to haue searched out the Copies of the three former Euangelists, and to haue added his owne for the fourth in that order, as now they are extant. And the Primitiue Church was curious to gather together the Epistles of the Holy Apostles; which, they being not able by reason of persecution perfectly to performe in euery place, gaue occasion to after-times, to call the authority of so many of them into question.*

But to descend; How are we bound to those, who haue laboured in setting out the Counsells, *and* Works *of the* Fathers *together? Insomuch, that we thinke our selues as much bound to* Eusebius *and* Hierom, *and of later times to* Peter Crab *and* Erasmus, *and diuers others, who haue laboured in that kinde, as wee doe almost to the Authors themselues.* Traian *commended* Plutark *for gathering the* Apothegmes *of wise men together.* Constantinus *the sonne of* Leo, *collected out of all Histories, both in the East and West, one* Corpus Historicum, *which they counted an inestimable Treasure.* Iustinian *by the helpe of* Tribonianus *did the like in the Lawes.* Gratian *compiled the Decrees out of the Epistles of* Popes, Councells *and* Fathers. Damascen *collected into one body of Diuinitie, the Sentences of the Greeke* Fathers; *And* Peter Lumbard 400. *yeeres after him by his example did the like in the Latine* Fathers. *And how doe wee labour to recouer Bookes that are lost? The Bookes of* Origen *that amounted to sixe thousand, as* Epiphanius *witnesseth, were much laboured for by* Eusebius *and others. The Bookes of* Ci-

cero de Repub. *were much ſought for by Cardinall* Poole; *and great ſummes of money haue bene ſpent to recouer the loſt* Decades *of* Liuie. *Wherefore ſince it hath beene heretofore the practiſe of all aages, to collect the workes of Men of worth, and preſerue them from periſhing; to labour much in recouering thoſe that haue bene loſt; to giue to euery childe the owne Father; to euery Booke the trew Author: (for there neuer had bene halfe ſo many birds to haue flowen about the world with falſe feathers, if euery Author had ſet out his owne workes together in his owne time,) I hope then it ſhall not be now a matter of reproofe in a Seruant, to trauaile in the ſetting foorth of the* VVorks *of his Maſter; and for giuing you that together, which before yee could hardly get aſunder; and for preſeruing that in a Maſſe from periſhing, that might eaſily be loſt in a Mite.*

But while I am collecting workes one way, I heare others ſcattering wordes as faſt an other way, affirming, it had beene better his Maieſtie had neuer written any Bookes at all; and being written, better they had periſhed with the preſent, like Proclamations, *then haue remayned to* Poſterity: *For ſay theſe Men, Little it befitts the Maieſty of a* King *to turne Clerke, and to make a warre with the penne, that were fitter to be fought with the Pike; to ſpend the powers of his ſo exquiſite an vnderſtanding vpon paper, which had they beene ſpent on powder, could not but haue preuayled ere this, for the Conqueſt of a* Kingdome. *For a* King, *ſay they, to enter a Controuerſie with a Scholler, is, as if he ſhould fight a Combate with a Kerne; he doth no more deſcend from his Honour in the one, then he bringes vpon himſelfe Diſgrace by the other. And ſince that Booke-writing is growen into a Trade; It is as diſhonorable for a* King *to write bookes; as it is for him to be a Practitioner in a* Profeſſion. *If a* King *will needs write; Let him write like a* King, *euery Lyne a* Law, *euery Word a* Precept, *euery Letter a* Mandate. *In good trewth, I haue had my eares ſo oft dung through with theſe Obiections and the like, as I know not whether I conceiued amiſſe of my ſelfe or no, thinking I had more ability to anſwere theſe Calumnyes, then I had patience*

to

to heare them: And therefore hauing ſo fit opportunity, I ſhall not let to deliuer my opinion; Whether it may ſorte with the Maieſtie of a King, to be a writer of Bookes, or no. *Firſt I could neuer reade, that there was any Law againſt it; and where we haue no Law, the beſt is to follow good Examples: And many Diuines are of opinion, that examples that are not contrary to any Precept, doe binde vs in practiſe, at leaſt ſo farre; that though they doe not inforce vs to the doing, yet they warrant the deede when it is done; And if Examples will ſerue the turne, wee haue Examples enough.*

Firſt to beginne with the King of Kings *God himſelfe, who as he doth all things for our good; So doeth he many things for our Imitation. It pleaſed his Diuine wiſedome to bee the firſt in this Rancke, that we read of, that did euer write. Hee wrote, and the writing was the writing, ſaith* Moſes, *of God; the maner was after the maner of engrauing; the matter was in Stone cut into two Tables, and the Tables were the worke of God written on both ſides.* Diuines *hold, that the Heart is the principall Seate of the Soule; which Soule of ours is the immediate worke of God, as theſe Tables were the immediate worke of his owne fingers. The Stone, the expreſſe repreſent of the hardneſſe of our heart; the engrauing the worke of God ſo deepely impreſſed, that it can neuer be blotted out; the writing, the writing of the Law in our hearts; In two Tables, for our double duty to God and Man; on both ſides to take vp our heart ſo wholly, that nothing contrary to thoſe Precepts ſhould euer haue any place in our Soules. And certainely from this little* Library, *that God hath erected within vs, is the foundation of all our Learning layd; So that people Ciuillized doe account themſelues depriued of one of the beſt abilities of nature, if they be not ſomewhat inabled by writing, to expreſſe their mindes: And there is no Nation ſo brutiſh or Barbarous, that haue not inuented one kinde of Character or other, whereby to conuey to others their inward Conceptions. From theſe Tables of God, wee may come to the writing of our Bleſſed* Sauiour, *which we may put in the next place, though not for order yet for Honour. His Di-*

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uine Maiestie left behinde him no Monument of writing, written by his owne hand in any externall Booke; for he was to induce and bring in an other maner of the writing of the Law of Loue; not in Tables of stone; written not with incke and paper, but in the Tables of our fleshly hearts written by the Spirit of the Liuing God: Yet did he once with his owne finger, write on the Pauement of the Temple of Ierusalem. *What he writ, I will not now discusse.* S. Ambrose *saith he wrote this Sentence:* Festucam in oculo fratris cernis, trabem in tuo non vides. Beda *thinkes, he wrote that Sentence that he spake:* He that is without sinne, let him cast the first stone at her. Haymo *hath a pretty Conceit: He thinketh, he wrote certaine Characters in the Pauement, which the Accusers beholding might see, as in a glasse, their owne wickednesse; and so blushing at it went their wayes. What euer it was, sure we are, our* Sauiour *would haue false accusations written in dust, to bee troden vnder foote of them that passe by. But howsoeuer, I say, our Blessed* Sauiour *did leaue behind him no writing of his owne hand; Yet we may not deny, but that God in the old* Testament *and our* Sauiour *in the New, haue left vs many bookes of their owne inditements: For all the Bookes of holy Scripture were written by inspiration; and the Prophets and Apostles were but their* Amanuenses, *and writ onely as they were led and actuated by the Spirit of God: So that we may not make the Author of any of those Bookes any other then God Himselfe.*

The old world before the flood wil afford vs no writings, neither did that aage require them; for the liues of men of that aage were liuing Libraries, *and lasted longer then the labors of men doe in this aage: Yet* S. Iude *doeth insinuate somewhat of the writings of* Enoch, *who though he were not in Stile a* King, *Yet there is no reason to contend with him for that Title; for his Dominion would beare it, standing Heire-Apparent to the greater part of the world.* Origen, Tertullian *and* Augustine *report many things out of the supposititous writings that went vnder his name: And* Iosephus *and that* Berosus, *that wee haue, tell vs, that hee erected*

two

two pillars, the one of Stone, the other of Bricke, wherein he wrote of the two-fold destructions of the world, the one by Water, the other by Fire: But howsoeuer that be trew, it is very probable, he wrote something of that matter, which though it perished with that world; yet doubtlesse the memory thereof was preserued by Tradition vnto the dayes of the Apostles.

I will not here insist vpon the writings of Moses, *who was not onely a Priest, and a Prophet, but was, as himselfe records, amongst the people a* King, *and was the first that euer receiued authoritie from* God *to write in* Diuinitie: *Neither will I insist vpon the Example of* King Dauid, *in whose* Psalmes *and* Himnes, *are resounded out the praises of* God *in all the Churches; for that I finde nothing that these men writ, but what they writ as the* Scribes *of* God, *acted, as I said euen now, by* God *his* Spirit, *and not guided by their owne. Yet I suppose wee may safely collect thus much from them, that if* God *had thought it a matter derogatory to the Maiestie of a* King *to bee a Writer, he would not haue made choice of those, as his chiefe* Instruments *in this kinde, who were principalls in that other Order. I would easily beleeue, that such men as haue had the honour to be* God *his Pen-men, should neuer vouchsafe to write any thing of their owne: for as we hold in a pious opinion, that the blessed* Virgine, *hauing once conceiued by the* holy Ghost, *would neuer after conceiue by man; So surely men, that had deliuered nothing but the conceptions of that Spirit, should hardly be drawne euer to set out any of their owne labours. But we see the flat contrary both in* Samuel *and* Solomon, *the one the greatest Iudge, the other the most glorious* King, *that euer that Kingdome had.* Samuel, *who writ by* Gods *appointment, the greatest part of those two Bookes, that beare his name, writ also by his owne accord, a Booke containing the Law of a* King, *or Institution of a* Prince, *whereby hee laboured to keepe the* King *as well from declining to Tyrannie, as the people from running into Libertie.* Solomon, *besides the Bookes of Scripture, which remaine, writ many likewise of his owne accord, which are lost: For to say nothing of his* 3000. Parables,

bles, *his* 5000. *Songes, that* ingens opus, *as the* Hebrues *call it, of the nature of all things, Birds and Beasts, Fowles and fishes, Trees and plants, from the Hyssop to the Cedar: All these were rather workes to manifest humane wisedome, then Diuine knowledge; written rather for the recreation of his owne spirit, then for the edification of the Church: For I cannot conceiue, but those Bookes would rather haue taught vs the learning of Nature; (for which* God *hath left vs to the writings of men) then edified vs in the gifts of Grace; for which hee hath giuen vs his owne Booke. Neither let any man suggest, that these writings, that are lost, and, as they say, were destroyed in the destruction of the Temple by the* Babylonians, *were of the same authoritie, as those that doe remaine: for I can hardly be induced to beleeue, that the writings, that were indited by the Spirit of* God, *layed vp in the* Arke, *receiued into the* Canon, *read publikely in the Church, are vtterly perished. It is a desperate thing to call, either the prouidence of* God, *or the fidelity of the Church in question in this point: For if those, that haue bene, are perished; then, why may not these that remaine as well be lost? which is contrary to our* Sauiours *assertion, that one* Iota *shall not perish till all bee fulfilled: Therefore I rather incline to thinke; that what soeuer was Scripture, still is, then that any is lost: Neither is this opinion so curious to hold, as the other is dangerous to beleeue; Better it is euer, to argue our selues of ignorance, then to accuse* God *of improuidence: But if so much Scripture be lost, as is alleadged, farewell* God *his prouidence, farewell the fidelitie of the Church, to whose care was concredited the* Oracles *of* God. *Let vs come to the writings of* Kings, *where we shall not incurre any danger of this controuersie; that were so farre from being acted by* God *his* Spirit; *that they were more like those Disciples of* Iohn, *that had not heard whether there were an* Holy-Ghost, *or no; that knew nothing of* God, *though they felt neuer so much of his Goodnesse; that neuer beleeued his Omnipotencie, though they had neuer so much experience of his Power.*

To beginne with the Assyrians, *whose first Monarch was* Nimrod,

Nimrod, *and his chiefe Citie* Babel: *from his time to* Sardanapalus *the last of that Monarchie, there was no* King *amongst them, that gaue himselfe to Letters: for as their Kingdome was founded in Tyrannie, so they laboured to keepe it in Barbaritie; neither must we euer looke to see Learning flourish, where Tyrannie beareth the Standerd; for Learning hath no more a facultie to bring the minde to vnderstanding, then it hath with it a power, that workes the will to libertie; neither of which, can euer consist with Tyrannie: And therefore it is no wonder, that this aage affoorded no learned* Kings: *for in that State, which continued thirteene or foureteene hundred yeeres, yee can scarce reade of a learned man: Therefore let either* Histories *or* Poets *paint that out for a Golden aage, as they please, there was neuer any aage, that hath left so little memory of the Golden tincture of their Witts.*

After the time of Sardanapalus, *in the dayes of* Phull, Tiglath-Philasar *and* Salmanasar, *of whom mention is made in Scripture, and to whom, as it is thought,* Ionas *preached, and with whom some of the* Prophets *were conuersant, when as these* Kings *came into the land of* Israel, *as they did in the dayes of* Menahem, *who gaue to* Phul-Belochus *a thousand Talents of Siluer for a Tribute; And in the dayes of* Hezechiah *came* Salmanasar *and besieged* Samaria *three yeeres, and caried away a great part of the people of the Kingdome of* Israel: *From that time forward, their* Kings *gaue themselues to Letters; insomuch as in the dayes of* Nabucodonosor, *who set vp the Monarchy of the* Babylonians, *within one hundred yeeres of* Salmanasar King *of the* Assyrians, *learning was in great estimation, and the* Kings *Court was a Schoole for the best witts of the Kingdome to be bred in, that they might bee able to stand before the* King *furnished with all learning and vnderstanding. And if* Stories *do not intollerably deceiue vs;* Daniel *and his companions instructed fiue great Monarches, as in the trew knowledge of* God, *so in the vnderstanding of all excellent Arts and Sciences; Namely* Nabuchodonosor, Euilmerodack, Baltazar, Darius *of the*

Medes, *and* Cyrus *of the* Persians: *And it were no hard matter to proue the trewth of this out of* Daniel *himselfe.*

Come to the Persians, *who conuersed more with the* Prophets, *as with* Ezra, Nehemiah, Zachary, Malachy *and the people that were in captiuitie; we shall finde them giuen much to Letters.* Cyrus *the first Monarch is recorded to haue written large* Commentaries *of all his diurnall Actions: amongst those Books are found, saith* Esdras, *the* Edicts *of reducing of the* Iewes *to their Country: He wrote diuers Letters for the same purpose to all the chiefe Cities of* Asia; *some whereof, we haue in the* 11. *of* Iosephus, *Chap. the first. Many things likewise are reported to haue bene written of* Artaxerxes, Darius, *and some others of those Monarches, as wee may partly conceiue by the* Canonicall *Bookes of* Ezra *and* Nehemiah, *and more by the Apocriphal-*Esdras, *who reports it to haue bene a custome of those* Kings, *so much to delight in learning, and in the sayings of wise men, that they vsed for an exercise in their greatest Solemnities, to haue solemne* Orations *made in the presence of the* King *and State, of sundry purposes, which, whoso performed to the liking of the* King, *was rewarded with the highest Preferments, that so mighty a Monarch could aduance them vnto.*

Come we to the Græcians; *and there we shall finde Learning in the Tropicke of* Cancer *at such a height, as it neuer was before, nor euer, that we read of, since. And surely it is worth the obseruing, that when that extraordinary Diuine Light went out, humane Learning came in; and the ende of the* Prophets *was the beginning of the* Poets: *The last of the diuinity of the one, the first of the Philosophy of the other: for from the end of the Captiuity till the Comming of our* Sauiour Christ, *the space of foure hundreth yeares and more, in which there was no Prophet, that euer I reade of, there were so many* Orators, Poets *and* Philosophers *of such singular giftes in all kindes; as wee are onely their Schollers since, and can neuer attaine to the Excellency of our Master. In this time* Alexander *the Great was as famous for his Learning and writings, as he was for his Victories: He wrote to* Antipater

of

of all his owne Actions in Asia *and in* India, *as* Plutark *reports in his Life.* S. Ciprian *in his Tractate of the vanitie of Idoles, saith, that* Alexander *the Great wrote* Insigne Volumen *to his Mother; wherein he signifies vnto her, how it was tolde him by a certaine* Egyptian-Priest, *that all the Gods of the Gentiles had bene but men. And* S. Augustine *also in his twelft Booke* De ciuitate Dei *makes mention of other of the writings of* Alexander *to* Olimpias *his Mother about the Succession of the Monarchies.*

Amongst the Kings *of* Syria, Antiochus *surnamed* Epiphanes, *writ many Bookes, and sent them into* Iudea, *about changing the Rites and Ceremonies of the* Iewes *into the Religion of the* Grecians; *The principall heades of his Bookes may be found in the Bookes of* Machabes *and in* Iosephus. *Amongst the* Romans, *which of their* Emperours *did not aduance his fame by Letters?* Iulius Cæsar, *besides many other things, writ his* Commentaries *after the example of* Cyrus. Octauius, *as* Suetonius *reportes, writ many* Volumes, The historie of his owne life, Exhortations to Philosophie, Heroick Verses, Epigrams, Tragedies *and diuers other things; of whom I will only relate two* Stories *not impertinent to my purpose. He is reported to haue bene a very diligent searcher out of all such Bookes, as appertayned to the* Roman-Ethnick-Religion. *All the Bookes* Fatidicorum, *of* Fortune-tellers, *that proceeded not from approued Authors both of* Greeke *and* Latin, *he cast in the fire, to the number of two thousand: Onely he reserued the writings of the* Sibills, *but with that choise, as hee burnt all such of them as he thought to bee counterfeit. I relate this* Story *the rather, for that I thinke it were a good President for our* Augustus *to follow, to make a diligent search of all good and profitable Authors; As for all Hereticall* Pamphlets, *slaunderous Libells and impertinent writings, to commit them to* Vulcane: *for one of the maine meanes of corrupting this people in point of* Religion, *proceeds from the free vse of reading of all kinde of writings without any restraint.*

The other Storie *of* Augustus *is that famous* Inscription *of his, which he made to be set vp in the* Altar *of the* Capitoll *to our* Sauiour Christ; *of which* Nicephorus *makes mention; as also* Suidas *in the word* Augustus. Cæsar Augustus *being proclaimed the first* Emperour *of* Rome, *hauing done many great things and achiued great Glory and felicity; came to the* Oracle *of* Apollo, *& offering vp a* Heccatomb, *which is of all other the greatest* Sacrifice; *demaunded of the* Oracle, *who should rule the* Empire *after his decease; receiuing no answere at all, offered vp an other Sacrifice, and asked with all, how it came to passe, that the* Oracle *that was wont to vse so many wordes, was now become so silent? The* Oracle *after a long pause, made this answere:*

Me puer Hebræus, Diuos, Deus ipse gubernans
Cedere sede iubet, tristemque redire sub Orcum:
Aris ergo dehinc tacitus abscedito nostris.

The Emperour *receiuing this answere, returned to* Rome, *erected in the* Capitoll *the greatest* Altar *that was there, with this* Inscription: Ara primogeniti Dei. *Surely, our* Augustus, *in whose dayes our Blessed* Sauiour Christ Iesus *is come to a full and perfect aage: As hee was borne in the dayes of the other, studying nothing at all to know, who shall rule the Scepter after him (for God be praised, he is much more happie then was* Augustus *in a Blessed* Posterity *of his owne) but indeauoring, that* CHRIST *his* Kingdome, *may euer Reigne in his* Kingdome, *hath consulted all the* Oracles *of* GOD, *and hath found in them, that there is but one onely* Altar *to be erected to the onely Sonne of* GOD, *who is Blessed for euer; and therefore hath set himselfe and bestowed much paines to bid that Man of Sinne,* cedere sede, *and* redire sub Orcum, *that hath erected so many* Altars *Athenian-like, to vnknowne Gods, making more prayers and* Supplications *to supposed* Saints, *then euer the other did to Gods they knew not. But to returne,* Claudius Cæsar, *that had so much wickednesse in him, had this*

good

good in him, that hee writte many good Bookes. Suetonius *reports, hee writ so many Bookes in* Greeke, *as that hee erected a Schoole of purpose in* Alexandria, *called after his owne name, and caused his Bookes to be read yeerely in it: He writ in* Latine *likewise* 43. *Bookes, contayning a Historie from the murther of* Cæsar *to his owne time. There would bee no ende of the reporting of the writings of the Heathen* Emperours. *That one example of* Constantine *amongst the Christian* Emperors *shall suffice:* Eusebius *hath written curiously his Life, and is not sparing to report of his Learning; How many* Orations *and discourses he made, exhorting his Subiects and seruants to a good and godly life; How many nights hee passed without sleepe in Meditations of* Diuinitie; *His Speeches in the beginning and ende of the* Councell *of* Nice; *That famous* Oration, Ad Sanctorum cœtum, *pronounced in* Latine *by him Selfe, after translated into Greeke by diuerse, doe shew, how much Glory hee gayned by Letters.*

From these great Monarches abroad, giue mee leaue a little, to descend to our owne Kings *at home.* Alphredus *King of the* West-Saxons, *translated* Paulus Orosius, S. Gregorie De pastorali cura, *and his* Dialogues *into the* English *tongue: He translated likewise* Beda *of the Actes of the* English, *and* Boetius de consolatione Philosophiæ, Dauids Psalmes, *and many other things: Hee writ besides a Booke of Lawes and* Institutions *against wicked Iudges: Hee writ the sayings of* Wisemen, *and a singular Booke of the fortune of* Kings, *a collection of* Chronicles, *and a* Manuel *of* Meditations.

Ethelstanus (*or* Adelstan, *as our* Stories *call him*) Rex Anglorum, *as* Baleus *calls him, caused to be translated the Bible out of* Hebrew *into* Saxon, *and writ himselfe a Booke of* Astrologie, *the Constitutions of the* Cleargie, *corrected many olde Lawes, and made many new.*

King Edgar *writ to the Cleargie of* England *certaine* Constitutions *and* Lawes, *and other things.*

Henrie *the first, the yongest Sonne of the* Conquerour, *was brought*

brought vp in the Vniuersitie *of* Cambridge; *and excelled so in the knowledge of all Liberall Arts and Sciences, that to this day he doeth retaine the name of* Beau-Clerke.

Achaius *King of the* Scots, *writ of the Acts of all his Predecessors. And* Kenethus *King of the* Scots, *writ a huge* Volume *of all the Scottish* Lawes, *and like an other* Iustinian, *reduced them into a* Compendium.

Iames *the first writ diuers Bookes both in* English *and* Latine *Verse: He writ also, as* Baleus *saith,* De vxore futura.

Henrie *the eight writ of the* Institution *of a* Christian man, *and of the* Institution *of youth: Hee writ also a defence of the* 7. Sacraments *against* Martin Luther; *for which hee was much magnified of the* Pope, *and all that partie; Insomuch as hee was stiled with the Title of* Defensor fidei *for that worke: And trewly it fell out well for the* King, *that hee writ a Booke on the* Popes *side; for otherwise, he should haue them raile on him for his writings as freely, as they reuile him for his Actions. For he writ two Bookes after that; the one* De auctoritate Regia contra Papam; *the other* Sententia de Concilio Mantuano, *as well written for the Stile and Argument, as the other is: But because they seeme to breath an other breath, there is no Trumpet sounded in their praise.*

Edward *the sixt, though his dayes were so short, as he could not giue full proofe of those singular parts that were in him; yet hee wrote diuers* Epistles *and* Orations *both in* Greeke *and* Latine: *He wrote a Treatise* De fide *to the* Duke *of* Somerset: *He wrote a History of his owne time, which are all yet extant vnder his owne hand, in the* Kings Library; *as* M^r Patrick Young, *his Maiesties learned and Industrious* Bibliothecarius, *hath shewed mee; And which is not to bee forgotten, so diligent a hearer of* Sermons *was that sweet* Prince, *that the notes of the most of the* Sermons *he heard, are yet to bee seene vnder his owne hand with the* Preachers *name, the time, and the place, and all other circumstances.*

Queene Elizabeth *our late* Soueraigne *of blessed memory,*

transiated

tranſlated the prayers of Queene Katherine *into* Latine, French, *and* Italian : *Shee wrote alſo a Century of* Sentences, *and dedicated them to her* Father. *I haue heard of her Tranſlation of* Saluſtius; *but I neuer ſaw it : And there are yet freſh in our memories the* Orations *ſhe made in both the* Vniuerſities *in* Latine; *her entertayning of* Embaſſadors *in diuers Languages; her excellent Speaches in the* Parliament, *whereof diuers are extant at this day in Print. And to come a little neerer his* Maieſtie; *The* Kings Father *tranſlated* Valerius Maximus *into* Engliſh; *And the* Queene *his* Maieſties Mother, *wrote a Booke of Verſes in* French *of the* Inſtitution *of a* Prince, *all with her owne hand, wrought the Couer of it with her needle, and is now of his* Maieſtie *eſteemed as a moſt pretious* Iewell.

Therefore ſince wee are compaſſed about with ſuch a Clowd of Witneſſes (*albeit theſe are but a little handfull in compariſon of the infinite multitude, that might be produced,*) *Since we haue the examples of all the Mightie-men of the* World, *euen from the beginning thereof vnto this day; who haue ſtriuen as much to get a Name for their writings, as fame for their doings; haue affected as much to be counted Learned as Victorious; and to be reputed of, as much for their wiſe Sayings, as for their worthy Deeds; Why ſhould it bee thought a thing ſtrange in this time, that his* Maieſtie, *whom* God *hath adorned with as many rare perfections of Nature and Arte, as euer he did any that wee read of, (I except ſuch as were Diuinely inſpired) ſhould lend the world a few leaues out of the large* Volumes *of his* Learning? *I commend the wiſedome of our Aduerſaries, who hauing aſſayed all meanes, the wit of man is able to inuent, to incline his* Maieſtie *to like of their partie; and finding by all their Tricks, they haue got no ground, would at laſt put his* Maieſtie *to ſilence, and gaine thus much of him, at leaſt; that ſince he will doe nothing for them; yet that he would ſay nothing againſt them. Therefore they cry out againſt his* Maieſties *writing, and vpbrayd him more for that hee doeth write, then they doe for any thing that hee hath written: It is ynough to wonder at, that* Rex ſcribit. *Theſe people are wiſe in*

their

their generation, and haue learned by long experience; that as the Kingdome *of* CHRIST *is the Gospel of peace, so it hath bene from the beginning spread more by the Pennes of the* Apostles, *then by the power of* Princes; *more propagated by the sweet writings of the ancient* Fathers, *then it could bee suppressed by the seuere Edicts of* Emperours; *and of late, their Kingdome hath bene more shaken by a poore Monke, then it hath bene able to recouer by the helpe of Mighty* Monarches. *Therefore since the writings of poore Schollers haue so raised the* Kingdome *of* CHRIST, *and so discouered the* Mysterie *of Iniquitie; they do well to feare what may follow vpon the Writings of so great a* King.

They liue securely from bleeding by his Maiesties *Sword; but they are not safe from being blasted by the breath of his* Maiesties *Bookes. If they could bring it about therefore, to calme and quiet his* Maiesties *Spirit from working vpon them that way; as they see his* Maiesties *sweetnesse to bee farre from drawing of their bloods the other way, they would deeme it a greater Conquest, then all the conuersions of the* Kings *of the* East *and* West-Indies *they tell vs so many tales of: For they looke vpon his* Maiesties *Bookes, as men looke vpon* Blasing-Starres, *with amazement, fearing they portend some strange thing, and bring with them a certaine Influence to worke great change and alteration in the world: Neither is their expectation herein deceiued; for we haue seene with our eyes, the Operation of his* Maiesties Workes *in the Consciences of their men so farre, as from their highest* Conclaue *to their lowest* Cells, *there haue bene, that haue bene conuerted by them; and that in such number, as wee want rather meanes to maintaine them, then they minds to come to vs. But to conclude this point, that* Kings *may write; Giue mee leaue to offer you this Meditation.*

How many are the wayes that men doe inuent to perpetuate their Memorie! Insomuch, that mortall-men haue made themselues Gods, when they were dead, that they might be adored, as if they were aliue. Wherein, is the Impetus *of Nature so strong,*

as

as in the affection that propogates to Posteritie? *Wherefore serue Pictures, but to continue our features? Why doe men bestow so much cost in sumptuous Buildings, but to leaue a* Monument *of their Magnificence? To what end doe we erect Holy-houses and Hospitalls, but to possesse mens mindes with the Deuotion of our Soules? And shall wee blesse a* King, *when wee behold him in his* Posteritie! *Shall wee admire his features, when wee contemplate them in his* Pictures! *Shall we wonder at his* Magnificence, *when we gaze vpon it in his stately* Edifices! *and may wee not as well bee rauished, when wee see his sharpe Wit, his profound Iudgement, his infinite Memorie, his Excellent affections in his admirable* Writings? *Certainely it is a peruersnes to esteeme a man least, for that whereby hee liues the longest; to value him more for the outward worke of his hand, then for the inward operation of his minde; to esteeme him more for that which instructs but little, then for that which shall edifie for euer. What now remaines of* Cæsar *so famous as his* Commentaries? *What of* Cicero, *as his* Orations? *How comes* Aristotle *to be of more authoritie then* Alexander? Seneca, *then* Nero? *The Triumphes and Victories of the one are vanished; the Vertues of the other remaine in their perfect vigour: And though all other* Monuments *by time consume and come to nothing; yet these by time, gaine strength and get authoritie; and euer the more ancient, the more Excellent.*

Hauing now deliuered my opinion, that I thinke it neither vnlawfull nor inconuenient for a King *to write, but that he hath the Liberty that other men haue, if hee can get the leysure; to shew his abilities for the present, to perpetuate his Memory to* Posterity; *to aduance his praise before his owne People, and gaine Glory from others; but especially to giue* Glory *vnto* God.

I will craue leaue to descend to an other Consideration: for it may be, there will not be so much fault found with a King *for writing, as for the matter or Subiect whereof he treates: For* Personages *of their eminent Degree and* State, *must not spend their paines on poore purposes; nor write so much to try their witts*

on triuiall thinges, as to winne themselues Honor by the Excellency of their subiect. Indeed, if I were worthy to aduise a King, *hee should meddle very sparingly, and but vpon important Causes, with* Polemicalls: *Hee should not often fight but in the field; for put the case a* King *writ neuer so modestly, that there be not in a whole Booke one word* ad hominem, *nor any touch of his Aduersary in any personall infirmity; yet I know not how it comes to passe, that in all Controuersies, a solide answere to an argument, is a very sufficient occasion to make an Aduersary wonderfull angrie. And so long as there are diuersity of Opinions, there will neuer want matter for Confutations: And in these Replications the person of a* King *is more exposed and lyes more open, then the person of a poore Scholler can doe; for as he is a farre greater marke, so he may farre more easily be hit. And though they misse him and can hit vpon nothing iustly to bee reprehended in him; yet they doe thinke it* Operæpretium, *to make a Scarre in the face of a* King: *Whereas on the contrary, if a* King *doe write of* Piety *or* Deuotion, *compile a* Historie, *giue* Precepts *of* Policy, *handle Moralls, or treate of some rare Experiences of Nature; wee doe in these things commend his Iudgement, admire his parts without any euill cogitation against his Person. There can hardly be giuen a more viue Example in this case, then is to be found in the* Writings *of his* Maiestie. *When the* King *had published his* Basilicon-Doron, *a Booke so singularly penned; that a Pomegranat is not so full of kernells, as that is of Excellent* Counsells: *What applause had it in the world? How did it inflame mens minds to a loue and admiration of his* Maiestie *beyond measure; Insomuch that comming out iust at the time his* Maiestie *came in, it made the hearts of all his people as one Man, as much to Honour him for Religion and Learning, as to obey him for Title and Authoritie; and gaue vs then a taste, or rather the first fruits, of that we haue since reaped a plentifull Harueſt of, by his* Maiesties *most prudent and Gracious Gouernment ouer vs. The like I may say of his* Maiesties Demonologie; *a rare peece for many Precepts and Experiments, both in* Diuinitie *and Naturall Philo-*

sophie,

ſophie. Jn theſe, there was nothing heard of, but Sunne-ſhine and faire-weather; euery countenance ſweet and ſmiling vpon them: But as ſoone as his Maieſtie *dealt againſt the* Pope, *tooke the* Cardinall *in hand, made the world ſee the vſurped power of the one, and Sophiſtry of the other; Good Lord, what a ſtirre we had; what roaring of the wilde Bulls of* Baſan, *what a commotion in euery Countrey; Jnſomuch, that I thinke, there is ſcarce a People, Language or Nation in* Chriſtendome, *out of which his* Maieſtie *hath not receiued ſome anſwere or other; either by way of refuting, or at leaſt by rayling: So that, had not the* King *contemned and made himſelfe ſport and recreation by ſuch kinde of Reuelling, rather then bene mooued to paſſion; It could not haue bene but a marueilous perturbation to a* Prince *of ſo exquiſite ſenſe and vnderſtanding. But what of all this? Shall wee wiſh his* Maieſtie *had not fought with beaſts at* Epheſus, *ſtopped the roaring of the* Bull, *nor encountered the* Cardinall? *Trewly when Jthinke vpon the wonderfull abuſes, and Hyperbolicall indignities his* Maieſtie *hath receiued from theſe men; I am ſomewhat of that minde: But when on the other ſide, Jconſider his* Maieſties *zeale for to maintaine the cauſe of* God *and Right of* Kings; *his ſingular dexteritie to doe it; the bleſſing of* God *that hath followed vpon his ſo doing of it; I cannot but change my opinion, and bee of another minde. And the better to induce you to bee of my minde; I will make vnto you a trew Relation of his* Maieſties *entering into this buſineſſe, and then leaue it to your conſideration; whether there were not a* Diuine hand, *that led his into it, or no. Jt is the Speach of our Bleſſed* Sauiour, *that there is nothing hid, that ſhall not be knowne; and what is ſpoken in darkeneſſe, ſhall be heard in the Light: This his* Maieſtie *as himſelfe confeſſeth, found trew in the comming foorth of one of his Bookes; and Ithinke it may bee found as trew in the comming foorth of ſome other of them. For after the* Pope *had put forth his* Breues, *and the* Cardinall *had ſent his Letters to the Archprieſt; the one to enioyne the People not to take the* Oath *of* Allegiance, *affirming they could not take it with ſafety of their Sal-*

uation; the other to reproue the Arch-priest for that hee had taken it, and to draw him to a penitencie for so foule a Lapse: His Maiestie *like as became a Prudent and a Religious* Prince, *thought it not meete, that these things should passe for current, but that it was expedient his People should know, that the taking of this* Oath *was so farre from endangering their Soules, as that it intended nothing but ciuill Obedience, and without touching any point of their conscience, made the* State *secure of their Allegiance. To performe this worke, his* Maiestie *thought the* Bishop *of* Winchester *that then was, a very fit man, both for his singular Learning, as for that he had long laboured in an Argument not much of a diuers nature from this: Whereupon his* Maiestie *calling for penne and incke, to giue my L. of* Winchester *directions, how and in what maner to proceed in this Argument, I know not how it came to passe; but it fell out trew, that the* Poet *saith,*

Amphora cœpit
Institui, currente rota, post vrceus exit.

For the Kings *Penne ranne so fast, that in the compasse of sixe dayes, his* Maiestie *had accomplished that, which hee now calleth his* Apologie; *which when my Lord of* Canterburie *that then was, and my Lord of* Elie *had perused, being indeed deliuered by his* Maiestie *but as briefe Notes, and in the nature of a Minute to bee explicated by the* Bishop *in a larger Volume; yet they thought it so sufficient an Answere both to the* Pope *and* Cardinall, *as there needed no other: Whereupon his* Maiestie *was perswaded, to giue way to the comming of it foorth, but was pleased to conceale his Name: And so haue wee the* Apologie *beyond his* Maiesties *owne purpose or determination.*

After that the Apologie *was out, his* Maiestie *diuerse times would bee pleased to vtter a Resolution of his; that if the* Pope *and* Cardinall *would not rest in his answere, and sit downe by it; take the* Oath *as it was intended for a point of* Allegiance *and Ciuill Obedience; Hee would publish the* Apologie *in his owne name with a* Preface *to all the* Princes *in* Christendome;

dome; *wherein hee would publiſh ſuch a Confeſſion of his Faith, perſwade the* Princes *ſo to vindicate their owne Power, diſcouer ſo much of the* Myſterie *of Iniquitie vnto them; as the* Popes Bulles *ſhould pull in their hornes, and himſelfe wiſh he had neuer medled with this matter. The* Cardinall *contending againſt the* Apologie, *his* Maieſtie *confirmed his Reſolution, and with the like Celerity, in the compaſſe of one weeke, wrote his* Monitory-Preface: *for as* Hirtius *ſaid of* Cæſars Comentaries, Qua fœlicitate *they were done, let others iudge; but* Qua celeritate, *I can tell: And being ſo written, publiſhed it and the* Apologie *in his owne Name; and made good his word, ſent it to the* Emperour *and all the* Kings *and free* Princes *in* Chriſtendome.

Now hauing made this Relation, wherein I haue deliuered nothing but trewth; Let me offer vnto you ſome few things worthy Conſideration.

Firſt, that vpon the comming foorth of that Booke, there were no States, *that diſauowed the Doctrine of it in that point of the* Kings *power; And the* Venetians *mainetained it in their writings, and put it in Execution; The* Sorbons *maintained it likewiſe in* France.

Secondly, their owne writers, that oppoſed it, ſo ouerlaſhed, as they were corrected and caſtigated of men of their owne Religion; Becanus *his Booke corrected by the* Cardinalles *of* Rome; Bellarmines *Booke burnt in* Paris; Suarez *his Anſwere burnt alſo in* France. *As for the Raylers, I leaue them to God his Iudgment, whoſe hand hath bene vpon the moſt of them.*

Thirdly, his Maieſties *Confeſſion of faith, hath bene ſo generally approued, as it hath conuerted many of their partie: And had it not bene (as I haue bene informed by diuerſe) for the Treatiſe of* Antichriſt, *many more would eaſily haue bene induced, to ſubſcribe to all in that* Preface.

Fourthly, Kings *and* Princes *haue by his* Maieſties Premonition, *had a more cleare inſight, and a more perfect diſcouery into the Iniury offered them by the* Pope *in the point of their temporall Power, then euer they had; Inſomuch, as that point was*

neuer

neuer so throughly disputed in Christendome, *as it hath bene by the occasion of his* Maiesties *Booke.*

Fiftly and lastly, for the point of Antichrist; *I haue heard many confesse, that they neuer saw so much light giuen to that* Mysterie, *neuer descerned so much trewth by the vniforme consent of the Text, and strength of Interpretation of places, as they haue done by his* Maiesties *Booke. So that, though Controuersies be fitter subiects for Schollers ordinarily, then for* Kings; *Yet when there was such a necessitie in vndertaking, and such a successe being performed; I leaue it to the world to iudge, whether there were not a speciall hand of* God *in it, or no. Now since I haue begunne with this point of* Antichrist, *I will make bolde to proceed a little with his* Maiesties Paraphrase *vpon the* Reuelation, *wherein that Treatise of* Antichrist *is principally grounded.*

His Maiesties *singular vnderstanding in all points of good Learning is not vnknowne: But yet aboue all other things,* God *hath giuen him an vnderstanding Heart in the Interpretation of that* Booke, *beyond the measure of other men: For this* Paraphrase, *that leades the way to all the rest of his* Maiesties Workes, *was written by his* Maiestie *before hee was twenty yeeres of aage; and therefore iustly in this Volume hath the first place, the rest following in order according to the time of their first penning. Anciently* Kings *drempt dreames, and saw visions; and* Prophets *expounded them: So with* King Pharaoh *and* Ioseph *in* Egypt; *So with* Nabuchodonosor *and* Daniel *in* Babylon. *In this aage,* Prophets *haue written Visions, and* Kings *haue expounded them.* God *raised vp* Prophets *to deliuer his People from a temporall captiuitie in* Egypt *and* Babylon, *by the Interpretation of the one; And* God *hath in this aage stirred vp* Kings *to deliuer his People from a Spirituall* Egypt *and* Babylon, *by the Interpretation of the other. It is an obseruable thing, that* God *neuer made his People any great promise, but he added vnto his promise a famous* Prophecie. *Three great promises we reade of, that runne through all the Scriptures.*

The

The first of the Messiah; *the second of the land of* Canaan; *the third of the* Kingdome *of Heauen: To these three promises, are reduced all the* Prophecies. *Of the promise of the* Messiah, *prophecied all the* Prophets *from the fall of the first* Adam, *to the comming of the second: Of the promise of the Land of* Canaan, *prophecied* Iacob *and* Ioseph, *and the rest, from the promise made to* Abraham, *to the possessing of it by* Iosuah *and the children of* Israel: *Of the promise of the Kingdome of Heauen, made by our* Sauiour CHRIST, *prophecied the* Apostles; *principally* S. Paul, *and* S. Iohn *in the Reuelation. Now though all were to lay hold on the promises; yet few were able to vnderstand the* Prophecies. *And surely, though all the people of* GOD *are to lay hold on the promises of that Glorious* Kingdome *described in that Booke; yet few are able to vnderstand the* Prophecies *therein contained, comprehending in them a perfect* History *and* State *of the* Church, *euen from the destruction of* Ierusalem, *till the consummation of the whole world. Yet this I thinke, I may safely say; That* Kings *haue a kinde of interest in that Booke beyond any other: for as the execution of the most part of the* Prophecies *of that Booke is committed vnto them; So it may be, that the Interpretation of it, may more happily be made by them: And since they are the principall Instruments, that* GOD *hath described in that Booke to destroy the* Kingdome *of* Antichrist, *to consume his State and Citie; I see not, but it may stand with the Wisedome of* GOD, *to inspire their hearts to expound it; into whose handes hee hath put it to excute, vntill the* LORD *shall consume both him and it with the Spirit of his mouth, and shall abolish it with the brightnesse of his comming: For from the day that* S. Iohn *writ the Booke to this present houre; I doe not thinke that euer any* King *tooke such paines, or was so perfect in the* Reuelation, *as his* Maiestie *is; which will easily appeare by this* Paraphrase, *by his* Maiesties Meditation *on the* 20. *Chap. and his* Monitorie Preface. *If was my purpose to haue past through all his* Maiesties *Books; to haue expressed the Argument and the occasion of their writing; But I find by that I haue already said,*

ſaid, I ſhould be ouer tedious vnto you. This therefore in generall; They are all worthy of a King, *and to be kept to Poſterity: For if* Ouid *could imagine, that no time ſhould eate out the memory of his* Metamorphoſeis, *which were but fictions; I hope no time ſhall ſee an end of theſe Books, that carry in them ſo much diuine trewth and light. And as in this firſt worke of the* Paraphraſe, *his* Maieſtie *hath ſhewed his* Piety; *So in this laſt* Pearle (*I meane* his Maieſties Speach in the Starr-Chamber) *his* Maieſtie *hath ſhewed his* Policy: *The firſt ſheweth, hee vnderſtands the* Kingdome *of* God; *this laſt, that hee as well apprehends the State of his* Kingdomes *in this* World: *The firſt ſheweth him to haue a large Portion in that of Heauen; and this laſt ſheweth him to haue a great Power and experience in theſe* Kingdomes *hee hath on earth. Therefore, let theſe men, that delight ſo much in Detraction and to vilify him, whom* God *hath exalted; and to ſhed his blood, whoſe Soule* God *hath bound vp in the Bundle of life; Let them, I ſay, write what euer the Subtilty of the olde* Serpent *can put into their heads, or the Malice of* Sathan *infuſe into their hearts; Let them ſpeake, what the poyſon of* Aſpes *is able to put into their lippes; they are not all able to make his* Maieſtie *to appeare leſſe then he is, nor to ſhew, that euer they had of theirs a* King *ſo accompliſhed. It is trew, that wee haue not had many* Kings *in this* Kingdome *of our Profeſſion: But for thoſe we haue had, this* Iland *of ours neuer ſaw the like, either for partes of Nature, giftes of Learning or Graces of* Piety.

The little time of life, that God lent to King Edward, *muſt needs leſſen his prayſes; But neuer did there appeare beginnings of more rare perfection, then in him.*

The length of Queene Elizabeths *dayes, together with the felicity of her time, was not only a Glory to her owne People, but a wonderment to the World, euen our Aduerſaries, as* Moſes *ſaid, being* Iudges. *And prayſed be* God, *the preſent time paſſeth a long with the like felicity and much more Securitie: for let me recount a little, for the Glory of* God *and encouragement of his*

Maieſtie,

Maieſtie, *to goe on in his happie Courſe begunne, the Bleſſings of* God *we receiue by him; And then let our Aduerſaries tell vs, whether we be a miſerable People or no, as ſome of late haue gone about to perſwade vs. Neither doe I ſtand in feare of any mans reprehenſion; for I will ſpeake nothing but trewth, and I haue my* Preſident *from* God *his owne Booke; wherein the good Actes of euery good* King *are to their eternall praiſes trewly recounted.*

Firſt to beginne with Religion, *as the Generall to the Armie: Of all Gods Bleſſings wee haue it without any alteration or change contynued vnto vs. His* Maieſties *firſt Care was for the Confirmation of the Goſpell: for at his* Maieſties *firſt comming in; who knowes not the endeauours of men, to haue made a change, either to the* Papiſts, *or to the* Puritanes? *His* Maieſtie *therefore, to quiet the* State *and Peace of the Church, called a Conference at* Hampton-Court; *where paſſing ouer the one, as being neuer in his heart to giue the leaſt way vnto; He ſo tempered the other, as the Harmony hath bene the better euer ſince.*

The Religion *thus ratified; His* Maieſties *next Care was for the Tranſlation of the* Bible, *it being the ground of our Religion: His* Maieſtie *was deſirous his People ſhould haue it in as much perfection, as the Induſtrie and Labors of the beſt Learned were able to afford it them.*

Hauing done what was neceſſary for the Spirituall part of the Church, his Maieſtie *tooke into conſideration the Temporal State thereof: No ſooner came the* Parliament, *but finding what ſpoile had bene made of the Lands thereof in the tyme of his* Predeceſſors, *by a libertie they had to take the Landes of the Church for a longer Terme then others could doe; Cut himſelfe off from that libertie, and equalled himſelfe to a common perſon in the taking of any State in the Churches Landes.*

When his Maieſtie *had done this in* England, *he looked backe into* Scotland, *and reforming the State of the Church there, as farre as in his* Princely-Wiſedome *he thought conuenient for the time; reſtored the* Biſhops *there, as to their Spirituall* Keies;

So to their temporall Estates, *though it were to the great losse and dammage of his owne Reuennue and* Crowne.

From Scotland *his* Maiestie *came to* Ireland, *that forlorne* Kingdome *both for Temporall and Spiritual estate, till he looked into it: There his* Maiestie *hath reduced the* Bishoppricks, *not only to their old Rents; but added vnto them many new* Reuennues; *so that many places there are answerable to the best Liuings here: Neither hath his Care bene onely on these high places of the Church, but hath descended to the lowest in the same, hauing both protected the* Benefices *from being raysed to any higher Taxe, and hindred all courses, that might giue his Cleargie molestation or trouble.*

His Maiesties Bountie *hath not bene wanting to Colledges and Hospitalls, hauing parted with his owne Tenures, to giue them power of larger Indowments; whereby there hath bene works of more sumptuousnes and cost done in his* Maiesties *time, then there hath bene in any one aage before.*

I may not forget one thing, that since his Maiesties *comming to this* Crowne, *he hath neuer put into his Coffers the meane proffitts of any Ecclesiasticall liuing, but hath bene a* Fidus-Depositarius, *and euer giuen them to the next Incumbent.*

Let me descend a little from these workes of Piety *to* Peace. *Neuer hath there bene so vniuersall a Peace in* Christendome *since the time of our* Sauiour Christ, *as in these his Dayes: And I dare say, as much, if not more, by the procurement of his* Maiestie, *then by any other earthly meanes in this world. A* Peace *(to let forraigne partes passe) so entertayned at home; that in his* Maiesties *three* Kingdomes, *apt enough by constitution, and not vnaccustomed by practise to be at variance, there hath bene no Ciuill dissension at all. With* Peace God *hath giuen vs Plentie: So that, if Peace and Plenty haue not made vs too too wanton, I know not what wee want. Neither is there any crying out for lacke of* Iustice *in our* Courtes; *for neuer was there Iustice administred with more liberty from the* King, *nor more vprightnes from the Iudges; And yet in the free dispensation of* Iustice,

Mercie

Mercie *did neuer more triumph. If this bee to bee miſerable, I know not what on earth they call Happineſſe:* God *continue theſe ſtill vnto vs; and then, let them call Happineſſe, what they pleaſe.*

But I know wherefore all is miſerable; becauſe there is no more Mercy ſhewed to their Catholiks.

I will put it as a Crowne *vpon all his* Maieſties Mercies: *There was neuer* King, *that had ſo great a cauſe giuen him, that euer tooke ſo little bloode, extending his Mercy to all, that were not perſonall workers in that* Powder-Plot: *And before that you had hatched that Monſter, neither was the perſon or purſe of any your reputed Catholicks touched. And ſince that time, you may doe well to complaine of your Miſeries; but the Church and Comonwealth both, doe trauaile and groane vnder the burthen of your diſobedience: But the worſt I wiſh you, is, that at length by his* Maieſties *long* Patience, *you may bee drawne to Repentance; for as we are come out from you, leſt we ſhould bee partakers of your plagues; ſo we pray for you, that you may come in to vs, that you may be participants of our felicities.*

To Conclude this Preface: God *hath giuen vs a* Solomon, *and* God *aboue all things gaue* Solomon *Wiſedome; Wiſedome brought him peace; Peace brought him Riches; Riches gaue him Glory. His wiſedome appeared in his wordes and* Workes: *his Peace, he preſerued by the power of his Army: His riches he rayſed, as by his Reuennue, ſo by the Trade of his Nauie: His Glory did accrue from them all. Now, as in theſe,* God *exalted him beyond all the* Kings *that euer were, or ſhould be after him; So had he in other things Humiliations not farre behind the proportion of his Exaltations; the fearefulleſt fall, that the Scripture affords an Example of; the moſt vnchaſt life and immoderate exceſſe of* Women, *that we read of; the weakeſt Poſterity for Wiſedome and Gouernment, that we finde in all the Line of his Succeſſion.* God *would haue it ſo, that he ſhould no more be ſet out, as a Type of the* Glory *of his owne* Sonne *in the felicity of his State one way, then he would haue him propoſed as a patterne of Humane*

frailty an other way. Therefore, though we may not approach him in his Typicall State; yet GODS *Name be bleſſed, that hath giuen vs to goe farre beyond him in his perſonall Condition: For we haue already, bleſſed be* GOD, *ſeene the Conſtancie and perſeuerance of his* Maieſty *in his Holy Profeſſion, without any* Eclipſe *or Shaddow of change, longer then we are well able to deduce the whole life and reigne of* Solomon. *We haue not the Daughter of* Pharao *an Idolatrous* King; *nor feare we ſtrange women to ſteale away his heart from the Seruice of* GOD: *But a* Queene, *as of a* Royall, *ſo of a Religious Stocke, profeſſing the Goſpell of* Chriſt *with him; A* Mirrour *of trew Modeſtie, a* Queene *of Bounty, both beloued and admired of all his People: A* Poſterity *that we need not feare for folly in the one Sexe, nor for leuitie in the other; Both which made* Solomon *ſpeake ſo much, (as the* Iewes *ſay) in his* Prouerbes, *of a fooliſh ſonne, becauſe his owne was not wiſe, and of wanton Women, becauſe he feared the vanity of his owne Daughters. But* GOD *hath left his* Maieſtie *a* Sonne; *a* Prince, *as in outward* Liniaments, *ſo in inward* Abiliments, (*I need ſay no more*) *an* Alter-Idem, *a ſecond-Selfe; A* Daughter, *a* Princeſſe *of that Piety, ſingular vertue and Modeſtie; as makes her both beloued at home and admired abroad. I haue done: Only I deſire the* Readers *of theſe* Workes, *to pray to* GOD, *that as he hath ſo farre aduanced vs, as to beſtowe vpon vs, with the Heauenly Treaſures of his trewth, the riches of his earthly* Iewels *in ſo* Sacred *a* King, *ſo admired a* Queene, *ſo hopefull a* Prince, *ſo vertuous a* Princes; *He would for his Mercies ſake, for his Sonnes ſake, continue this the Light of his Countenance vpon vs in them and their* Poſterity, *till the comming of that* Kingdome, *which neuer ſhall haue end.* AMEN.

Thine in the Lord,

IA. WINTON.

THE

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THE

THE EPISTLE TO THE WHOLE CHVRCH *MILITANT*, in whatsoeuer part of the Earth.

O whom could I haue so fitly *directed (Christian Readers) this* Paraphrase *of mine vpon the* Reuelation, *as vnto you, who are the very and true posteritie of those Churches, to whom the Booke it selfe was dedicated, and for whose instruction and comfort the said Epistle was endited by the Holy Spirit, and written by that great Theologue* IOHN the Apostle, *whom our Master beloued deerely? I doubt not but it will seeme strange to many, that any of my aage, calling, and literature, should haue medled with so obscure, Theologicall, and high a subiect: But let my earnest desire (by manifesting the Trueth,) as well to teach my selfe as others, serue for excuse; considering also that where diuers others in our aage, haue medled with the interpretation of this Booke, pressing with preoccupied opinions, onely to wrest and conforme the meaning thereof to their particular and priuate passions; I by the contrary protest, that all my trauailes tend to square and conforme my opinions to the trew and sincere meaning thereof: Which causes mooued me to vndertake this worke; not thereby to despise infinite others, who to the glory*

of God, and great comfort of his Church, hath giuen it a great light already, but rather that by oft peruſing and dew conſidering therof, whereto this worke hath led mee, I might be the better acquainted with the meaning of this Booke, which I eſteeme a ſpeciall cannon againſt the Hereticall wall of our common aduerſaries the Papiſts: whom I would wiſh to know, that in this my Paraphraſe *vpon it, I haue vſed nothing of my owne coniecture, or of the authoritie of others, but onely haue interpreted it, in that ſenſe which may beſt agree with the methode of the Epiſtle, and not bee contradictorie to it ſelfe: The meaning whereof I expound, partly by it ſelfe, and partly by other parts of the Scriptures, as the worke it ſelfe will beare witneſſe: And therefore this one thing I muſt craue of our Aduerſaries, that they will not refute any part of my Interpretation, till they finde out a more probable themſelues, agreeing with the whole context,* & cum ſerie temporum; *and where their conſciences beare them witneſſe that I ſpeake the Trueth, that they will yeeld vnto it, and glorifie God therein, and this is all the reward I craue for my paines. But of one thing I muſt forewarne you (Chriſtian Readers) to wit, that yee may vnderſtand, that it is for the making of the Diſcourſe more ſhort and facile, that I haue made* IOHN *to be the Speaker in all this* Paraphraſe; *and not that I am ſo preſumptuouſly fooliſh, as to haue meant thereby, that my* Paraphraſe *is the onely trew and certaine expoſition of this Epiſtle, reiecting all others: For although through ſpeaking in his perſon, I am onely bounded and limitted to vſe one, and not diuers interpretations, of euery ſeuerall place; yet I condemne not others, but rather allow them to interpret it diuerſly, ſo being, it agree with the analogie of faith, with the methode of the Text,* & cum ſerie temporum, *as I ſaid before: for thoſe three being obſerued, it may fall out that diuers, diuerſly expound one place, and yet all be according to the trueth, and very meaning of the Spirit of God, as may eaſily be proued by the Text it ſelfe: For in the* 17. *Chapter the Angel expounding to* Iohn, *the ſeuen heads of the beaſtes that came out of the Sea, hee ſaith the ſeuen heads which thou ſaweſt vpon the beaſt*

are

are the seuen Hills, *and they are also* seuen Kings: *Here ye see one thing is expounded in two very farre different fashions, and yet both true; And therefore let wise men take their choice in these things, obseruing alwayes these rules I haue spoken of; as specially for example; This Hebrew word* Arma geddon *in the* 16. *Chapter and sixt Phiale, although I expound it to signifie* destruction by deceipt, *as composed of* ערמגדרון Gnarma & Geddon *which may very well agree with the History, because it is the name of the place, saith* Iohn, *where the wicked being assembled together by the alluring and deceipt of Satan, and his three spirits of Diuels to make warre with the faithfull, were all destroyed by God, and so their destruction came, and was procured by deceipt; Yet others interpret it to signifie* destruction by waters, *as composed of* הר-מי & גדון Harma & Geddon, *which also may very well agree with the Historie. For waters indeed in this Booke signifie oft many people and Nations, as appeareth by the very Text in the* 17. *Chapter; And others take it to be an allusion to the destruction that* Ioshua *made of Gods enemies vpon the hill of* Mageddon, *and therefore to bee composed of* הר Harr, *which is called a Hill and* Mageddon, *which may also very well agree with the Historie.*

And as I speake of this, so I speake the like of Gog *and* Magog *in the* 20. *Chapter, and of all other ambiguous places in this Booke.*

It rests then that what ye finde amisse in this Paraphrase, yee impute it to my lacke of yeeres and learning; and what ye find worthy to be allowed in it, that yee attribute the full praise thereof to GOD, to whom onely all praise appertaineth.

Fare-well.

THE ARGVMENT OF THIS WHOLE EPISTLE.

THIS Booke or Epiſtle of Reuelation, was called in doubt, aſwell for the incertaintie of the Author, as alſo for the canonicalneſſe of the Booke it ſelfe, by ſundry of the ancients, and ſpecially by Euſebe; For ſoluing whereof I need not to inſiſt, ſince it is both receiued now of all Chriſtians, and alſo diuers of the Neoteriques, in ſpeciall Beza in his Preface vpon it, hath handled that matter ſufficiently already; So that this doubt onely reſts now in men, that this Booke is ſo obſcure and allegorique, that it is in a maner vnprofitable to be taught or interpreted; Whereunto I will ſhortly make anſwere, and then goe forward to ſet downe the methode of the ſame: And therefore to make a deduction from the beginning, let vs vnderſtand in what ſeuerall or principall parts the whole Scriptures may be diuided in; and then which of them this Booke is. How ſoone Adam being made perfect in his Creation, and hauing the choiſe of Life and Death, Good and Euill, did by his horrible defection make choiſe of Death, and caſt off Life, and by that meanes infected his whole poſteritie with double ſinne, to wit, Originall and Actuall, God notwithſtanding had ſuch a Loue to mankinde, as being his moſt Noble workemanſhip, and Creature, made to his owne Likeneſſe and Image, that he ſelected a Church amongſt them, whom firſt becauſe of their weakeneſſe and incredulitie, he with his owne mouth taught, and next inſtructed and raiſed vp notable men amongſt them to be their Rulers, whom he endued with ſuch excellent gifts, as not onely their example in life preached, but alſo by Miracles they ſtrengthened and confirmed their Faith: But leſt this miniſtrie of men ſhould make them to depend onely vpon their mouthes, forgetting Him, and making Gods of them, he at length out of his owne mouth gaue them his Law, which he cauſed them to put in Writ, and retaine ſtill amongſt them; And then leſt they ſhould forget and neglect the ſame, he raiſed vp godly Rulers, aſ well Temporall, as Spirituall, who by their holy liues and working of Miracles, reuiued and ſtrengthened the Law in their hearts.

But

But seeing, that notwithstanding all this, they cast themselues headlong in the gulfe of vices (such is the vnthankefull and repining Nature of Man,) hee raised vp Prophets, as especially Ieremie *and* Daniel, *to accuse them of their sinnes, and by Visions to forewarne them of the times to come, whereby the godly might turne and arme themselues, and the wicked might be made inexcusable. And thus much for the Old Testament. But then God seeing that notwithstanding this, there crept in such a generall corruption amongst them, that scarce one might be found that bowed not his knee to Baal; Hee then by his vnsearchable Wisedome incarnated his Eternall Sonne and Word* THE LORD IESVS, *who by his death and Passion accomplished the faith of the Fathers; whose Saluation was by the beleeuing in him to come, as also made an open and patent way of Grace to all the world thereafter: And then as vpon a new world, and a new Church, Gods Fatherly care to Mankind was renued, but in a more fauourable forme, because hee looked vpon the Merits of his deare Sonne: Then, first* Christ *with his owne mouth did instruct men, and confirmed his Doctrine by Miracles, and secondly raised vp the Apostles to giue the Law of Faith, confirming it by their liues and Miracles: And last, that notwithstanding this Defection was beginning to creepe in againe, hee inspired one of them,* to wit, IOHN *to write this Booke, that hee might thereby, euen as* Ieremie *and* Daniel *did in the old Law, aswell rebuke them of their sinnes, as by forewarning them, to arme them against the great tentations that were to come after. Then of it selfe it prooues, how profitable this Booke is for this aage, seeing it is the last* Reuelation *of Gods will and Propheſie, that euer was, or shall bee in the World: For wee shall haue no more Propheſies nor Miracles hereafter, but must content our selues with the Law and Prophecies already giuen, as* Christ *in his Parable of* Lazarus *and the rich man teacheth. Now as to the Methode, this holy Epistle is directed to the seuen Churches of* Asia Minor, *whom hee names and writes to particularly in the first three Chapters of the same, and vnder their Names to all their trew Successors, the whole Church Militant in the World. The whole matter may bee diuided in sixe parts,* to wit, The praise or dispraise of euery one of these Churches, *according to their merits wherein they merit good or euill, what way they ought to reforme themselues, and this is contained in the three first Chapters: And to make them inexcusable, in case they slide againe, hee shewes the estate of the whole Church Militant in their time; he tells them what it shall be vntill the end of the World, and what it shalbe when it is Triumphant and immortall after the dissolution:* These three last parts are declared by Visions in the rest of the Epistle, *first the present estate of the Church then, and what it should be thereafter vnto the later day, is summarily declared by the first sixe of the seuen Seales: in the sixt and seuenth Chapters, and afterwards more at large by the seuen Trumpets that came out of the seuenth Seale in the* 8. 9. 10. 11. *Chapters: And because through Tirannie and abuse of the Popedome, Poperie is the greatest temptation since* Christes *first comming, or that shalbe vnto his last; therefore he specially insists more at large and cleerly, in the declaration and painting forth of the same, by Vision of the woman in the wilderneſſe, and of the Beasts that rose out of the sea and the earth in the* 12. 13. *and* 14. *Chapters: And then to comfort men that might otherwise despaire, because of the* Chap. 15. 16.

Chap. 17. 18. 19. Chap. 20.

greatneſſe of that temptation, he declares by the next following Viſion of the Phials, what plagues ſhall light vpon the Pope and his followers: Next, he deſcribes him againe, farre clearer then any time before, and likewiſe his ruine, together with the ſorrow of the Earth, and ioy of Heauen therefore: And then to inculcate and ingraue the better the foreſaid Viſions in the hearts and memories of Men, hee in a Viſion makes a ſhort ſumme and recapitulation of them, to wit, *of the preſent eſtate of the Church then, and what it ſhould bee thereafter, vnto the Day of* Iudgement, *together with a ſhort deſcription of the ſaid Day: And laſt he deſcribes by a Viſion, the glorious reward of them, who conſtantly perſiſt in the Trueth, reſiſting all the temptations which he hath foreſpoken,* To wit, *he deſcribes the bleſſed eſtate of the holy and Eternall* Ieruſalem, *and* Church Triumphant, *and ſo with a ſhort and pithie Concluſion makes an end.*

A PARA-

A PARAPHRASE VPON THE REVELATION OF THE APOSTLE S. IOHN.

CHAP. I.

ARGVMENT.

The Booke, the Writer, and the Inditer; the end and vse thereof: The dedication of this Epistle to the Churches and Pastors, vnder the vision of the seuen Candlesticks and seuen Starres.

GOD THE FATHER hath directed his Sonne and Word, IESVS CHRIST, to send downe an Angel or Minister, to me *Iohn* his seruant, and by him to reueale vnto mee certaine things which are shortly to come to passe, to the effect in time the chosen may be forewarned by me; [2] Who haue borne witnes that the word of God is true, and that IESVS CHRIST is, and was a faithfull witnesse, and haue made true report of all I saw. [3] Happy are they that read and vnderstand this Prophesie, and conforme themselues thereunto in time, for in very short space it will be fulfilled: [4] I am directed to declare the same, specially to you the *seuen Churches of Asia*, with whom be grace and peace from the Eternall, the Father, and from the Holy Spirit: [5] And IESVS CHRIST, that faithfull witnesse, the first borne of the dead, the Mightie King of the world, and head of his Church; Who for the loue he bare vs, hath made vs innocent by his blood in the worke of Redemption: [6] To him then we, whom hee hath made Spiritual Kings and Priests, in Honour and Holinesse, and ordained to serue and praise his Father, giue all glory and power for euer: so be it. [7] Assure your selues of his comming againe *from Heauen* in all glory, and all eyes shall see him; Yea the wicked shalbe compelled to acknowledge that it is euen very he, whom so

Chriſt crucified.

1.Cor.2.

Iohn baniſhed to *Pathmos* for the trueth, writeth the Reuelation.

Verſ.10.

Pſal.51. Eſay.4. Matth.3. Ierem.1.15. Eſay 17.

Hebr.1.10. Verſ.10.

Epheſ.6. Eſay.60. Matth.7.

Pſal.63. Pſal. 139.

Chriſt is riſen from death to life. Timoth.1. Hebr.2.

ſo they did perſecute: And the whole world ſhall haue a feeling before him of their vnthankefulneſſe. So be it. [8] I am Eternall, ſaith the Lord, before whom,all things (which is or was) are preſent, and I am only the worker of all, I who euer Was, and ſtill am,ſhall ſurely come againe according to my promiſe: And as I am Eternall and true, ſo I am Almighty, preordinating all things before all beginnings. [9] I *Iohn*, your brother in the fleſh, and companion with you, aſwell in the ſeruice of *Chriſt*, as in the patient ſuffering of the Croſſe, being for that word of God and witneſſing of *Chriſt*, whereof I ſpake, ſo perſecuted, that for ſafety of my life I was conſtrained to flie all alone to the ſolitarie Ile of *Pathmos*. [10] Then was I bereft in ſpirit vpon the *Sunday*, which is hallowed to the Lord: Then heard I behind me, turne about and take heed, the mighty voyce of the Lord as a Trumpet, becauſe he was to declare the eſtate of the battell of the Church Militant vnto me; [11] Saying theſe wordes, *I am* A *and* Ω, to wit, *the firſt and the laſt*, write thou in a Booke what thou ſeeſt, and ſend it to the *Seuen Churches in Aſia*, the names of which are theſe, *Epheſus*, *Smyrna*, *Pergamos*, *Thyatyra*, *Sardis*, *Philadelphia*, and *Laodicea*: [12] And when I turned mee to ſee the voyce, I did ſee *ſeuen Candleſticks* repreſenting theſe ſeuen Churches: [13] And in the middeſt of them the figure of the *Sonne of man* repreſenting him clothed with a ſide garment for grauitie, and girded about the paps with a girdle of Gold for glory: [14] His head and haire were white as white Wooll, or Snow for innocencie; and his eyes were bright like flames of fire,to ſignifie his all-ſeeing knowledge: [15] His feet were of braſſe, brightly flaming as in a furnace, to declare his ſtanding in Eternity: And his voice like the ſounding of many waters, repreſenting his Maieſtie in commanding: [16] And hee had in his Right hand, the ſide that the Elect are on, *ſeuen Starres* for you the *ſeuen Angels*, that is, Paſtors of the *ſeuen Churches*: And from his mouth came a two-edged ſword, *to wit*, the Sword of the word,which comes onely from him; and his face was as the Sunne ſhining bright, for from his Face comes all light to illuminate blind Man. [17] And when I thus did ſee him,I fell dead at his feet for aſtoniſhment, but he lifted mee vp againe with his right and fauourable hand, and comfortably ſaid vnto mee, Feare not, be not aſtoniſhed, for *I am the firſt and the laſt*. [18] Who, as verily as now I liue, was once dead, as thou thy ſelfe beares witneſſe,and yet now doe liue for euer and euer,and by my death onely I haue ouercome Hell and Death; and I onely and no other, keepe the Keyes that haue the power of them both. [19] And now I came to charge thee to write theſe things which thou haſt now ſeene, becauſe they are afterwards to come to paſſe.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

ARGVMENT.

Admonition and exhortation to the Churches of Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamos and Thyatira.

WRite then this to the Angel, or Pastour of the Church of *Ephesus*: He that hath the *seuen Starres*, or seuen Pastours in his Right hand, or fauourable power, or protection, and who walkes among the *seuen Golden Candlesticks*, or watches ouer the seuen Churches, euen hee, I say, sayes thus vnto thee: [2] I know thy workes, thy trauaile and patience, & that thou suffrest not the wicked to walke with thee, but hast learned them out, that call themselues Apostles in the Church of *Ephesus*, and are not, and hast tried them to be lyers: [3] Thou art also loaded with a great burden, and yet willingly sustainest it, and for the loue of my Name hast thou trauailed much, and yet wearyest not: [4] But in this I must finde fault with thee, that thy former charitie is waxed cold: [5] Remember then from whence thou hast fallen, and repent, turning thy selfe to thy first workes, otherwise I wil turne against thee soone, and will remoue thy Candlesticke out of the place it is in, *to wit*, the light of the Gospel, from thy Church, if thou repent not in time: [6] But this againe, thou doest well to hate the deeds of the *Nicolaitans* which also I hate. [7] Let all who haue eares, or are willing to be followers of me, heare and take example by this which the Spirit of God sayes to the seuen Churches, or their *seuen Pastours* in the name of them: And to him who is Victor in the battell against Satan and the flesh, I shall giue to eate of the *Tree of Life*, which is in the middest of the Paradise of God, *to wit*, I shall make him liue eternally in Heauen. [8] To the Angel or Pastour of the Church of *Smyrna* write thou, This sayes the first and the last, who was dead but now liues: [9] I know thy workes, thy trouble and pouertie, but thou art rich, *to wit*, in graces; I know also what blasphemies are vsed against thee, by them who call themselues *Iewes*, but are not, but by the contrary are of the Synagogue of Satan. [10] Feare not when yee shall be troubled by the deuil, for he will persecute and trouble some of you in the flesh, that your constancie may be tried, and ye shall haue great affliction for the space of tenne dayes, *to wit*, for a certaine space, but be yee faithfull vnto the death, and for your continuance I shall giue you the Crowne of life immortall. [11] *Hee that hath an eare, let him heare what the Spirit saith to the Churches*; and he that ouercommeth shall not be hurt by the second death, which is Hell. [12] And to the Angel or Pastour of the Church of *Pergame*, write thou, Thus saith he that hath the two edged sword: [13] I know thy workes and where thou dwellest, euen where the throne of Satan is, *to wit*, among a great number of wicked; Yet hast thou not denied thy Faith in me, no not in straightest times, when *Antipas* my faithfull Martyr and witnesse,

Chap. 1. v. 10. Psal. 63.

Chap. 1.

False apostles in the Church of *Ephesus*.

Destruction to the Church of *Ephesus*, except they repent. Chap. 1. Ioh. 12. v. 35. Nicolates. Pouerbs. 15. Matth. 23. 1. Iohn 2. 1. Iohn 5. Prou. 3. 5. 18. 22.

Ephes. 1. 3.

The Church of *Smyrna* afflicted and troubled, yet doeth continew. Psal. 91.

Pergame the principall Citie in *Asralia*.

Antipas Martyr.

witneſſe, was ſlaine among you, where Satan, *to wit*, many wicked remaine: [14] Yet haue I ſome few things to lay to your charge, *to wit*, That yee permit them to remaine amongſt you, who retaine the doctrine of
1. Cor. 10.14. *Balaam*, who perſwade men to eate of things immolate to Idoles, and to commit fornication, and filthineſſe in the fleſh: For the very ſame did *Balaam* to Balac, to cauſe the Iſraelites ſtumble. [15] Thou offendeſt alſo in ſuffering ſome to be amongſt you, who retaine the doctrine of the *Nicolaitans* which I hate. [16] Repent therefore in time, otherwiſe I will come againſt thee ſoone, and I will fight and ouercome them who are amongſt you, with the ſword of my mouth, *to wit*, by the force of my word. [17] He that hath an eare, let him heare what the Spirit ſaith to the Churches: And to the Victour ſhall I giue to eate of that ſecret and hidden *Manna*, *to wit*, of Me the ſpirituall food of the faithfull, of whom that *Manna* which was hid in the Arke was a figure: And I will alſo giue him a *White ſtone*, or a Marke of his election and righteouſneſſe through imputation, and in it a New name written, *to wit*, his name ſhall be written vp in the *Booke of life*, which no man knoweth but he who receiues it; for no other may know the certaintie of ones Election, but onely he who is elected. [18] And to the Angel or Paſtour of the Church of *Thyatire*, write, This ſaith the Sonne of God, whoſe eyes are like flames of fire, and whoſe feet are like to gliſtering braſſe: [19] I know thy workes, thy charitie, thy almes, and carefull helping of the weake, thy faith, thy patience, and ſhortly all thy workes; but in ſpeciall I praiſe thy great conſtancie and firme continuance, euen ſo, as thy laſt workes are better then the firſt: [20] Yet ſome few things haue I to lay to thy charge, *to wit*, that thou ſuffereſt a woman, like to *Iezebel* in wickedneſſe and Idolatrie, who calls her ſelfe a Propheteſſe, to teach and ſeduce my ſeruants, to commit fornication and filthineſſe of the fleſh, and to eate of things immolate vnto Idols: [21] Yet gaue I her a time to repent from her filthineſſe, but ſhe would not. [22] Therefore loe I ſhall caſt her into a bed, *to wit*, I ſhall deſtroy her in the puddle of her ſinnes, and I ſhall trouble with great affliction all them who commit adulterie, *to wit*, ſpirituall adulterie with her, if they repent not of their euill workes in time. [23] And I will kill and deſtroy her ſonnes, *to wit*, all the followers of her doctrine, that all the Churches and faithfull may know me to be the ſearcher out of the ſecrets of all hearts, and the iuſt renderer and recompencer of euery man according to his workes. [24] But I ſay vnto the reſt of you who are at *Thyatire*, who haue not receiued that falſe doctrine, nor know not the depth nor ſecrets of Satan or wickedneſſe, whereof the other falſely did purge themſelues, I will not lay any other burthen vpon you, then that which already conſtantly yee beare: [25] But that which yee haue, holde it out valiantly vntill my comming againe. [26] For vnto him who is victour, and beares out to the end that burthen which I lay vpon him, I will giue power ouer Nations, *to wit*, hee ſhall triumph ouer the world: [27] And he ſhall rule them with an yron rod, and they ſhall be broken

ken like vessels of earth, according as I haue receiued the power from my Father: [28] And I shall giue vnto him the *Morning Starre*; for as the morning starre shines brighter then the rest, so shall he shine brighter in glory then his fellowes. [29] *He that hath an eare, let him heare what the Spirit sayth to the Churches.*

CHAP. III.

ARGVMENT.

Admonition and exhortation to the Churches of Sardis, Philadelphia, and Laodicea.

Sardis.

AND to the Angel or Pastour of the Church of *Sardis* write thou, Thus sayth he who hath the seuen Spirits of God, *to wit*, hee with whom the holy Spirit is vnseparably ioyned, and who hath the bestowing of all the graces of Gods Spirit on the Elect, and hath the *seuen Starres, to wit*, who is the head of you the seuen Pastours, *I know thy workes*, for ye say ye liue, and yet are dead, for your faith is fruitlesse. [2] Be watchfull then, and sleepe no longer in negligence and careless securitie, but strengthen againe that which is dying in you, *to wit*, reuiue your zeale and feruencie which is waxed cold, and almost quenched; for surely I haue not found your works so holy, and pure, as they are able to abide a triall before the face of God. [3] Remember then what thou hast once receiued & heard, that thou maist obserue the same and repent; but if thou watch not as I haue said, I will come as a thiefe, for the day of triall shall come when ye looke least for it, if ye be not alwayes, and at all times prepared: [4] Yet haue yee some few heads and notable persons in *Sardis*, who haue not defiled their garments, *to wit*, corrupted their workes as the rest haue done, and therefore they shall goe with me being made white, *to wit*, being made innocent by my merit, for they are worthy thereof: [5] And the Victour shall be clothed with a white garment of innocencie by imputation, neither shall I wipe his name out of the Booke of life, but shall auow him to be one of mine before my Father and his Angels. [6] *He that hath an eare, let him heare what the Spirit sayth to the Churches*: [7] But to the Angel or Pastour of the Church of *Philadelphia* write thou, This sayth hee who is onely holy and trew, and who hath the key of *Dauid*, who openeth and no man shutteth, who shuts and no man openeth, as sayes *Esay*; for as *Dauid* was both King and Prophet, and was the figure of me, so I, as the veritie and end of that figure, am onely he, who hath the keyes of absolute condemning, or absoluing specially and eternally. [8] I know thy workes, and loe, I haue set an open doore before thee, *to wit*, I haue made the way of grace patent vnto thee, which doore no man can shut, because I haue reserued the secret power of election and reprobation onely to my selfe; and this fauour will I shew you, because

Philadelphia.

Chap. 22.

cauſe yee retaine ſome good and vertuous things amongſt you, and haſt kept my Word, and haſt not beene aſhamed of my Name, nor denyed the ſame; [9] Loe therefore I will make ſubiect vnto thee, theſe who are the *Synagogue of Satan, to wit*, thoſe who call themſelues Iewes, and are not, but lye: I ſhall make them (I ſay) come and adore before your feete, and they ſhall be compelled to know that I haue loued thee: [10] And this ſhall I do vnto thee, becauſe thou haſt faithfully retained the tidings of my troubles and ſufferings, and therefore ſhal I deliuer thee alſo to trie the indwellers of the Earth. [11] Loe, I come ſhortly, therefore retaine ſurely to the end, that good which is in thee, leſt another doe receiue thy Crowne and reward: [12] For I will make the Victor a pillar in the Temple of my God, *to wit*, a ſpeciall and ſtedfaſt inſtrument in the Church, out of the which he ſhall neuer againe be caſt foorth: for hee who once is elected, is neuer caſt off; and I ſhall write on him, the Name of God, *to wit*, he ſhal beare the Marke and Seale of an Elect, and the name of the Citie of my God, which is new *Ieruſalem, to wit*, the holy and bleſſed number of Saints and Angels which commeth downe from heauen from my God, *to wit*, is ſhortly and certeinly to come downe, by the generall compeiring at the latter day: And I ſhall alſo write on him mine owne Name, for I ſhall apply my generall redemption of mankinde to him, in ſpeciall, and ſo I ſhall write my new Name vpon him, *to wit*, of Redeemer and Sauiour, which name I haue lately acquired through my paſſion, death, and riſing againe. [13] *Hee that hath an eare, let him heare what the Spirit ſayth vnto the Churches.* [14] And to the Angel or Paſtour of the Church of *Laodicea*, write thou, *Thus ſayth the Amen, to wit*, he that is wholly and perfect holy, and true in all his promiſes, that faithfull Witneſſe, who is the beginning of the workemanſhip of God, as well becauſe hee is that Word which did create all, and ſo is their beginning, for that they all receiued their beginning and being from him, as becauſe the vniting of the Manhood with the Godhead in his perſon is the moſt excellent, and ſo the beginning, that is, the chiefe, or firſt in preeminence of all the workes of God. [15] I know thy workes, ſayth hee, *to wit*, that thou art neither hote nor colde, would to God thou wert either hote or cold, *to wit*, either feruent and pure in the trueth, or altogether cold and ignorant, that is, ſeeing and confeſſing thine ignorance and ſlackneſſe, that thou mighteſt be inſtructed in the ſame: [16] But thou art lukewarme, and neither hote nor cold, and ſo inexcuſable; and therefore as lukewarme liquor prouokes vomit, ſo will I ſpew thee out of my mouth: [17] For thou ſayeſt and thinkeſt thy ſelfe to be wealthy, and greatly enriched, and lacke nothing; but thou knoweſt not thy ſelfe to be ſpiritually in miſerie and wretchedneſſe, poore, blinde, and naked of the grace and fauour of God: [18] I would wiſh thee to buy of me gold purged by the fire, that thou mayſt thereby be made truely rich; I meane, I would wiſh thee to conquer by true repentance and earneſt prayer, the Word and trueth of God; (which becauſe it can receiue no filth or ſpot, and is able to abide the triall, *Dauid*

Laodicea.

Iudgement againſt Laodicea.

properly

properly in his Psalmes compares to golde purged by the fire) which will make thee rich in all spirituall graces: I would also wish thee to clothe thy selfe with a white garment, *to wit*, with innocencie and righteousnes, that the shame of thy nakednesse and vncleannesse appeare not, and to anoint thine eyes with an eye-salue, that thou mayst cleerly see from whence thou hast fallen: [19] But despaire thou not for these my sharpe words, for those whom I loue, I reprooue and fatherly chasten: Take vp therefore againe zealously the right way to saluation, and repent thee earnestly of thy former iniquities. [20] Loe I stand at the doore, and knocke; for I offer my selfe vnto you by my Ambassadours, and my word in their mouth, whosoeuer heareth my voice and openeth the doore, *to wit*, whosoeuer heareth my voice, and yeeldeth thereunto due obedience, to him will I come in, *to wit*, my holy Spirit shall enter into him, and I will sup and be familiar with him, as he shall doe with me, and reuerence me with loue: [21] And I will make the Victour to sit with me in my Throne, *to wit*, he shalbe partaker of my Glory, euen as I sit with my Father in his Throne, and am in my manhood, in which I ouercame, exalted to sit in glory at his right hand, equall in power, eternitie and glory with him. [22] *Hee that hath an eare, let him heare what the Spirit sayth to the Churches.*

CHAP. IIII.

ARGVMENT.

The rauishing of the Writer: The description of the Maiestie of God in Heauen, compassed about with Angels and Saints, vnder the figure of Saints and Elders.

AND when this speech of IESVS was ended, I looked vp, and loe, I did see a doore opened in Heauen, to the effect that I might see and heare therein, the figuratiue representing of those things that were to come after: And that first voice which spake vnto me before, lowd as a trumpet, and was the voice of IESVS CHRIST, spake vnto mee, and said, *Mount vp thither, for I am to shew thee those things that are to be done hereafter.* [2] Then was I immediatly bereft in spirit; for the eyes of my earthly and grosse body, could not haue seene and comprehended those heauenly and spirituall mysteries: And loe, I did see a Throne set in heauen, and did see one sit thereon, *to wit*, GOD the Father in all Glory and Maiestie: [3] And he that sate thereon, was like in colour to the Iasper and Sardine stones; greene as the Iasper, to represent his euerlasting flourishing without decay; and fiery redde as the Sardine, to signifie his great brightnesse and consuming power, who is the trier and separater of the Elect from the reprobate: and the Rainebow, coloured like the Emerauld, did compasse him round about, to testifie thereby, that as after the deluge Ezech.1.

hee made the Rainebow a Sacrament of the promiſes made to Noah, ſo this Rainebow which now I did ſee compaſſing his Throne, ſhould ſerue for a ſure Sacrament, that hee will neuer ſuffer his Elect to periſh, but will alwayes, and at all times be compaſſed, with a great care and watchfulnes ouer them: Greene it was as the Emerauld, to ſignifie the continuance without ceaſing of his care; as the Emerauld comforteth the ſight, ſo is this Sacrament an vnſpeakeable comfort vnto the Elect in their troubleſome dayes. 4 And about his Throne were foure and twentie other ſeats, and I ſaw foure and twentie Elders or Eccleſiaſticall Rulers ſitting thereupon, clothed with *white garments*, and hauing *Crownes of Golde* vpon their heads: Theſe are the twelue Patriarkes, and then the twelue Apoſtles, [who for that they haue beene the ſpeciall teachers both of the olde and new Law, to the ſaluation, aſwell of Iewes as of Gentiles, are ſet in ſeates about his Throne for glory, and clothed with white garments for their innocencie and brightneſſe] and crowned with crownes of golde in token of their victory ouer Satan and the fleſh, and of their glorious reward therefore. 5 And from his Throne went foorth thunder, lightening, and terrible voices, to repreſent the great ſeueritie and terriblenes of his Iudgements, denounced by the olde Law, and executed on the wicked: And there were ſeuen lampes of burning fire before his Throne, which is the infinite, mightie, and flaming bright holy Spirit, reſembling the loue and light of the new Law of the Goſpel of Chriſt. 6 And there was a ſea of glaſſe like vnto Chriſtall before his Throne, for that as in a glaſſe he cleerely ſees euen all the ſecreteſt actions and cogitations of all in the world, deſcribed here by the Sea, which is euer before his face; for nothing can be hid from his preſence and preſcience: And though in luſtre and glaunce the world be like the liuely fountaines of waters, which are the faithfull, daily ſpringing and flowing with good workes by fruitfull faith, yet is it indeede without motion or liquor, dead and like glaſſe, whenſoeuer the Lord IEHOVAH doeth thunder his Iudgements vpon it: And in the middeſt of the Throne, and about the ſame, were foure beaſts; their foure hinder parts were in the midſt of it, their ſhoulders bearing it vp, and their head and wings without and about the ſame; and theſe beaſts were full of eyes behind and before: Theſe are the holy Cherubims, the higheſt degree of Angels, foure in number, as well becauſe of their foure qualities to execute his will, (as yee ſhall heare hereafter) as for that the Lord directs them when it pleaſeth him, to all the foure corners of the world, and are as it were his foure windes to blow, that is, to execute either fauour or Iuſtice, in whatſoeuer place he appointeth them; they are about his Throne, and as it were ſuſtaine the ſame; teſtifying thereby, that they are moſt excellent of all others, *& per* ἀϑεμπαϑείαν, the pillars or footſtooles of his glory: Their number of eyes before and behind, ſignifie their certaine knowledge of things paſt, as to come, committed to their charge, together with their continuall vigilancie to execute GODS commandements:

Ezech. 10.12.

7 And

7 And the first beast was like a Lion, the second like a Calfe, the third was faced like a man, and the fourth was like a flying Eagle; hereby representing their excellent qualities in the execution of the Lords decrees, *to wit*, great power, courage, patience, and strength to trauell, how oft and how much they should be commanded; great wisedome and a wonderfull swiftnesse in the execution thereof. 8 And euery one of these beasts had sixe wings in circuit, (These are the sixe wings *Esay* speaketh of:) two at their armes, to signifie their great celeritie in accomplishing Gods commandements; two to couer their faces with, to testifie that the glory of God is so bright, and his Maiestie so great, as the very Angels, his most excellent creatures, are not able to behold the same; and two at their feete, as well to wipe the filth of the earth off them, after they haue beene here below, (teaching vs thereby, that although they be oft in the world, by the direction of their Creatour, yet cannot the world infect them with her sinnefulnesse and corruptions) as also to let vs know, that they are so farre in glory aboue all men liuing in the earth, as it is impossible to vs with corporall eyes, to behold the least part of their glorious brightnesse without a vaile, euen as it is to them to behold the glory of the Almightie: And within they were all full of eyes, to represent their incessant looking on God, which commeth from that inward and inestimable loue they beare vnto him; which also they expressed in their continuall singing of these wordes, *Holy, Holy, Holy*, is that threefold *Lord God Almightie*, who euer was, now is, and shall come againe, repleniſhed with all fulnesse of glory and power: 9 And when these Beasts were giuing all glory, honour, and thankes to him that sate on the Throne, to him (I say) who liues eternally; 10 The foure and twentie Elders, as next in ranke, fell downe vpon their faces before him that sate on the Throne, and adored Him who liues for euer, and cast downe their Crownes of golde at his feete, in token that they receiued them onely of him, saying, 11 *Thou art onely worthy, O Lord, to be accounted glorious, honourable, and powerfull, for that thou hast created all things, and for thy will and pleasure haue they had their being, and were created.* This glance did I see of the glory that is in heauen, at the receiuing of my Commission, contained in the following Visions which I did see of the things present and to come, in the generall Church militant.

Esay 6.8.

CHAP. V.

ARGVMENT.

The deſcription of the Booke, wherein was conteined all the Miſteries which were reuealed to this Writer: Chriſts opening of them vnder the figure of a Lion, and of a Lambe: The praiſes giuen him by the Saints and Angels therefore, who offer without any Interceſſour, euery one his owne thankeſgiuing, and praiſes to the Mediatour.

Dan.12.4. Eſay 24 11. Ezek.2.10.

I Hen firſt I did ſee in the Right hand of him that ſate on the Throne, a Booke, the Booke wherein theſe myſteries are contained; and all the Booke was written vpon, aſwell on the backe as within; on the backe was written theſe Viſions that I did ſee, and am preſently to declare vnto you; within was written the plaine expoſition, and the very proper names of all things which theſe Viſions did repreſent, which are incloſed there, to ſignifie that the Lord hath not permitted me to manifeſt the ſame to the world, for the time thereof is not come yet; which Booke was ſealed with ſeuen Seales, aſwell to keepe euery part thereof vnreuealed to any, as alſo to giue the greater certaintie, that theſe things ſhall come to paſſe, which are propheſied therein. 2 And I ſaw a ſtrong Angel proclayming with a loud voice, Who is worthy to open this Booke, and to looſe the Seales thereof? 3 But there could none be found worthy to doe it, neither in heauen nor in earth, nor beneath the earth, no not to looke on it, much leſſe to open it: for neither Angel nor deuil either knows or dare meddle with the high myſteries of God, and things future, except ſo farre as pleaſeth him to commit and reueale vnto them: 4 Then wept I very ſore that none could be found worthy to open and read that Booke, no not to looke vpon the ſame: for I was very ſorrowfull that I could not haue it reuealed vnto me: 5 At laſt one of the Elders ſaid vnto mee, Weepe not, Loe the Lion of the Tribe of *Iuda* hath preuailed, *to wit*, he who is come of *Iuda*, and hath admirable force in his fleſh, deriued from the Tribe of *Iuda*, by which he ouercame Sinne, Death, and Hell, and is the roote of *Dauid*, (for *Dauid* was his figure and fore-beer in the fleſh) is worthy and onely worthy to open the Booke, and looſe the Seales thereof. 6 And then I tooke heed, and behold, I did ſee in the middeſt of the Throne, and the foure beaſts, a ſecond perſon of the Trinitie ſitting with God, and in the middeſt of the Elders, as a man and our brother, a Lambe ſtanding like as hee had bene ſlaine, to ſignifie that once indeed hee was ſlaine, but had riſen againe, and had ſeuen Hornes and ſeuen Eyes, repreſenting the innumerable times, mighty and holy Spirit of God, which after his Reſurrection he ſent out through the whole earth to direct, inſtruct, and rule the ſame by his prouidence and power: 7 This Lambe then came and tooke the Booke out of the Right hand of him that did ſit on the Throne: 8 And ſo ſoone as he had taken the Booke in his hand, theſe foure beaſts, and theſe foure and twentie

twentie Elders fell vpon their faces before the Lambe, and adored him, and euery one of them had in his hand Harpes, and golden Phials, full of sweet odours; these are the prayers of the Saints, which the foure beasts, comprehending all the degrees of Angels, and the foure and twentie Elders comprehending the whole Church, as well Militant as Triumphant, perceiuing that CHRIST is to reueale all the tentations which are to fall vpon the earth and Church, before the latter dayes; doe powre forth, aswel on the Church triumphants part, thankesgiuing, that by the reuealing or opening of the Booke, he armeth the Militant Church to resist all the tentations contained therein, as also on the Church Militants part, to pray him to hasten the end and dissolution, for the hastening whereof all creatures sigh and grone to their Creator. Euery one of these beasts and Elders, presents their owne praiers vnto him who sits on the Throne, to teach vs, as he is Mediatour, and therefore our prayers must be offered vnto him onely, that so there is no Intercessour betweene him and vs, but euery one of vs must present our owne prayers before him, after the example of the beasts and Elders: These prayers were inclosed in harpes, to signifie the sweet and pleasing sound, that faithfull prayers make in the eares of God; they were inclosed in golden Phials, to teach vs that acceptable prayers must come from an vndefiled heart, and pure as gold; and they themselues are called *incense*, because their smell is pleasant and sweet like *incense* in the nostrils of God. This did the incense at the sacrifice in the old Law signifie and figurate; and of this *incense* speakes *Dauid* in his Psalmes. [9] And they, *to wit*, the foure and twenty Elders did sing a new Canticle, for the matter of their Canticle, *to wit*, the accomplishment of the Mysterie of redemption is new, and euer ought to be new and fresh in the hearts of all them that would be accompted thankefull: Their song then was this; Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receiue the Booke, and open the Seales thereof, for thou hast bene slaine, though innocent; and by thy precious Blood hast redeemed vs to God thy Father, and hast chosen vs out of all Tribes, tongues, people and nations, aswell *Iewes* as *Gentiles*: [10] And thou hast made vs Kings and Priests spiritually to our God: And we shall reigne ouer the earth at the last and generall Iudgement, and as Kings, shall be participant of the glory of the holy and new Citie *Ierusalem*. [11] Then I beheld and heard round about the Throne, the beasts, and the Elders, the voyces of many Angels, to the number of many thousand thousands, *to wit*, innumerable Legions of them, [12] Who said all with a loud voice, The *Lambe* who was slaine, is worthy to haue all power, riches, wisedome strength, honour, glory and blessing for euer. [13] I also heard all creatures in Heauen, in earth, and beneath the earth, and in the seas, euen all that are in them, I heard saying in one voyce vnto him that sits vpon the Throne, and vnto the *Lambe* be *Blessing*, *Glory*, *Honour* and *Power* for euer, and euer. And the foure beastes said, Amen, and the foure and twenty Elders fell on their faces, and adored him that liues for euer, and euer.

Exod.30.7.

Psal.141.2.

Psal.144.

Dan.7.10.

CHAP. VI.

ARGVMENT.

The opening of the firſt ſixe Seales: The ſpreading of the Euangel, ſignified by the white horſe, in the firſt ſeale: The great Perſecution by the red horſe, in the ſecond: The number of diuers hereſies by the blacke, in the third: The Popedome and Tyrannie thereof by the pale, in the fourth: The complaint of the Saints, and their deliuerance promiſed: Their bleſſed eſtate in the meane time, in the fift: The day of Iudgement, and the terribleneſſe thereof, in the ſixt.

AFter this I looked to ſee when the *Lambe* opened the *firſt Seale*, and loe, I heard one of the foure beaſts, for they were appointed to aſſiſt me in the time of theſe Viſions, as the moſt excellent creatures of God; and his voice was like a thunder, making me awake, with terrour to take heede to theſe great and terrible Propheſies, which God was to declare vnto me, and hee ſaid, *Come and ſee.* 2 Then I looked and did ſee a white horſe, and he that ſate on him had a bow in his hand, and a Crowne giuen vnto him, and hee came foorth a Victour to winne and ouercome: This man comming on the white horſe, was the comming and incarnation of our Bright and Innocent Sauiour, armed with a bow; for euer ſince his comming till now, and a ſpace hereafter, the dart and arrow of God, *to wit*, the holy Spirit by the preaching of the Goſpel doeth ſubdue, and bring the world vnder his ſubiection, and taketh vengeance of his enemies: His crowne is giuen to him by his Father, in token of his victory ouer the ſecond death, and as King of the Catholike Church to crowne the faithfull, and ſo he commeth foorth a Victour ouer Satan, and to ouercome by once, conuerting a great part of the world to the trew knowledge of God: This myſterie is already begunne, but is not yet accompliſhed. 3 And when he opened the ſecond Seale, 4 Loe, there came forth a red horſe, and there was power giuen to him that ſate on him, to take away peace from the earth, that euery one might ſlay one another; and there was giuen him for that purpoſe a great ſword; for with the ſpreading of the Euangel and rooting of the trueth in the hearts of the nations, ſhall a bloody perſecution of Tyrants by the ciuil ſword, be ioyned; which is meant by the rider on the red horſe: but notwithſtanding the Euangel ſhall ſpread and flouriſh, for ſuch is the power of God, reſiſting the pride of man, that vnder the Croſſe, the puritie of the trueth moſt flouriſheth in the Church. 5 And when he opened the third Seale, the third Beaſt ſaid vnto me, *Come and ſee:* and loe, I did ſee a blacke horſe, and hee that ſate vpon him had balances in his hand: 6 And I heard a voice from among the foure Beaſts, ſaying, *A meaſure of Wheat for one peny, and three meaſures of Barley for one peny, but wine and oyle harme thou not:* for after that this firſt myſterie ſhall be accompliſhed, not onely dearth and famine ſhall enſue the contempt of the trueth,

Zach. 1. 8. Zach. 6. 2, 3.

Conuerſion of the Gentiles.

Perſecution of the body by the Ciuill ſword, in the ſecond Seale. Continuation of trew paſtors after the Martyres.

trueth, but God shall permit Satan to tempt and vexe his Church with a cloud of diuers and dangerous heresies, which may be meant by the rider on the blacke horse, for the blackenesse and darkenesse of them, shall obscure the light of the Gospel; but yet God, to assure vs that hee will neuer forget his owne, speakes from his Throne, comforting vs thereby, that although (as the balances and measure signifies) good men shall be scant, who are the fine wheat and barley of his harueſt, yet some shall there be that shall not bow their knee to *Baal*, no not in straighter times that shall come after; and alwayes giues vs assurance, that the word and trueth of God, which is an eternall Oyle, and comfortable Vine, shall neuer be destroyed, nor any wayes corrupted, in spight of all the malice of Satan in his instruments. 7 And when hee opened the fourth Seale, the fourth Beast said vnto me, *Come and see.* 8 Then I beheld, and loe, I did see a pale horse, and the name of him that sate vpon him was Death: This is the greatest and heauiest plague; for after that the persecutions and heresies shall take an ende, and that infirmitie and coldnesse haue cropen into the Church, then shall God redouble his former plagues, by permitting Satan to erect a tyrannie composed of both these former plagues; for it shall be full of heresie like the one, and full of ciuill and temporall tyrannie like the other: and therefore becauſe it brings with it al maner of death, both of body and soule, the rider is iustly called Death, as the fountaine of all the sorts of the same: and the paleneſſe of the horse is correspondent in all points to the qualitie of the rider; for as the rider is called Death, so the colour of paleneſſe represents the same: and as the riders qualities are composed of heresies and tyrannie, so the colour of pale is composed chiefly of blacke and red: And hell followed after him to the vtter damnation of him and his followers: And power was giuen him ouer the fourth part of the earth, *to wit*, the rest who are not ouercome by the other three riders; for all they who were not marked by the white horse, nor killed in body by the red, nor killed in soule by the blacke, are killed both in body and soule by this last: And as he hath power of destroying thus, giuen him ouer the fourth part of the earth, so by foure plagues specially doeth he execute the same, *to wit*, by Sword, Hunger, Death, and the Beasts of the earth: These plagues allude to the plagues, mentioned in the Canticle of *Moses*; for this tyrannie shall begin with persecution, this persecution shall cause a hunger, and great scarcitie of the true worship of God, this hunger shall breed a second and eternall death, and this tyranny shall then end with a crueller and bloodier persecution of the bodies then euer was before; which shall be so barbarous, that it is compared in this Vision to the execution, vsed by wilde beasts vpon offenders, and shall spare no degree, sexe nor aage, no more then beasts doe. 9 But when he opened the fift Seale, I did see vnder the Altar, the soules of them that were slaine for the word of God, and for his Testimonie which they maintained: 10 And they cryed with a lowd voice, saying, *How long wilt thou delay* (O Lord) since thou art holy and

Heresies ment in the third Seale.

Luke 3.

The Popedom is meant by the pale horse in the fourth Seale, of heresie and ciuil tyranny.

Scarcitie of trew Pastors and worshipping.

The cruelty of the Popes tyranny.

and trew, to reuenge & iudge our blood vpon them that dwel on the earth; for this laſt perſecution did enter ſo fiercely into the world, and did make ſo great a number of Martyrs, that their ſoules lying vnder the Altar, *to wit*, in the ſafegard of IESVS CHRIST (who is the only Altar, whereupon, and by whom it is onely lawfull to vs, to offer the ſacrifice of our hearts and lips, *to wit*, our humble prayers to God the Father) did pray, and their blood did cry to heauen, and craue at the hands of their Father a iuſt reuenge of their torments vpon the wicked, and therewith a haſtening of the generall diſſolution, for the deliuerie of their brethren who did remaine yet aliue. [11] Then white robes were giuen to euery one of them, and it was ſaid vnto them, and they were willed to reſt and haue patience for a ſhort ſpace, vnto the time the number of their fellow ſeruants to God, and brethren companions in the Croſſe, were fulfilled, who were alſo to be ſlaine as they were already: This ſurely ought to be a wonderfull and ineſtimable comfort to all the Church militant, ſince by this Seale wee are aſſured, that both the ſoules of the Martyrs, ſo ſoone as their bodies are killed, ſhall immediatly be rewarded with perpetuall and bright glory in heauen, not going into any other place by the way, which is ſignified by the *White robes*; as alſo that ſo ſoone as their number ſhall be complete, which ſhall be within a ſhort ſpace, God ſhall then craue a full account at their perſecutors hands; and then as the one number ſhall receiue a full and eternall glory in body and ſoule, the other ſhall receiue a full torment in ſoule and body, to the cleere ſhining of his Iuſtice in the one, and his mercy in the other. [12] Then I tooke heed when he opened the ſixt, and loe, there was a great earthquake, and the Sunne-beame blacke like ſackecloth made of haire, and the Moone became all bloody: [13] And the Starres fell from the heauens vpon the earth, euen as the figgetree lets her vnripe figges fall, being beaten by a mightie winde: [14] And the heauen went away like a ſcrole that is rolled together, and all the hilles and Iles were remooued from their places: [15] And the Kings of the Earth, the Nobles, the rich men, the Tribunes or commanders of the people, the mighty men, and all the ſlaues, aſwell as free-men, did hide themſelues in cauerns and vnder rockes of hills: [16] And they ſaid to the hilles and the rocks, Fall vpon vs, and hide vs from the ſight of him that ſits vpon the Throne, and from the wrath of the *Lambe*: [17] For that great day of his wrath is come, and who then may ſtand? This is the accompliſhment of that diſſolution, craued and promiſed in the fift Seale. Theſe terrible things, mentioned in the ſixt Seale, are the alterations and ſignes in the laſt time: the very ſame did our Maſter Chriſt propheſie, when he was walking on this Earth.

Hoſe. 14.3.
Hebr. 13.15.

Matth. 24.29.

Luke 23.30.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

ARGVMENT.

A proper and comfortable digreſsion, interiected of Gods care ouer the Elect, in the times of greateſt temptations, ſignified by the Viſions of the foure Angels, the Election and happie eſtate of the elected.

BVt leſt I, or any other, ſhould doubt of the ſafegard and ſaluation of the Elect, thinking that theſe terrible plagues ſhould haue lighted vpon both good and bad indifferently, he repreſented vnto my ſight foure Angels, ſtanding on the foure corners of the earth, and retayning the foure winds in their hands, and ſtopping them, either to blow vpon the earth, the ſea, or any tree: 2 And I did ſee one Angel going vp from the riſing of the Sunne, hauing the Seale of the liuing God, and hee cried with a loud voice to the foure Angels that had power giuen them to harme the earth, and the ſea, 3 Saying; Harme not the earth nor the ſea, nor the trees, vntill we haue marked the ſeruants of God on the forehead; Theſe Angels, foure in number, becauſe they ſit vpon the foure corners of the earth, ready to execute Gods iudgements vpon euery part of the World, although they already had ſtayed the winds to blow, *to wit*, the progreſſe of the Euangel vpon the earth, which is the world, vpon the Sea, which is the numbers of people, vpon the Trees, which are the Magiſtrates, Ciuill or Eccleſiaſticall; Yet one Angel came from the riſing of the Sunne, *to wit*, directed by CHRIST, who is comfortable like the *Sunne-riſing* to his Elect, and is that *Orient day-ſpring*, and Sunne of Righteouſnes, riſing ouer all the faithfull, which is mentioned in the Scriptures; Who cries and forbids theſe foure Angels to doe any further temporall harme, while firſt the choſen be ſealed on the forehead, by that Seale which he beares with him for that effect, that theſe Angels might know them, being marked in ſo eminent a place, in the generall deſtruction, and ſo ſpare them, aſſuring vs thereby, that he hath ſuch a care ouer his Elect, as he hath prouided for them before hand, euen as he did for *Noah* and *Loth*, and their families, in the time of the deluge and deſtruction of *Sodome*. 4 And I heard the number of them that were ſealed in *Iſrael*, reckoned to be *one hundred fourtie and foure Thouſand*; for twelue thouſand were ſealed of euery one of the Tribes, which makes iuſtly that number. Out of euery one of the Tribes was a certaine number choſen, to aſſure vs, that a number of euery one of them ſhalbe ſaued: 9 And that I might be aſſured that a number, aſwell of the *Gentiles*, as of the *Iewes*, ſhalbe ſaued, Loe, he ſhewed me a number ſo great, as I could not reckon the ſame, and it was compoſed of certaine out of euery Nation, Tribe, people and tongue: And they ſtood before the Throne, and in preſence of the *Lambe*, clothed with white robes, hauing palmes in their

2. Peter 1. Luke 1.7. Malach. 4.

their hands, in token of the victorie they obteined of their longſome battaile. [10] And they cried all with one voice, ſaying, Our health and our ſaluation commeth from our God that ſits on the Throne, and from his Lambe, *to wit*, their health came from God the Father, by the Mediation of his Sonne. [11] Then all the Angels ſtood round about the Throne, the Elders, and the foure beaſtes, and bowed themſelues downe vpon their faces, and adored God with thankeſgiuing, for his mercy to the choſen, both of Iew and Gentile, and his Iuſtice vpon all the reſt, [12] Saying, *Amen*, in allowance of the things done, with full confeſſion, that *Bleſsing, Glory, Wiſedome, Thankeſgiuing, Honour, Vertue, and Power*, belongs only and moſt iuſtly to GOD, for euer and euer. [13] Then one of the Elders ſpake vnto me, and ſaid, What are theſe, and from whence are they come, who are clothed with white robes? [14] And I anſwered and ſaid, Thou knoweſt, my Lord. Then he ſaid vnto me, Theſe are they who are preſerued, and come from that great affliction, which was repreſented to thee in ſome of the Seales, and they haue waſhed their garments, and made them white in the blood of the *Lambe*: for they, by vertue of his death, are made righteous by imputation, whoſe blood is the onely and full purgation of vs, from our ſinnes: [15] And therefore they are before the Throne of GOD, and ſerue him day and night in his Temple, *to wit*, they, without any intermiſſion, contemplate his Glory, and euer ſerue him by continuall thankeſgiuing, and praiſing his Name in Heauen, which is his eternall and celeſtiall Temple: and hee that ſits on the Throne ſhall dwell with them; for they ſhall neuer be ſeparated from his preſence. [16] And they ſhall be no more an hungry, or thirſtie, nor the Sunne, or any heate ſhall trouble them: [17] For the *Lambe* who is in the middeſt of the Throne, *to wit*, coequall in power with his Father, he ſhall feed them and guide them to the liuely fountaines of waters, *to wit*, they ſhall feed of that Spirituall and liuely bread, and drinke of that Spirituall and liuely water, euen himſelfe; which Water he promiſed to the *Samaritane* woman, at the well: And GOD ſhall wipe all *teares* from their *eyes*; for he ſhall both by the greatneſſe of their preſent ioyes, put quite out of their memories, all the ſorrow of their former troubles; and ſhall alſo giue them eternall ioy, which ſhall neuer be mixed with any kind of trouble or feare: ſo ſhall they not be moleſted with the vehemencie of the Sunne, or any other heate, which ſignifies great troubles, and ſorrow.

Iohn 4.14.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

ARGVMENT.

The opening of the seuenth Seale: The seuen Trumpets comming out of it: The effect of the prayers of the faithfull, signified by the vision of the fire of the Altar: Some persecution, and some heresies, signified by haile mixt with blood and fire, in the first trumpet: The great persecution by the hill of fire, in the second: The number of heresies, by the starres, falling into the fountaines of water, in the third: The vniuersall infirmitie in the Church, in some things by the Sunne, Moone, and starres darkened, in the fourth.

AND when hee opened the seuenth Seale, there was silence in heauen almost halfe an houre, aswell to let mee know that hee had once already summarily declared the whole things which was to come after, as by silence a while to giue me occasion to meditate vpon that vision which I had seene, to the effect that afterward I might the better vnderstand the more particular rehearsall thereof, which now vnder another vision and forme, was to be declared vnto me by the opening of the seuenth Seale. 2 And I saw seuen Angels standing before God, to execute whatsoeuer thing it should please him to command them; and by his direction there were seuen Trumpets giuen vnto them, that by these Trumpets they might with one Maiestie denounce to the world such plagues, as they were by the command of God to powre foorth vpon it. 3 Then another Angel came and stood before the Altar, hauing a golden censer in his hand, and there was much incense giuen vnto him, that he might offer vp the prayers of the Saints vpon the golden Altar, that is before the Throne: 4 And the smoke of the incense, which is the prayers of the Saints, mounted vp from the hand of the Angel to the sight of God: 5 Then the Angel tooke this new emptied censer, and filled it againe with the fire of the Altar, and did cast it downe on the earth, and there were thundrings, voices, lightenings and earthquakes: By this Angel and his proceedings, we are assured and made certaine, that Christ shall euer be vigilant ouer his owne, and that specially in straightest times hee will heare their prayers, and euer renew them with some light of the Gospel, by the working of his holy Spirit: And to assure vs hereof, the vision of this Angel was showne vnto me immediatly before, that by the seuen Trumpets he is to dilate these visions, shewen me in the former Seales: This Angel was Christ, he stood before the Altar: this Altar is likewise himselfe, as I declared before: his standing before it, meaneth, that by his office of Mediatour, hee was to doe as followes: He had a golden censer in his hand, for he keeps the censer wherein are contained the incense which the Saints giue him, *to wit*, their prayers, to be offered vp to God by his mediation, who is that golden and pure Altar, which is euer in the presence of God, and whose requests are no

time

time refuſed, and therefore that incenſe and the ſmoke thereof, mounts vp to the ſight of God, to aſſure vs that our prayers, being offered in that forme, are euer acceptable: The effect whereof doeth appeare, by the Angels filling againe the cenſer with the fire of the Altar, and caſting it on the earth; wherewith is ioyned the noiſe ye heard of; for theſe prayers procure, that their Mediatour ſhall out of his golden boxe, *to wit*, out of his treaſure of power, ſend downe the fire of the Altar, *to wit*, the holy Spirit which remaineth with him, to make thunders, voices, lightnings and earthquakes, *to wit*, to giue againe the Law, by renewing the efficacie of the Gospel, in the hearts of the faithfull, alluding to the giuing of the olde Law, whereof theſe fearefull noiſes were the fore-runners: This ſurely is the care and effect that our Maſter in all troubleſome times renewes to ſtrengthen our weakeneſſe with. [6] And then the ſeuen Angels which had the ſeuen trumpets prepared themſelues to blow; for although they were before directed, yet were they not permitted to execute their office, no more then the foure Angels, who ſtayed the foure windes while Chriſt had ſtrengthened and armed his owne, as is ſaid, to aſſure vs, that euer before any great temptation, hee will make the backes of the elect ready, and able to
1.Cor.10.13. beare ſuch burthens as hee is to lay vpon them. [7] Then the firſt Angel blew, and there was a great haile, and fire mixed with blood, and this ſtorme was caſt downe vpon the earth; whereupon followed, that the third part of the trees was withered and burnt vp, and all greene graſſe was withered and burnt vp, for the firſt plague which hath already begun to worke, ſhall be mixed partly of haile, which is hereſie, for as haile ſhowers by the harme they doe to the corne, makes them to become deare, ſo hereſie makes the true harueſt of the Lord to become ſcant: This haile or hereſie, and ſpirituall perſecution, is ioyned with the ſword and perſecution of the fleſh, which is ſignified by the fire, and the blood: This fiery and two edged triall ſhall make the third part, *to wit*, a part, but not the greateſt number of trees, *to wit*, of renowmed men; and all greene graſſe, *to wit*, all
Marke 4.verſ. 5,6,7. them that are not wel founded and ſtrong in the trewth, (this greene graſſe is that ſort of profeſſours, of whom Chriſt ſpake in the parable of the ſeed ſowen in ſandie, and thornie ground;) it ſhall make them (I ſay) to fall from the trewth, and ſo become withered and vnprofitable. [8] Then the ſecond Angel blew, and there fell as it had beene a great hill, all burning in fire; and this hill was caſt into the ſea, and the third part of the ſea became blood: [9] And the third part of the liuing creatures in the ſea was ſlaine, and the third part of the ſhips therein did periſh; for after that this former plague ſhall haue an end, and yet the world not turne themſelues from their iniquities, then the ſecond ſhall follow, which is the corporall plague of perſecution, ſignified by the red horſe in the ſecond Seale, more amply dilated heere: This great heape of fiery perſecution, like a mountaine of fire, ſhall make the third part, or a certaine number of people and nations, which is ſignified by the ſeas or many waters, to ouerflow in blood;

blood; for as it is said of the same in the second Seale, they shall slay one another, for euen among themselues, *to wit*, among the wicked shalbe great bloodshed and warres; for the third, or a certaine number of all sorts of liuing things shall die, *to wit*, no sort of men shall be exempted from this trouble: But especially a number, and not the greatest part of the faithfull shalbe persecuted, which is signified by the ships; for euen as ships on a stormie Sea seeke a hauen, so the faithfull among the wicked of the world, tossed here and there resisting euery waue, striue in despight of many contrarious windes, to attaine to that hauen, where at last casting their Anchor, they are freed from all worldly tempests, and dwell there eternally in a perpetuall calmenesse. 10 Then the third Angel blew, and there fell from heauen a great Starre burning like a torch, and it fell vpon the third part of riuers and fountaines of waters, and the name of the starre was *Wormewood*: and the third part of the riuers and fountaines were turned into *wormewood*, and many men died, for the bitternesse of the waters: This is that same plague which is signified by the *blacke horse* and his rider, *to wit*, a cloud of defections, and Apostatical heresies, here signified by a great starre burning like a torch: for it shall haue a great light, but like the light of a torch; for as the torch and candle-light is false to the eye and makes the colours to appeare otherwise then they are, and is made dimme by the brightnes of the Sunne, so shall this light of false doctrine maske iniquitie for a space, and make it seeme to be the trueth, vnto the time the trew light of God obfuscat and blinde it: These heresies shall be stronger in deceit, then those before: for they shall seduce the very pastours and spirituall Magistrates, which is signified by the Starres falling in a part of the fountaines of waters: for these men are the worldly fountaines, whereout the rest of the faithfull, by the buckets of their eares, draw that spring of heauenly liquor. 11 This starre is called *Wormewood*, for as wormewood is a bitter hearbe, what greater bitternesse can be to the soule of man, then to procure the wrath of the Almightie, through such an horrible fall? and as it turned a part of the pastours, and made them to become of bitter qualitie like it selfe, so their bitternesse did slay with the second death, a great number of men; *to wit*, their disciples and followers. 12 Then the fourth Angel blew, and the third part of the Sunne, the third part of the Moone, and third part of the Starres was stricken, so that the third part of them, *to wit*, of their light was obscured, and the third part of the day, and the third part of the night was obscured, *to wit*, the third part of their light was darkened: For after that one part of the pastours shall make horrible defection, it shall fall out that the whole Church visible, shalbe blinded with some errours, but not yet make a full defection, which is signified by the obscuring of a part of the light of the Sunne, Moone, and starres, *to wit*, of all degrees of spirituall Magistrates; so that by their generall weakenesse in some points, a part of the meaning of the Gospel shal be falsly interpreted, which is meant by the light of the *day*, and of the

night: for as the cloud by day, and the pillar of fire by night did guide the people of *Iſrael* through the deſart, to the land of *Promiſe*, ſo will this light ſhining, both day and night in our ſoules, conduct vs out through the wilderneſſe of this world, to that ſpirituall land of *promiſe*, where we with our God ſhall glorioufly reigne in all Eternitie: This fourth blaſt is alſo a part of the third Seale. 13 And I ſaw and heard an other Angel flying through the middeſt of heauen, and ſaying with a lowd voice, *Woe, woe, woe* to the inhabitants of the earth, for the harme that ſhalbe done vnto them by the laſt three blaſts of the Angels Trumpets: for the laſt three plagues ſhall be exceeding great, which, that I might the better note and take greater heed vnto, God wakens me vp and makes me ſee an Angel flying through the middeſt of heauen with celeritie, aſwell to forewarne the holy Angels and Saints of theſe three plagues, ſo farre in greatneſſe aboue the reſt, as to ſignifie by his ſwift flying, that they are haſtily and within ſhort ſpace to be put in execution: And the number of Woes, *to wit*, which he cries, are anſwerable to the number of plagues which are hereafter to be declared.

CHAP. IX.

ARGVMENT.

In the fift Trumpet, the hereſies cauſe a great blindneſſe and ignorance, whereof commeth the Eccleſiaſticall Papiſticall orders, ſignified by the graſhoppers breeding out of the ſmoake, and their power and qualities: Their King and head the Pope, and his ſtyle: In the next Trumpet the beginning of his decay, ſignified by the looſing of the foure Angels at Euphrates: The remedy he vſeth for the ſame by hounding out the Ieſuits, *ſignified by the horſe in the Viſion: Their qualities ſignified by their breaſt-plates: The Popes and Turkes his gathering to deſtroy the Church, ſignified by a great armie of horſe: The Pope is the plague for breaking of the firſt Table: and the Turke for breaking of the ſecond.*

THen the fift Angel blew, and I ſaw the ſtarre that fell out of heauen vpon earth (for it is to be noted, that all theſe plagues did fall out of heauen vpon the earth, to teach vs, *Quòd nullum malum eſt in ciuitate, quod non faciat Dominus*, by his Iuſtice permitting, directing, ordering, and reſtraying it) I did ſee it get the key of the bottomleſſe pit which was giuen vnto it; for this cloud of hereſies ſpoken of in the third Trumpet and third Seale, by proceſſe of time did breed this baſtard tyrannie, whereof I ſpoke in the fourth Seale, and ſo it brought from hell by the opening of the bottomleſſe pit, whereof it gate the keyes, *to wit*, by the aſſiſtance, and deuice of Satan, it bred ſuch plagues as follow. 2 Firſt, by opening of the pit, came foorth a great ſmoke like the ſmoke of a furnace, *to wit*, it did breed ſuch a darkeneſſe and ignorance in the minds of men, as the Sunne and the Aire were obſcured, (*to wit*, the light of the trweth repreſented

Amos 3.6. Eſay 45.7.

presented by the darkening of the Sunne) and so in place of liuing vnder, and by the true and cleare aire of the trueth, the world shall liue vnder, and by the bastard and darke aire of false doctrine. 3 And out of this smoake came Grashoppers vpon the earth: For this great blindnesse shall breed a multitude of diuers Orders of Ecclesiasticall persons, as well Monkes and Friers, as others, but all agreeing in one hereticall Religion: These are grashoppers, because they breed of that filthy smoke of heresies, euen as Grashoppers breed of corrupted aire; they are euer teaching false doctrine with their mouth, which carries with it as great destruction to the soules of men, as the mouthes of Grashoppers doe to the greene grasse and herbs, and the earth shalbe ouerloaden with multitudes of them, euen as Grashoppers sometimes come in great heapes, and ouercharge the face of a whole countrey: And like power was giuen to them, as hath the earthly Scorpions: for as the Scorpions sting is not felt sore at first, and is long in working, and impossible to be healed, but by the oyle of a dead scorpion, so the poysoning of the soule cannot be perceiued by the receiuer at the first, but is long in operation, for by peece and peece they infect the world with heresies, and open not all their packe at first, and the world shall neuer be freed from their heresies, vnto the vtter destruction of these false teachers themselues: 4 And it was said vnto them, or they were forbidden to harme the grasse, or any greene thing, or any tree, but onely these men that haue not the *marke of God* in their foreheads: for though earthly Grashoppers when they swarme in heapes, doe destroy all greene grasse or trees, yet God shall so bridle the rage of these spirituall Grashoppers, that they shall haue no power to peruert the Elect of whatsoeuer degree, or sort, compared to greene grasse and fruitful trees; but their power shall extend onely vpon them that beare not the marke or Seale of God vpon their forehead, and as withered and vnfruitfull sticks are ready for the fire: 5 But they shall haue no power to slay them, *to wit*, they shall not discouer to the world their greatest blasphemies at the first, as I said before, but they shall torment them for the space of fiue moneths, and their torment shalbe like the torment that a man suffers, being stinged by a scorpion, *to wit*, they shal by peece & peece infect them with spirituall poison; and as I haue said already, they shall not feele the smart thereof, while the second death make them to feele the same: This torment shall endure fiue moneths, that is the time limitted them by God, which alludes to the fiue moneths in Summer when Grashoppers are; This forme of speech doeth declare the continuing of the Metaphore. 6 And in these daies men shal seeke death, and shall not finde the same, and men shall desire to die, but death shall flie from them, for then beginnes the troublesome times of the later dayes, the miserie whereof I heard our Master, while he was yet on the earth, declare in these words that I haue now repeated. 7 And the figure of these locusts, was like vnto the horse prepared for the war, to signifie that their forme of practise & policie, shalbe so worldly wise, that they shal lacke no-

thing perteyning to the ſetting forth of their intents, more then a horſe of ſeruice which is curiouſly barded, feated and prepared, for going forth to the battell. And they had crownes like crownes of gold vpon their heads; for they ſhall pretend to be holy like the Elders, who for their reward gate Crownes of pure gold ſet vpon their heads, as you heard before, and ſo ſhall outwardly glance in an hypocriticall holineſſe; And their faces were like the faces of men, and the faces of men ſignifie reaſon, as man is a reaſonable creature: the likeneſſe then of their faces vnto men, ſignifies that they ſhall, by curious arguments, pretend reaſon to maintaine their falſe doctrine, but it ſhall be but a counterfait reſembling of reaſon indeed, euen as their crownes are like vnto gold, but are not gold indeed. [8] And they haue haire like the haire of women: for as the haire of women is a ſpeciall part of their alluring beautie, ſo they haue ſuch alluring hereſies whereby they make the way of heauen ſo eaſie by their helpe to whomſoeuer, how wicked ſoeuer they be, that will vſe the ſame, as they allure them to commit ſpirituall adulterie with them. And they haue teeth like Lions teeth: for as the Lion is ſtronger in the mouth, and ſo may doe greater harme with his teeth then any other beaſt, ſo all theſe that will not be perſwaded with their ſhewes prepared like horſes for the warre, with their crownes like crownes of gold, with their faces like the faces of men, nor with their haire like the haire of women, they ſhall be perſecuted by the power of their mouth, *to wit*, by their threatnings and thundering curſes. [9] And they had breaſt plates like breaſtplates of iron, for they ſhall haue to backe this their authoritie, the aſſiſtance of Princes, whoſe maintayning of them ſhall appeare vnto the world ſtrong as iron. And the ſound of their wings was like the ſound of chariots running with many horſes vnto the warre: for as the graſſehoppers make in the hot time of the yere & the day, a great ſound with their wings, ſo theſe ſhalbe made ſo ſtrong and fearefull by their breſtplates like iron, as what they, being in the height of their day ſhall decree, it ſhal haue ſuch a maieſtie and fearefulnes, as the terrible noiſe of many horſes and chariots hurling to battel: [10] But they had tailes like the tailes of *Scorpions*, and there were ſtings in their tailes: for at their firſt dealing with any, they appeare not harmeful to them that heare them, and beleeue them, but the effect and end of their practiſe is poiſon to the ſoule, and thereafter their tailes are like vnto the tailes of Scorpions, wherein is their ſting: And they had power to trouble and harme men the ſpace of fiue moneths: for as I ſhewed you before, that they ſhould torment men the ſpace of fiue moneths, *to wit*, a certaine ſpace appointed them, ſo now I aſſure you to your comfort, that as graſſehoppers laſt but fiue moneths that are hotteſt, ſo theſe ſhall be like vnto graſſehoppers in that as well as in the reſt; for they ſhall remaine but for a certaine ſpace preſcribed, and then ſhall be deſtroyed by the blaſt of Chriſts breath. [11] They haue alſo a King, but to rule ouer them, who is the Angel of the bottomleſſe pit, and his name in Hebrew is *Abaddon*, and in Greeke *Apollyon*, for theſe by the

the permission of Gods iustice, and working of Satan, shall haue at the last a Monarch to be their head, who shall be like vnto themselues, the angel or messenger comming, *to wit*, instructed and inspired by Satan to bee his embassadour, and to teach his false doctrine to the counterfeit church, as well as the true Pastours are the Embassadours of God to the true Church: He is called *Abaddon* or *Apollyon*, because as hee is both a spirituall and ciuill Monarch, so he destroyes and killes both body and soule, as I tolde you in the fourth seale, where hee is called *Death*, for the same cause that hee is called heere *Destroyer*. [12] One woe is past, and loe two come after, for this which by the fift Trumpet is declared, is the first of the three last and greatest plagues, whereunto I wished you to take speciall heed; and therefore take good heed to the other two blasts of the trumpets that follow. [13] Then the sixt Angel blewe, and I heard a voice comming from among the foure hornes of the golden Altar that stands euer before the eyes of God, saying these words to the next Angel that had a Trumpet, Loose these foure Angels bound at the great water *Euphrates*. [14] Now the summons and warning being giuen by the sixt blast of the trumpet of the sixt and fearefull plague that was to come; this command of Christ (which is the voice here mentioned) comes to the sixt Angel, commanding him to doe as ye now haue heard: For although the trumpet was alreadie blowen, yet the execution followes not, while Christ command and permit it; for these foure Angels mentioned here, are the same who were standing before vpon the foure airths of the earth, ready to destroy the same, who were then, as you heard, stayed by Christ, while first he had sealed his owne; who now being all sealed, because this is the last plague that is to come vpon the world, except that of the consummation; Christ therefore commands them to be loosed, for they were before stayed, as it were bound, to the effect they might now put in execution these things which they were ready to doe: When they were stayed, it is said they were bound at the great riuer *Euphrates*; alluding hereby to the history of *Balthasar* in *Daniel*, for as *Euphrates* diuided *Babylon* from the Persians and the Assyrians, which they crossed when they slew *Balthasar*, so this command of stay, giuen to these Angels by Christ, was that great riuer *Euphrates*, beyond the which they were bound, for they had no power to crosse it, and to plague the world, while first all his chosen were sealed, and that hee had loosed and permitted them, as by this command here is done: [15] And so these foure Angels were loosed, who were readie at the houre, the day, the moneth, and the yeere, to slay the third part of men, *to wit*, they were ready at the very moment prescribed to them by God, to destroy all men, except such as were sealed, ouer whom they had no power; and such as were reserued to the destruction of the last plague, *to wit*, the consummation; and so the third part was left to them to destroy. Now follows the plague of the sixt trumpet. [16] And first I saw an armie of horsemen, the number whereof were two hundred thousand thousand; for I

heard the number reckoned: this double great number ſignifies, that there ſhall be raiſed vp at one time, two great Monarchies and ſeats of Tyrants; one ruling in the Eaſt, and another in the Weſt, who ſhal cruelly perſecute the Church. 17 And in this viſion likewiſe I ſaw horſes, whoſe riders had breſtplates of fire, of Hyacinth and brimſtone, and the heads of the horſes were like the heads of Lions, and from their mouthes came fire, ſmoke, and brimſtone; noting, that with fiery rage, ſmokie pride, and pretences, and loathſome and wicked courſes, theſe two Monarches, the one ſecular, the other Eccleſiaſticall, ſhall conquer and poſſeſſe the greateſt part of the world: Theſe horſes are a part, yet not the leaſt part of the forces of one of theſe Monarches, in whoſe deſcription it is moſt inſiſted, becauſe he is the *Deſtroyer*, of whom it is ſpoken in the fift Trumpet, where hee is named *Abaddon*: Theſe horſes and their riders are the laſt order and ſect of his Eccleſiaſticall ſwarme: Their breſtplates, *to wit*, their worldly defence is compoſed of fire, that is, perſecution of the body, for they ſhall haue greater credit at the hands of Princes, then all theſe graſhoppers, ſpoken of in the fift Seale, and ſo ſhall vſe their forces to defend themſelues therewith: They are compoſed of the Hyacinth, for as this herbe is darke, and of a ſmoking colour and bitter to the taſte, ſo ſhall they be defended and maintained by the craft of their darke and bitter hereſies, (which in the third Trumpet are called Wormewood, as here they are called Hyacynth,) and they are compoſed of brimſtone, which ſignifieth the loathſomneſſe and ſtench of ſinne, and the flame and force of hell fire, *to wit*, Satan the authour of the one, and ruler of the other, ſhall by all maner of craft defend them as his ſpeciall inſtruments, and the laſt vermine bred and come vp from the ſmoke of the bottomleſſe pit: And they ſhall not onely haue power to defend themſelues by theſe three meanes, but they ſhall alſo purſue and perſecute the faithfull; which is meant by their horſes heads like to the heads of Lions, that is, able to deuoure: The meanes whereby they deuoure, are the ſame whereby they defend themſelues, *to wit*, by the power of Princes, to perſecute the bodies by falſe and hereticall bragges and ſleights, which are here called Smoake, and by the drifts and frauds of Satan in diuers faſhions to deceiue and inflame the ſoule, which craft of Satan is here reſembled to brimſtone. 18 By theſe three plagues, are ſlaine the third part of men, *to wit*, by fire, ſmoake, and brimſtone, which came out of their mouthes, *to wit*, their malice and ſtrength ſhall be ſo great, as they ſhall vſe all meanes wherewith the third part of men ſhalbe deſtroyed, although theſe meanes ſhall not be vſed by them onely to worke this great deſtruction with. 19 For their ſtrength is not in their mouthes onely, (as ye haue preſently heard) but it is alſo in their tailes; for their tailes are like the tailes of ſerpents, hauing ſtings whereby they doe harme: In this they ſhall be like vnto the graſhoppers. 20 But not the leſſe, the wicked ſhall be ſo hard hearted, as the reſt of them who were not deſtroyed by the plagues of this trumpet, ſhall not repent nor deſiſt from the workmanſhip of

of their hands, *to wit*, from Idolatry, and adoring of deuils, and of images, of golde, of ſiluer, of braſſe, of ſtone, and of wood, who neither can ſee, heare, nor goe, (whereof this hereticall Monarch is the puniſhment:) 21 Nor yet will they repent them nor deſiſt from breaking the ſecond Table, by ſlaughters, ſorceries, fornications & thefts, whereof that other Monarch, who onely perſecutes the body, is the reuenge, ſcourge, and plague.

CHAP. X.

ARGVMENT.

Iohn heares the explication of theſe myſteries, which was written vpon the backe of the Booke: It is not lawfull to him to manifeſt it: By foreknowing things to come, which is ſignified by ſwallowing the booke, he is mooued to a great ioy in the inſtant time, but it turneth in great bitterneſſe to him thereafter.

THen I ſaw another ſtrong Angel comming downe from heauen; hee was clothed with a cloud, and at his head was the raine-bow, and his face was like the Sunne, and his feet like the pillars of fire: This ſtrong Angel was Chriſt, clothed with a cloude; for in a cloud hee aſcended, and in the clouds ſhall he come againe at the latter day: Which cloud was a guide to the people of Iſrael by day, while they trauailed through the wilderneſſe; and out of that cloud hee powres the raine and dew of his graces in abundance vpon his choſen: His head was clothed with the rainebow, which ſignifies his couenant he made with his Elect, as ye heard before: His face was like the Sunne, and his feet like pillars of fire: yee heard theſe two deſcribed in the beginning of my Epiſtle. 2 And he had in his hand an open Booke; this was the Booke of the Euangel, or glad tidings: And he ſet his right foote or ſtrongeſt on the Sea, to make ſtable that liquid Element ſo vnſtable of nature; and his left vpon the earth, which is ſooner made firme, by this to ſhew the power he hath ouer all things contained in them, who hath no power to paſſe the bounds and order which he hath preſcribed vnto them; and therefore the earth is called his *footſtoole*, by *Dauid* in his Pſalmes. 3 And he cryed with a mighty voice like a roaring Lyon, for they were terrible things and great which hee was to denounce: 4 And when he had cryed, the ſeuen thunders ſpake their voices; Theſe were the ſeuen Spirits of God, who by his direction did ſpeake, and I was to haue written what they did ſpeake, of purpoſe to haue ſet it downe with the reſt: But I heard a voice from heauen, ſaying, Seale what the ſeuen thunders haue ſpoken, but write them not: For the holy Spirit hauing declared vnto me by them, the expoſition of the ſixe trumpets, the voice of God commands me not to manifeſt that vnto the world with the reſt, but by ſealing of it, to keepe it cloſe vnto the due time. 5 And the Angel, *to wit*, Chriſt, whom

whom I ſaw ſtanding on the ſea, and on the earth, lifted vp his hand towards heauen, 6 And ſwore by him that created heauen, the earth, the ſea, and all that is in them, that the time ſhould be no longer: 7 But in the dayes of the ſeuenth Angels voice, when he begins to blow, the myſterie of God ſhould be conſummate, according as he tolde to his ſeruants the Prophets: This oath he made to aſſure me, that the world ſhould end immediatly after the accompliſhing of theſe things, mentioned in the ſixe Trumpets, and that the ſeuenth declares the things which are to be done at the conſummation; the forme whereof will be as hee hath declared to his Prophets. 8 Then that voice which I heard, ſpake to me from heauen, *to wit*, the voice of God the Father, ſpake againe vnto me, and ſaid, Goe and take that open booke which is in the hand of the Angel, who ſtands on the ſea and the earth: 9 And ſo I went vnto the Angel, and deſired him to giue me the booke: and hee anſwered, Take and ſwallow it, and it ſhall bring a bitterneſſe vnto thy belly, but in thy mouth it ſhall be as ſweete as honie. 10 Then I tooke the booke, and found that which he ſaid to me of it, to be true; for indeed I thought it delightfull vnto me, to know the myſteries of God, by ſwallowing the booke, and ſo it was ſweet in my mouth; but ſo ſoon as by the digeſtion hereof I muſt preach it to the world, and for that cauſe become to be hated, contemned, and perſecuted by the wicked, and ſee but a ſmall increaſe of my great labours, then ſurely it will be bitter to my belly, as it was to *Ionas*, and ſhall be to all the true preachers thereof thereafter. 11 Then he ſaid vnto me, Thou muſt propheſie againe before people, nations, tongues, and many kings for my children in Chriſt, *to wit*, my ſucceſſours in doctrine, who ſhall be in the time of theſe plagues, ſhall haue the ſame commiſſion to teach ouer againe the ſame Euangel, to the ſaluation of all the beleeuers: theſe ſhall haue ſuch boldneſſe giuen vnto them, as they ſhall conſtantly declare their commiſſion, not only before the people, but euen before many kings, and ſhall not be afraid of their faces.

CHAP. XI.

ARGVMENT.

Babylon the Popes Empire, is the outward part of the Temple: The trew Church is in Sancto Sanctorum; *but vnder the perſecution of theſe hypocrites for a certaine ſpace: Faithfull Paſtours are ſent from time to time to witneſſe the trewth: They are perſecuted, condemned, and ſlaine by Antichriſt: God raiſeth vp at the laſt ſtronger preachers, who ſhall deſcribe the Popedome, and foretell the deſtruction thereof: In the ſeuenth Trumpet is the day of Iudgement deſcribed.*

AND then was a long reede like a rod giuen vnto me, and the Angel who gaue me the booke ſtood before me, and ſaid, Ariſe, and meaſure the Temple of God, and the Altar, and all them that adore in it, with that reede that is giuen thee: 2 But the court that is without the Temple, exclude thou, and

and measure it not, for it is giuen vnto the Gentiles, who shall tread down the holy Citie for the space of two and fourtie moneths. Now lest I should despaire of any profit which my successors could haue made in doctrine in their time, because as it appeareth by the sixt Trumpet, the whole world should be subdued to these two Monarchies; Christ, aswell to assure me some should still remaine pure and vnspotted, as also to shew mee, and by me to forewarne the Church, that this most dangerous Monarch, called *Apollyon*, should corporally succeede in the Church, and should sit in the Temple of God, giues me a reede for that cause, and commands me to measure the Temple, for he will saue all them that are of the true Church, for they are the inward parts of the Temple; and the rest by reason of their hypocrisie, shalbe accounted of as Gentiles; and this diuision shalbe made by my successours in doctrine, (of whom I spake already) for they by the measure and triall of the word, signified by the reede, shall separate that holy *Sanctum Sanctorum* from the rest of the outward Temple of God, *to wit*, the hypocriticall and Antichristian Church, which shall tread downe and persecute the true Church, for the space of two and fourtie moneths, or three yeeres and an halfe, for it is both one number. This space prescribed by Christ, alludeth to *Daniels* prophecie of two times, a time, and halfe a time; for as *Daniel* meant thereby the halfe of his propheticall weeke, so Christ meanes by this, that the persecution of this *Destroyer*, shall last the halfe, *to wit*, it shall reigne about the midst of the last aage of this whole weeke, which begins at his incarnation and first comming, and ends at his last comming againe; which because it is the last period, it is here compared to a weeke: 3 But I shall giue that holy towne to two witnesses of mine, who clothed with sackecloth, shall propheste the space of one thousand two hundred and threescore dayes; for these my successours he shall raise vp as witnesses, *to wit*, a sufficient number of them, (*for out of the mouth of two or three witnesses, euery word is confirmed*) to witnesse that their doctrine is false, who persecute the Church which he shal giue vnto them, for he shall make them their patrons, to defend and feed them by the power of the true word, and they shall preach repentance to that counterfeit Church; and therefore they are said to be *clothed in sackecloth*. And to assure vs to our great comfort, that in all the time of blindnesse, God shall euer be raising vp some of these two witnesses against the hypocriticall *Destroyer*, and to comfort and confirme his true Church, it is said, They shall propheste the number of dayes that yee haue heard, which is correspondent iustly to the moneths before mentioned, *to wit*, they shall not leaue off to witnesse, all the time of the Antichristian kingdome. 4 These witnesnesses, are two greene Oliues, who anoint the Elect with that holy oyle; and two Candlestickes (as Christ said, to enlighten the world with their brightnesse) who are set downe, and doe their office, in the presence of him, who is Lord and ruler of the earth. 5 And if any shal presse to harme them, fire shall come out of their mouthes, and deuoure their enemies; for

for whoſoeuer will doe them any hurt, himſelfe muſt be ſlaine ſo, *to wit*, the holy Spirit, who is the fire in their mouth, ſhall accuſe and cauſe to be deſtroyed with the ſecond death, all them that either perſecute them, or will not heare, or obey their doctrine: 6 Theſe witneſſes haue power to ſhut heauen, that it raine not in the dayes of their propheſie; and they haue power ouer the waters, to turne them into blood, and to ſtrike the earth with euery kinde of plague, ſo often as they pleaſe; for hee ſhall authorize them and their meſſage, with as ſure teſtimonies, as the ſhutting of the heauen, and ſtay of the raine was vnto *Elias*, ſo long as he foreſpake it ſhould be ſo; and as vnto *Moyſes*, the turning of the waters into blood, and the ſtriking of the earth of the land of Egypt, with diuers and ſundry plagues: 7 But theſe ſhall be witneſſes, by their death as well as by their life: For how ſoone any of them ſhall haue runne that courſe in the earth, which God hath appointed them, they ſhall be perſecuted, ouercome, and ſlaine by that beaſt, the Angel of that bottomleſſe pit, and king of the locuſts, and that great towne & ſeat of the Monarchy ſhal publikely put them down, as malefactours: 8 So as their dead bodies or carkeiſes ſhall lie in the ſtreets thereof: And this towne is ſpiritually called *Sodom*, becauſe of the ſpirituall adultery, *to wit*, Idolatrie that it ſhall commit and maintaine; and ſpiritually Egypt, becauſe it ſhall oppreſſe and intollerably burthen the ſoules of the choſen, euen as Egypt captiuated the bodies, and burthened the backes of the people of Iſrael, and in that towne alſo was our Lord crucified; for where Chriſts members are put to death for their Maſters cauſe, (as this towne and Kings therof ſhal do) there is Chriſt himſelfe crucified in effect, and his crucifying ſhalbe as wel imputed to them, as to *Iudas* who betrayed him: 9 And men of all tribes, peoples, tongues, and nations, ſhall ſee their carkeiſes the ſpace of three dayes and a halfe, and they ſhall not be ſuffered to be buried in ſepulchres: 10 And the inhabitants of the earth ſhall be glad and reioyce for their ſlaughters, and ſhall ſend gifts one to another, in token of ioy, becauſe they are made quit of theſe two prophets, who tormented the indwellers of the earth; for the whole world, who are not in *Sancto Sanctorum*, ſhall not onely ſuffer, but allow that theſe witneſſes be not onely ſlaine, but alſo be ſo cruelly vſed and contemned, as not to be ſuffered to be buried amongſt others: And the whole earth ſhall reioyce at their death; becauſe that euen as *Achab* blamed *Elias* for troubling of Iſrael, ſo ſhall the world thinke theſe witneſſes troubleſome vnto them, becauſe they diſcouer vnto them their ſhamefulneſſe, and call them to the repentance thereof. 11 And thus ſhall they be contemned for the ſpace of three dayes and a halfe, *to wit*, of three yeeres and a halfe; which ſignifies, that during the ſpace of the Antichriſts reigne, they ſhall be thus vſed; but after the ſpace of three dayes and an halfe, the Spirit of life comming from God, ſhall enter into them, and they ſhall be ſet vpon their feete, and a great feare ſhall fall vpon them that did ſee them before: 12 And they heard a great voice from the heauen, ſaying vnto them, *Come*

vp

vp hither, then they ascended vp into heauen, and their enemies saw them doe so; for although that during the flourishing of this hereticall and hypocriticall Monarchie, the trew Pastours no sooner appeared, then they were put to death, yet at the last this Monarchie shall begin to decay, when the three yeeres, or the three dayes and an halfe thereof shall be expired: and then shall the Spirit of life from God, *to wit*, the holy Spirit sent from God, worke mightier in the latter Pastours of these dayes, so as in them shall the by-past Martyrs be reuiued, and their doctrine shall take roote in the hearts of many, and their reasons shalbe so pithie, as the Antichristian sect, and the rest of the world shall know as perfectly that they shall preuaile, as if they heard God call them to heauen, to reward them there for their victory: Neither shall they haue power of their liues, for God shall mooue the hearts of many to defend them in such glory and safetie, as if they were mounting vp to heauen in a cloud, and they not able to hinder them. 13 And then at that time shall be a great earthquake, *to wit*, great tumults among nations, and the tenth part of the citie shall fall: This citie is diuided in tenne parts, to shew it is the same Monarchie that shall afterwards be described by a beast with ten heads; and by the falling of the tenth part thereof, is meant, that diuers nations shall shake off the yoke of that Monarchie, and so a part of the strength of that citie shall decay: And there was slaine in that earthquake, seuen thousand men, *to wit*, a great number of men shal be slaine in these tumults, and the rest were afraid, and gaue glory vnto the God of *Heauen*, for these tumults and iudgements of God, shall by their terrours reduce some to the knowledge of the trewth. 14 The second woe is past, for these are the plagues of the sixt Trumpet, and loe, the third woe comes soone; for next followes the declaration of these dayes, wherein the consummation shall be, first of that Antichristian kingdome, and next of the whole earth; take therefore good heede vnto the third woe, for it is the last. 15 Then the seuenth Angel blew, and there were great voices in heauen, saying, The kingdomes of the world are made the kingdomes of our Lord, and of his Christ, who shall reigne for euer and euer. This ioyfull cry was in heauen, because the dayes were come wherein the day of Iudgement should be, and so the power was to be taken from the kings of the earth, who were enemies to the Saints, and Christ was hereafter to be the great, sole, and immediate King ouer all. 16 Then the foure and twentie Elders, who sate vpon seats in the sight and presence of God, for ioy that the saluation of their brethren was at hand, did fall vpon their faces, and adored God, saying, 17 We thanke thee Lord God Almightie, who is, and who was, and who art presently to come againe, because now thou art to make thy great power manifest, and art to begin thy glorious Kingdome. 18 And the Gentiles waxed wrathfull, for all the wicked now perceiue, that neither their force nor craft can auaile; for thy wrath is now come which none may resist, and the time of the dead is come, for now all the dead are to be iudged, and thou art to reward thy

seruants

ſeruants the Prophets, and all the Saints, and all that feare thy Name, ſmall or great, and thou art to deſtroy them that deſtroy the earth, by the perſecuting of thy Saints, and defiling it with euery ſort of vice. 19 Then the Temple of God was open in heauen, that the Arke of his couenant might be ſeene, which was within it: God now did ſhew the Arke of his couenant, to aſſure all the Saints that he would now haue mind of his promiſe, and according thereto would preſently ſend downe Chriſt to Iudge the earth, as was done then in all terrour; which is ſignified by lightning, voices, thunder, and earthquakes, which then were made; and a great haile, which ſignifies the deſtruction of the earth, as ſhowres of haile of all others, are the moſt harmefull and deſtroying.

CHAP. XII.

ARGVMENT.

A new viſion: The deuils malice againſt Chriſt and his Church: The Church by Gods prouidence eſcapes his furie: Shee is ſecret, and lies hid for a ſpace: The deuill raiſeth vp hereſies and perſecutions to deſtroy her; but all that cannot preuaile; whereupon he goeth to raiſe vp her great enemie the Pope.

NOw as this ſeuenth Seale, wherein theſe ſeuen Trumpets were (which ye haue preſently heard declared) was no other thing, but the more ample dilating of the ſixe former Seales, (as I did ſhew before) ſo this viſion which I am next to declare vnto you, is nothing elſe but a cleerer ſetting forth, and fore-warning of theſe times, which are moſt perillous for the Church of all them which are to come after, eſpecially of the three laſt woes. 1 And there was a great ſigne, and a woonderfull viſion ſeene in heauen, *to wit*, a woman clothed with the Sunne, and the Moone was vnder her feete, and ſhe had a crowne of twelue ſtarres vpon her head, 2 And ſhe was great with childe, and ſhee was ſo neere her childbirth, as ſhe was alreadie crying, and was ſore pained with the trauell to be deliuered of her childe: 3 And there was alſo another ſigne, and woonder ſeene in heauen; A great red dragon hauing ſeuen heads, and ten hornes, and vpon his head ſeuen diamonds: 4 And his taile drew the third part of the ſtarres of heauen with him, and did caſt them downe to the earth: This dragon ſtood before the woman, awaiting to deuoure her birth ſo ſoone as ſhee was deliuered of it: 5 But ſhe brought forth a manchilde, who was to rule all nations with a rod of yron, and her ſonne was caught vp to God, and his Throne: 6 But the woman fled into the wilderneſſe, where ſhe hath a place prepared by God, that ſhe might be fedde there the ſpace of one thouſand two hundred threeſcore dayes. 7 And there was a great battell ſtroken in heauen, for *Michael* and his Angels fought againſt the dragon and his angels: 8 And the dragon and his angels

gels could not obtaine the victorie, but by the contrary their place was no more found in heauen: 9 And ſo that great dragon, *to wit*, that olde ſerpent who is called the deuill and Satan, who ſeduceth the whole face of the earth, was caſt downe to the earth, and all his angels were caſt downe with him. 10 And I heard a voice in heauen, ſaying, Now is wrought the health, the vertue, and the kingdome of our God, and the power of his Chriſt; for the accuſer of our brethren is caſt downe, who day and night accuſed them in the ſight of our God: 11 For they that fought with him, haue ouercome him, for the loue they beare vnto the Lambe and his blood, and to the word of his Teſtimonie, and haue prodigally giuen their liues euen vnto death for that cauſe: 12 Therefore reioyce ye heauens, and yee that dwell therein; but woe to the inhabitants of the earth, and the ſea, for the deuill is come downe to you, and he is full of great wrath, becauſe he hath but a ſhort ſpace to reigne. 13 And when the dragon ſaw himſelfe caſt down vpō the earth, he purſued the woman who had borne the manchild: 14 But there was giuen to the woman two great Eagle wings, that ſhee might flee from the ſight of the ſerpent into the wildernes, to the place that was there appointed for her to be nouriſhed for a time & times, and halfe a time. 15 Then the ſerpent did caſt out of his mouth after the woman to ouertake her, a water like a great flood, to carry her away perforce: 16 But the earth helped the woman, and opened her mouth, and ſwallowed vp by the way the great flood which the dragon had caſt out of his mouth: This part of the Viſion was to declare vnto me, that howſoeuer the Church, which is ſignified here by a woman, (for ſhe is the ſpouſe of CHRIST, who is her head, her husband, and her glory, obeying him with a reuerent loue, and yet weake and infirme like to a woman) how ſoone, I ſay, the Church ſhining in all brightneſſe and innocencie, which is repreſented by her garment of the Sunne, and treading vnder feete, and contemning the world and the vanities thereof, here ſignified by the Moone, being vnder her feet; a Planet that hath no proper, but a borrowed light, and ſubiect to all mutabilitie, like the world, and being crowned with the ſhining glory of the twelue Patriarches and Prophets, and the twelue holy Apoſtles, ſucceeding them in the vnitie of doctrine, and therefore are called here a Crowne of twelue ſtarres vpon her head; How ſoone, I ſay, that ſhe thus arayed did bring forth CHRIST in the fleſh, who is that man-child, who rules the Gentiles with an Iron rod, as *Dauid* ſaith in his Pſalmes: That great red and ancient Dragon, for in our firſt forefather he vttered his malice, *to wit*, the diuell, who is ruler of infinite numbers of men, which is ſignified by his ſeuen heads, and ſeuen diadems, or Crownes vpon them, and who hath innumerable meanes and inſtruments to be executors of his malicious will, which is ſignified by the tenne hornes, alluding to *Daniel*; and who is ſo mighty in deceipt, that he doeth not onely allure the infidels to follow him, but euen a part of the Paſtours, and the viſible Church to their deſtruction, which is ſignified by his drawing after him with his taile as fol-

lowers of his intisements, the third part of the Starres of heauen, and casting them to the earth : This dragon hauing waited to destroy her birth, and for earnestnesse gaping for it before it was borne, and not able to preuaile, but by the contrary seeing CHRIST rising from the dead, and then his ascending into heauen, which is signified by the Childs pulling vp to GOD and his Throne, and seeing the Church to flourish, though vnder persecution, which is signified by her flying to a place in the wildernesse, which God had prepared for her, where thereafter she must lurke for the space of the dayes ye heard reckoned, *to wit*, the Church shalbe vnknowne, and as it were vnregarded, and no man shall know how it shalbe sustained; for GOD shall nourish it the space of the Antichrists kingdome, which is the number of dayes ye heard counted before : The Dragon, I say, hauing found this, that both CHRIST and his Church did escape his hands, and not onely that, but that himselfe also by the vertue of CHRISTS renewing of vs, was no more able to accuse the Saints of God, as he did in time of the old Law, since now we are made righteous, which is signified by the battell in heauen, where GOD, to declare that none is like vnto him, made CHRIST, here called *Michael*, (whose name imports, Who is like GOD) with his Angels, to fight and ouercome the diuel and his angels, and to cast them on the earth; Satan, I say, finding himselfe thus debarred from further accusing of the Saints, hauing found that he should neuer haue place to doe that in any time thereafter; as on the one part it reioyced all the Angels and Saints in heauen, for their bretherens cause on the earth, as is witnessed by the song that the voyce did sing in Heauen, praising God therefore, and extolling the deed of *Michael* and his Angels, who fought so earnestly for the Saints on earth, as if they had bene mortall, they would not haue spared their liues in that cause for their sakes, whom CHRIST had redeemed with his blood, and of whose election he had borne witnesse to his Father; so on the other part it enraged the Dragon, so that he became the crueller tempter of men vpon the earth, aswell for that his place of accusing in heauen was taken away, by the mysterie of the redemption which is signified by this fight, as for that he knew within short space he was by CHRISTS second comming, to be cast downe from the earth into hell, there to be chained in eternall captiuitie and misery, euen as by the first comming he was cast from the heauen, which is signified by the last part of the Song, so as he pursueth the Church with heresie and ciuil powers, which both are signified by the floods of waters which he spewed out of his mouth, after that the Eagle wings were giuen the woman to flie to that place appointed for her in the wildernes, where she must remaine the number of dayes ye haue heard, *to wit*, after that God had giuen his Church a sufficient swiftnesse to eschew the rage of Satan, and to lurke the space of Antichrists raigne, which lasteth three times or three yeeres and a halfe, that is, a time prefixed by GOD, and vnknowne to men, as ye haue sundry times heard already. But seeing that all this vanisheth, as if the earth had

swallowed

swallowed and dried vp that flood suddenly. 17 The Dragon therefore or the diuel, became more wrathfull and enraged then before against the woman, or the Church, and went about by some other way, to make warre against the rest of the womans seed, who kept the Commandements of GOD, and had the testimonies of CHRIST to GOD the Father, that they were chosen and called, for these are onely the true posteritie of the Church, *to wit*, the successours in grace, faith, and trewth. 18 And I stood vpon the Sea shore, I meane, it seemed to me that I stood vpon the Sea shore, because I did wait to see come out of it, which represented all peoples and nations, such powers, as Satan would imploy to fight against the Church; for the declaring whereof this Vision was shewen vnto me, and whereof these two last great wonders were but the introduction, that by these things past, as the roote, I might the better vnderstand the branches, which are to bud forth thereof as followeth.

CHAP. XIII.

ARGVMENT.

The Popes arising: His description: His rising caused by the ruine of the fourth Monarchie the Romane Empire: The rising of the false and Papisticall Church; her description; her conformitie with her Monarch the Pope: The great reuerence borne to the Pope by many nations, and not onely to him, but to his Legates: A generall defection so great, as there shall not be an other visible Church, but the Popedome: Of the first Pope who did take to himselfe all their blasphemous and arrogant styles.

AND then I saw a beast rising out of the Sea, *to wit*, from among the number of Nations and peoples; I saw a Monarchie chosen and erected vp by this Dragon the deuil, and it had seuen heads and tenne hornes, and tenne diadems vpon the tenne hornes: the signification of these heads and hornes, was declared vnto me by an Angel, as ye shall heare in the place conuenient hereafter, and vpon these heads was the name of *blasphemie*: for they by the persecution of the Saints, and adoring false gods, shall both by word and deed blaspheme the name of the Eternall. Chap. 17.

2 This beast or Monarchie, is the fourth King or Monarchie wherof *Daniel* prophesied, *to wit*, euen that Monarchie which presently reignes, and hath the power of the other three reuiued in it, for it is farre greater then they: And therefore as that Monarchie of the Leopard, gat that name because of the swiftnes of the conqueste: and that of the Lion, because of the mightines and cruelty therof: and that of the Beare, because of the strength and long standing thereof; so this is called like the Leopard, *to wit*, in shape, whereof commeth her agilitie: headed like a Lion, because his strength is in the head, as ye heard already: and legged like a beare, because Daniel 7.

in the Beares legges conſiſts his greateſt ſtrength, and durableneſſe; this proportion ſignifies, that this Monarchie is farre greater then all the reſt, and all their powers are reuiued in it, as I ſaid before. 3 And I perceiued that one of the heads of the beaſt, had bene deadly wounded, but the wound thereof was healed, and the whole earth followed this beaſt with a great wondering; this was to ſignifie vnto me, that it was not of this beaſt that I was ordained to forewarne you, for the worſt of this beaſt is almoſt paſt already, and this Monarchie ſhall be within ſhort ſpace deſtroyed, but this beaſt or Monarchie is ſhewen vnto me, becauſe out of the ruines thereof ſhall riſe in that ſame Seate where it was, that hereticall Monarchie whereof I am to forewarne you, which is ſignified by the deadly wound it gat on the head which was healed againe: for as the *Phœnix* reuiues of her owne aſhes (as prophane ſtories make mention) ſo out of the aſhes of this Empire ſhall riſe and be reuiued an other, which ſhall grow ſo mighty, that the whole earth that is without *Sanctum Sanctorum*, ſhall with amaſement reuerence, obey and follow it, as ye heard preſently declared.

4 And they adored the Dragon who gaue power to the Beaſt, for they ſhall giue themſelues ouer to the workes of darkenes, which is to ſerue, and adore the diuel, who raiſed vp this beaſt to make warre againſt the ſeed of the woman, as ye heard before. Chap. 12. And they alſo adored the diuel in his inſtrument, by reuerencing that Beaſt and Monarchie erected by him: and they ſaid, Who is like vnto the Beaſt, or who may fight with him? for this Monarchie ſhall be ſo ſtrong in worldly power, as the world ſhall thinke it ſo farre in ſtrength aboue all other powers, that it is impoſſible to ouercome it, eſpecially, that the little ſtone which was cut without hands Daniel 2. out of the mountaine mentioned by *Daniel*, ſhall euer deſtroy it, which notwithſtanding at the laſt ſhall bruiſe it in pieces. 5 And there was a mouth giuen vnto it to ſpeake great things and blaſphemies; It is ſaid in Daniel 7.11. *Daniel*, that his mouth ſhall ſpeake in magnificencie, and vtter words againſt the Soueraigne, *to wit*, this Monarchie and King thereof, ſhall extoll himſelfe farre aboue all liuing creatures, and ſhal vſurpe farre higher Styles then euer were heard of before, by the which, and by his falſe doctrine together, he ſhall ſo derogate from the honour of GOD, and vſurpe ſo all power onely proper vnto him, as it ſhall bee great wordes againſt him, and blaſphemie of his Name. And there was power giuen him to doe, *to wit*, GOD ſhall permit his Tyrannie to encreaſe, and perſecute the Saints the ſpace of two and fourtie moneths: This ſpace was mentioned vnto me, to let me know thereby, that this Monarchie riſen out Chap. 11. of the ruines of the other, is the ſame which is meant by that Citie, whereof ye heard alreadie in the ſixt Trumpet, which perſecuted the two Witneſſes; for the ſame ſpace is aſſigned to her there, and conſequently it is that ſame ſeate and Monarchie which is meant by the angel of the bottomleſſe pit, called *Apollyon* in the fift Trumpet: by the Rider on the Chap. 9. pale horſe, called *Death*, in the fourth Seale, and alſo obſcurely meant in Chap. 6. the

the sixt Trumpet by the halfe of that great hoste of horsemen, of the which halfe the armed horse which I saw in the vision, was a part of the power, whose head and Monarchie was the plague for idolatry, as ye heard; which Monarchie, together with the other (of whom yee also heard obscurely in that place, as the plague of the sinnes against the second Table) *to wit*, this great beast here mentioned, and the other reuealed, a vowed and open enemie of Christs Church, shall both gather their forces to fight against it in that battell of the great day of the Lord, whereof ye shal heare in the owne place: Then this beast, according to the power which was giuen him, opened his mouth in blasphemies against God, and spake iniurious words against his Name, his Tabernacle, *to wit*, his *Sanctum Sanctorum*, which is the Church militant, and them that dwell in heauen; for his reigne shall be so great, that hee shall not onely blaspheme the Name of God, in such sort as ye heard alreadie, and persecute the members of Christ that shall be on the earth in his dayes, but likewise vpbraid with calumnies the soules of the Saints departed: [7] And for that effect he was permitted by God to make warre against the Saints; and hee gaue him power to ouercome them corporally, and to rule ouer all tribes, tongues, and nations; so great shall his Monarchie and power be: [8] And so all the in-dwellers of the earth shal adore him, *to wit*, a great part of them shall reuerence him, whose names are not writen in the booke of life, which is the Lambes that was slaine, which booke was written before the foundation of the world was laide; for these are alwayes excepted from bowing their knees to *Baal*, who were predestinate by Christ to saluation before all beginnings. [9] He who hath an eare, let him heare and take heede vnto this sentence that followeth, *to wit*, [10] If any man leade in captiuitie, in captiuitie shall he be led againe: if any man slay with the sword, with the sword shall hee be slaine againe: then since ye are assured, that God in his good time shall iustly mete to their tyrannie, the same measure that they shall mete to his Church, let not your hearts in your affliction, through despaire of Gods reuenge, (because of his long suffering) swarue from the bold and plaine professing of his trueth; for in this shall the patience and constant faith of the Saints or the chosen, be tried. [11] And then I saw another beast rise vp vpon the earth, and it had two hornes like vnto the Lambe, but it spake like the dragon, for lest this Monarchie should be taken to be a ruler onely ouer the body, and that I might vnderstand the contrary, *to wit*, that he was specially a spirituall tyrant ouer the soules and consciences of men, this other beast was shewen vnto me, which representeth the hereticall kingdome of the grashoppers, whereof *Apollyon* was made King in the fift Trumpet; and it vseth the coloured authoritie of Christ, by pretending two swords, or two keyes, as receiued from Christ, which is signified by the two hornes like the Lambes, but the end whereof it vseth that authoritie, is to get obedience to that false doctrine which it teacheth, signified by speaking like the dragon or deuil. [12] It is this false and hypocriticall Church then, which doeth exercise all the

Chap. 9.

Chap. 16.

Chap. 9.

the power of the former beaſt, *to wit*, teacheth the Kings of this Monarchy and ſeat, by what meanes they ſhall allure and compell the people to obey their commands; and this Church ſhall alſo entiſe the earth and the inhabitants of the ſame, *to wit*, all nations which beleeue the falſe doctrine that it teacheth, to adore this other beaſt, whoſe deadly wound was healed; for it ſhall perſwade them that this hereticall Monarchie ought for conſcience ſake to be obeyed by all perſons, in whatſoeuer it commandeth, as if it could not erre: 13 And to perſwade men thereof, it makes great ſignes or wonders, yea euen cauſeth fire to fall out of heauen vpon earth in the ſight of men; vpon whom, becauſe they ſhall ſwarue from the loue of the trewth to beleeue lies, God ſhall iuſtly by the meanes of this falſe Church, as his inſtrument of reuenge, ſend a ſtrong illuſion and deceit, with great efficacie of miracles and woonders, yea as mightie and ſtrong as that of *Elias* was, calling for fire from heauen, which here is repeated. 14 And all theſe miracles it did in the preſence of the beaſt, to make the beaſt to be adored therefore, by the inhabitants of the earth, and it perſwades them to make an image of the beaſt, which was wounded by the ſword, and reuiued againe; for not onely ſhall this hereticall Monarchy haue power in his owne perſon to command abſolutely many nations, but euen the nations ſhall conſent, by the perſwaſion of this falſe Church, to obey the abſolute command of his Lieutenants, Legats and Embaſſadors in euery countrey, ſo as they ſhall not onely be exempted from the lawes of euery countrey, wherein they liue, but ſhall euen be fellowes and companions in all honours and priuiledges to the princes or kings thereof: And this willing conſent of nations vnto this, by the perſwaſion of this falſe Church, is ſignified here, by the making of this image at the Churches perſwaſion. 15 And power was giuen vnto it, *to wit*, vnto this falſe Church, to quicken this image, and to make it ſpeake, and to cauſe that all thoſe who will not adore this image, ſhould be ſlaine corporally; for as the conſent vnto this authoritie of the image muſt be giuen by the nations, and ſo they to be the makers thereof, ſo the authoritie, which is meant by the quickening of it, and making it ſpeake, muſt be giuen it by the working of this falſe Church, whoſe rage ſhall be ſo great, as it ſhall perſecute any who will not thinke the commands whatſoeuer of this Monarches embaſſadours and images, to be an infallible Law, as well as his owne. 16 And ſo this falſe Church makes that all, ſmall or great, rich or poore, bond or free, in ſhort, all men of whatſoeuer degree, ſhall take the Character or ſeale of this Monarchie into their right hand, or into their forehead, *to wit*, publikely profeſſe obedience thereto, and aſſiſt the maintenance thereof, and downe-throwing of all reſiſters: 17 And that none may buy and ſell except they haue the Character or the name of the beaſt, or the number of his name; for this defection ſhall be ſo vniuerſall, and ſo receiued by all degrees of men, as it ſhall not be poſſible to any, neither ſhal that hypocriticall church permit any to be partakers of their ciuill ſocietie, which is meant here by buying

2. Theſſ. 2.
2. Kings 1.

buying and selling, except they be knowen to be of his fellowship in religion, which is meant by the character, and his name, and the number thereof. Then since you see that this defection shall be so generall, beware of euery one that shall say, *Lord, Lord*, thereby to deceiue you, for you see by this, that false prophets shall for a time so triumph, as they shall vaunt themselues to be the trew Church, because there shall be no other Church visible at that time, although there shall euer be some that shall not bow their knee to *Baal*; for the woman shall not be deuoured by the dragon, but hid and nourished in the wildernesse out of sight for a space, as ye heard before. Retaine well in memorie these words, for the time shall come in the latter dayes, that this doctrine shall be thornes in the eyes of many. 1. Kings. 19. Chap. 12.

18 Now, as to the number of the beast here is wisedome, let him that is endued with knowledge number it, for the number of the beast or Monarchie, is the number of the man, *to wit*, of the first Monarch of this seat, who shall first vsurpe all these styles of blasphemie, and who in the fourth Monarchie shall reuiue a spirituall supremacie and tyrannie; and his number, *to wit*, the date of yeeres that he shall begin to reigne, in reckoning from the time of this Reuelation, is sixe hundred sixtie and sixe. Benedictus the 2. Platine.

CHAP. XIIII.

ARGVMENT.

The happie estate of the faithfull in the meane time of the Popes Tyrannie: His destruction: The faithfull onely are all saued.

NOw so soone as the tyrannicall gouernment of these two beasts, *to wit*, the false church and their king had bene declared by this last Vision vnto me, euen as before, after the denouncing of the fearefullest plagues, the happy estate of Christ and his Church was declared to comfort me, as ye heard before; so now the plagues that are to be wrought by this spirituall Tyrannie being declared, the estate of Christ and his followers in the meane time is next set forth as followeth. Then I did looke, and loe I saw the *Lambe* standing vpon *Mount Sion*, and with him a hundred fourtie and foure thousand, hauing the Name of his Father written vpon their foreheads: for in the meane time that this Tyrannie was raging on the earth, this *Lambe* Christ was standing vpon *Mount Sion*, to wit, vpon his holy place, out of which he promised saluation to the faithfull, as *Dauid* saith, and is accompanied with this great number of faithfull, which number was composed of twelue thousand of euery Tribe, as ye heard before; but this number comprehends in this place all the faithfull, aswell of *Gentiles* as of *Iewes*, although it seeme to be vnderstood of the *Iewes* onely, which is done for continuing of the Metaphore, because as *Sanctum Sanctorum*, which was a part of the materiall Temple of *Ierusalem*, did signifie before all

all the faithfull,as ye haue heard,ſo now this number of *Iewes* here,ſignifies the faithfull, both of *Gentiles* and *Iewes*, as I haue ſaid, who now are deſcribed here making publike profeſſion of Chriſt, by bearing his marke on their forehead,an eminent part,euen as the wicked beare on their forehead the Character of their king, the angel of the bottomleſſe pit: Theſe faithfull followers of Chriſt did beare now his Marke, to teſtifie thereby, that they were preſerued by it, euen in the very time that this Tyrannie was raging all the faſteſt. 2 And I heard a voyce from heauen like the ſound of many waters in greatneſſe, and like the roaring of the thunder in terribleneſſe; And I alſo heard the voyce of many harpers playing on their harpes, 3 And ſinging as it were a New-ſong, before the Throne, and before the foure Beaſts, and the Elders, and none could learne that Song, except theſe hundred foure and fourtie thouſand, *to wit*, theſe who are bought from the earth: for they who were bought and redeemed by the precious Blood of Chriſt,from among the reſt of the world, and ſo were no more of their number, were onely able to learne and vnderſtand theſe voyces,for vnto them onely it apperteineth: Where firſt God promiſed, that he ſhould ſhortly deſtroy that Tyrannie, (which voyce of God is here deſcribed by reſembling it to the ſound of many waters, as *Dauid* doeth, and to the roaring of the thunder;) And where next the thankes thereof is giuen by the Saints and Angels in ſinging the praiſes of God, as earneſtly, and cheerefully, as if it were but a New-ſong, and to repreſent the harmonie thereof, they ſing to the concords of the harpes and inſtruments in the preſence of God ſitting in his Maieſtie, and compaſſed about with the foure Beaſtes, and foure and twentie Elders, of whom ye heard mention made before. 4 Theſe attendants on the Lambe, are theſe who are not defiled with women, *to wit*, not guiltie of ſpirituall adulterie, for they are Virgines, as Chriſt called them in the parable of the Lampes: theſe follow the Lambe whitherſoeuer he goeth, for they goe not aſtray from his footſteps, neither to the right, nor the left hand, and thoſe are they who are bought from among men, and are the acceptable firſt fruits vnto their Father,and his Lambe. 5 And in their mouthes was found no guile, for they are inculpable before the Throne of God, becauſe the Lambe hath fully payd their debts for them. 6 Then I did ſee another Angel flying through the middeſt of heauen, hauing the Eternall Euangel in his hand, that he might preach the ſame to all the inhabitants of the earth, euen to all nations, tribes, tongues,and peoples: for euen as ye heard before in the ſixt Trumpet,of the reuiuing againe of the two Witneſſes,who were ſlaine by this tyrannicall and hereticall Monarchie, ſo now the ſame was declared vnto me by this Angel, who when this Tyrannie is in the greateſt pride, as ye haue heard, flies through the middeſt of heauen to be publikely heard and ſeene by all, hauing with him theſe eternall glad tidings to preach them to all the earth, *to wit*, God ſhall in the end of this Tyrannie, while it is yet triumphing, raiſe vp and ſend his Angels or meſſengers, who

who shall publikely teach the trewth, and refute the errours of this tyrannie before the eyes of the Sunne and the Moone, to the saluation of a part of euery countrey, and to double condemnation of the rest through making them inexcusable, who wil not turne in time. 7 And their exhortation shalbe this, which then I heard the Angel say with a lowd voyce; Feare God, and render him all glory, for the day of his iudgement comes at hand, adore him therefore who made heauen and earth, and seas, and fountaines of water, *to wit*, all things, good and euill: and the particular applications that these Witnesses shall make of this generall doctrine, to the times of corruption that they shall be in, shall be this that I heard two Angels folowing declare, of whom the first said; 8 It is fallen, It is fallen, *Babylon* that great City, because she gaue to al nations to drinke of the Vine of wrath, of her fornication or spiritual adulterie, *to wit*, that great Monarchie called *Babylon*, because it leades and keepes the soules of men in spirituall thraldome, euen as the Monarchie of *Babylon* led, and kept the people of Israel in a corporall captiuitie, that Monarchie, I say, shall be suddenly destroyed: for it is to be noted, that as there is no distinction of times in the presence of God, but all things are present vnto him, so he and his Angels calleth oftentimes that thing done, that is shortly and certainly to be done thereafter, which forme of speach ye wil sundry times heare thus vsed hereafter; That Monarchie, I say then, shall shortly be destroyed, and that iustly, because she hath abused a great part of the earth, by intising them to be senseless (as if they were drunken,) and to embrace her errours and idolatries or spirituall whoredome: For as men are entised by whores to leaue their owne spouse, and enter in to them, so shall they perswade the nations to leaue their societie with their spouse IESVS CHRIST, and onely settle their saluation vpon her, and for the committing of this spirituall whoredome, this Monarchie is here called *Shee*, and afterward the great *Whore*, and the reason that they shall giue why they make this warning, shall be in these words, which I heard the third Angel proclaime, *to wit*, 9 For whosoeuer shall adore this Beast any longer, or his image, or take his character on his forehead, or his hand, as ye heard before, 10 He shall for his iust reward and punishment, drinke of the Wine of the wrath of God, yea of the pure and immixed wine thereof, powred out in the cup of his wrath: And he shalbe tormented with fire and brimstone, *to wit*, he shall be cast into hell, the torments whereof they doe signifie, and that in the presence of the holy Angels, for they shall beare witnesse against him in the sight of the *Lambe*: for the *Lambe* shall iudge and condemne him: 11 And the smoake of his torments shall mount vp in all worlds to come, *to wit*, he shalbe vncessantly tormented for euer: For all these that adore the Beast and his image, and hath the character of his name, shall not haue rest day nor night, *to wit*, they shalbe perpetually tormented without any release or relieue. 12 And in these dayes when the Witnesses shalbe making this exhortation, in these things shall the constancie of the Saints or faithfull

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faithfull be tried, and by this triall ſhall they be knowne and diſcerned, that obſerue and retaine the Commandements of God, and the faith of Ieſus the Sauiour. 13 Then I heard a voice from heauen, ſaying to me, Write, Bleſſed are the dead that die for the Lords cauſe hereafter, ſo ſayes the Spirit, for they reſt from their trauails, and their workes follow them: This voyce from heauen did by theſe wordes declare vnto me, that theſe Witneſſes who ſhould make this exhortation that ye haue heard, ſhould be perſecuted therefore by that ſpirituall *Babylon*; but that theſe ſhould be happieſt, who loſt their liues for ſo good a cauſe, for the confirmation whereof the holy Spirit ſayes, Yea, and ſubioynes the reaſon, *to wit*, becauſe both they reſt from theſe continuall labours and troubles, that they were alwayes ſubiect vnto in the earth, and in recompenſe thereof their workes follow them: for as faith is the onely leader of men to heauen, and ſo goes before them; ſo according to the greatneſſe and honour of their calling in earth, if they diſcharge it well, they are rewarded in heauen with a meaſure of glory conformed thereunto; and ſo their workes follow them, to obtaine that meaſure in that place wherof they were already aſſured by the meanes of faith in Chriſt onely. For although the Sunne, and the Moone, and the ſtarres be all bright lampes and lights of the heauen, yet are they not all alike bright, but the brightneſſe of euery one of them is different from the other; Alwayes let vs aſſure our ſelues, that although our meaſures ſhall be vnequall, yet from the greateſt to the leaſt, all the veſſels of mercie ſhall enioy in all fulneſſe, as much glory as they ſhalbe able to containe, and the vnequalitie of the meaſure ſhalbe, becauſe they are not able euery one of them to containe alike in quantitie; and the like ſhalbe done with the meaſures of paines to the reprobate in hell. 14 Then I beheld, and loe I ſaw a white cloud, and vpon the cloud ſate one like a man, hauing on his head a crowne of gold, and in his hand a ſharpe ſickle: 15 And an other Angel came out of the temple, & cried with a lowd voice to him that ſate vpon the cloud, Thruſt in thy ſickle to reape, for the houre of thy reaping is come, and the harueſt of the earth is withered for ripeneſſe, and readineſſe to be cut: He who was like the Sunne of man, and was ſitting on a white cloud, was Chriſt in a bright cloud of glory, crowned with a Crowne of victory; all that was ſpoken of him here, was to declare to me, that the laſt dayes wherein his comming againe ſhalbe, ſhall be next following, to the reuealing of *Babylon*, by the reuiuing of the witneſſes, as ye heard in the end of the ſixt Trumpet; 16 At what time Chriſt ſhall gather his harueſt of the elect together, as I heard himſelfe ſay while he was yet on earth among vs. 17 Then another Angel came forth of the Temple that is in heauen, and he had an other ſharp ſickle in his hand: 18 And an other Angel came from the Altar, who had power ouer the fire, and he cried with a lowd voice to him that had the other ſharpe ſickle, ſaying, Put downe thy ſharpe ſickle, and gather the cluſters of the Vine-trees, for the grapes are ripe. 19 Then the Angel put downe his ſickle on the earth, and gathered the Vines of the

earth,

earth, and cast them in the winepresse of the wrath of God: For so soone as Christ hath gathered his harueſt together, then the reprobate are fully to be destroyed, as is declared here by the Angels command, who came from the Altar, *to wit*, as directed by Christ. This Angel had power ouer the fire, *to wit*, he had direction to destroy, as he commanded, the messenger of Gods plagues, who had the sickle to doe it, who at his command cut the Vines and cast them in the great Winepresse of Gods wrath, *to wit*, destroyed the reprobate in the abundance of the wrath of God: 20 And the Winepresse was troden without the Citie, and the blood came out of the Winepresse, euen to the horse bridles, and spred to the bounds of one thousand and sixe hundred furlongs. This is surely a great comfort to all the chosen, that notwithstanding all the rest of the world, except such as are Christes harueſt, whom he hath gathered together in the holy Citie, the rest, I say, shalbe destroyed in such a great number, as their blood shall of deepenesse come to the horse bridles, and ouerflow the whole land of Canaan, whereof the number of furlongs, or eight parts of miles, ye heard, is the length; Yet though it ouerflow the whole earth, which is signified by Canaan, it shalbe without the holy Citie which is in the middest of the land, *to wit*, although the trew Church shalbe in the middest of the world, as *Ieruſalem* was in Canaan, yet that destruction shall not make a haire of one of their heads to fall, but it shalbe without them, and they fully exempted from it, as the land of *Goſhen* was from the plagues of *Egypt*.

CHAP. XV.

ARGVMENT.

The faithfull praiſeth God for the Popes deſtruction, and their deliuerance: The plagues which are to light on him and his followers, is to be declared by the powring forth of the ſeuen Phials.

THen I saw another signe in heauen, great and wonderfull, *to wit*, seuen Angels hauing the seuen last plagues, for by them is fulfilled the wrath of God; for the Spirit of God, hauing already declared vnto me the generall destruction of the whole world, which is without the holy citie, hee next declared vnto me, vnto my greater comfort, the particular plagues that are to light vpon spirituall Babylon, as a iust recompense of her sinnes, and of the plagues that shee is to loade the earth withall; and these are the seuen hinmost which are in the hands of the seuen Angels, of whom there is here mention made. 2 And I saw as it had beene a glassie Sea mixed with fire, and they that had wonne the victory ouer the beast, and ouer his image, or embassadours, and his character and the number of his name, *to wit*, from that time that the last beast rose out of the ruines of the other, I saw these victours (I say) standing aboue, or vpon this sea of glasse, and

and they had the harpes of God: For now hauing declared on the one part how vnhappie the ſtate of Babylon ſhall be by the ſeuen laſt plagues, which ſhall fall vpon it; ſo on the other part, by theſe who ſtand on the ſea of glaſſe mixed with fire, he declared vnto me what ſhould be the bleſſed eſtate of the choſen, at that time that theſe plagues ſhall fall vpon Babylon, *to wit*, of theſe victours; for they ſhall reueale the Antichriſt and deface him, they ſhall then behold the reſt of the world, which is here ſignified by the ſea of glaſſe, and they ſhall haue the harpes of God, *to wit*, the praiſes of God in their mouthes, becauſe he hath mixed this glaſſie ſea with fire, *to wit*, hath deſtroyed and made his iudgements to fall vpon this wicked world, as their ſong which followes will declare: 3 And they ſung the ſong of *Moſes* the ſeruant of God, & the ſong of the Lambe: It was called the ſong of *Moſes*, as well becauſe they did ſing the praiſes of Gods iuſtice vpon this glaſſie Sea, to the reuenge of the blood of his choſen, as *Moſes* ſayth in the very laſt wordes of his Canticle; as becauſe *Moſes* praiſed God for the deliuerance of his people, from the corporall thraldome of Egypt; and the ſong of the Lambe, becauſe they praiſed him for doing the like, by relieuing the Church from the thraldome of the ſpirituall Egypt in the times of the Euangel: and their ſong was this; Great and wonderfull are thy workes, O Lord God Almightie, iuſt in puniſhment, and trew, for the performance of thy promiſes are thy wayes, O King, and defender of all thy Saints and trew followers: 4 Who will not feare, O Lord, and glorifie thy Name, ſince thou art onely perfectly holy, for all nations ſhall come at the latter day, and adore before thee, ſince thy iudgements are now made manifeſt, and lighted vpon the earth. 5 And next after this, I ſaw theſe particular plagues euery one, (for the which the Saints did thus praiſe God, as followeth) for I did looke, and I ſaw the Temple of the Tabernacle of the Teſtimonie in heauen opened; the like of this ye heard was done in the beginning of the ſeuenth Trumpet, and for the ſame cauſe it was alſo done here, *to wit*, to ſhew the Arke of the couenant which was therein, for thereby God did witneſſe, that hee was now mindfull of his promiſe by the ſending out of theſe ſeuen Angels, and ſeuen plagues, which were now to be executed. 6 And out of this Temple came ſeuen Angels, for from the remembrance of his Arke and Couenant proceeded their direction, and they were clothed with pure and white linnen, for innocencie and puritie, and girded about their breaſts with gold, for honour and glory. 7 And one of the foure beaſts gaue theſe Angels ſeuen Phials of golde, full of the wrath of God that liues eternally, and for all worlds to come: Theſe Angels are thus arayed, and theſe golden and precious Phials of the wrath of God, are giuen them by one of the foure beaſts, the moſt excellent creatures of God, all to teach vs, that as theſe plagues ſhall be moſt bitter to *Babylon* and her followers, ſo ſhall they be moſt ſweet to all the choſen for their deliuerance; for they are to light vpon the wicked, and no wayes to harme any of the holy Citie. 8 And the Temple in heauen was filled

with

with the ſmoake comming from the Maieſtie of God, and from his vertue and power: And there could none go in into the Temple while the ſeuen plagues of the ſeuen Angels were fulfilled, to teach vs that no fleſh, how guiltleſſe ſoeuer it be, can compeare before God, when in his wrathfull face he is clothed with iuſtice, but onely when with a cheerefull countenance, clothed with mercy, he ſtretcheth foorth his hands vnto vs.

CHAP. XVI.

ARGVMENT.

By the firſt Phyale the Popes followers are plagued with ſundry new and vnknowen diſeaſes: By the ſecond Phiale all kinde of plagues, ſuch as ſword, famine, and peſtilence light vpon the nations that acknowledge him: By the third, are diuers Popes raiſed vp at one time, who ſtriuing for the ſeats, fight among themſelues, and ſo they are iuſtly recompenſed for ſhedding the blood of the Saints: By the fourth, the reuerence of him begins to waxe colde in the hearts of men: By the fift, his abuſes begin to be diſcouered: By the ſixt, his forces decay, which he perceiuing, houndeth out the Ieſuits, to gather all his forces to deſtroy the faithfull, with whom God fights to his deſtruction: By the ſeuenth, the latter day is deſcribed, and the Popedome rent aſunder.

THen I heard a voice out of the Temple, ſaying to theſe ſeuen Angels, Goe powre foorth in great abundance vpon the earth, the ſeuen Phials of the wrath of God; for now they were to be ſhewen, and to be deſcribed vnto me. 2 Then the firſt Angel went to worke, and powred foorth his Phiale on the earth, and there fell a great and grieuous ſore vpon all them that had the character of the beaſt, or adored his image: Theſe plagues which were ſhewed to me, were onely ordained to light on Babylon, (as I ſaid before) and therefore they mete vnto her with the meaſure that ſhee ſhall meaſure others with, *to wit*, they ſhall plague her and her followers with the like plagues that ſhe ſhall plague others with, correſponding aſwell in number as in qualitie: they alſo haue alluſion to the plagues of Egypt, becauſe ſhe is called ſpiritually Egypt, (as yee heard in the ſixt Trumpet) and ſo by this firſt plague is ſignified, that as ſhee perſecuted the faithfull, and killed them, (as is declared in the ſixt Trumpet) and as *Moſes* made a ſcabbe to come vpon all the Egyptians for *Pharaohs* ſake, ſo ſhall there fall a peſtilent and pernicious ſore vpon all his followers, *to wit*, they ſhall be troubled with diuers new and horrible diſeaſes. 3 Then the ſecond Angel powred foorth his Phiale vpon the ſea, and the ſea was made by it like the blood of a dead body, and euery liuing thing in the ſea died; for as that beaſt ſhould firſt ſo trouble the ſea, *to wit*, the peoples and nations, with perſecuting all them who wil not adore her, and by her abuſe cauſe the world to become dead to all good workes and

fruitfull faith, as is declared by the vision where I saw her rise out of the sea; and as *Moses* turned the redde sea into a corrupted blood, with drowning the Egyptians, (which is here called the blood of a carrion) by the which all the fishes therein were poisoned; so shal the nations and the peoples, which are the followers and partakers of Babylon, be troubled with warres within and without, and with all kinde of plagues, such as pestilence, and famine, and such others. 4 Then the third Angel powred foorth his phiale vpon the Riuers and fountaines of water, and they became blood; for as this false Church and grashoppers did corporally succeed to the fountaines of waters, *to wit*, the trew Pastours, (as ye heard in the third Trumpet) and did assist their King *Apollyon*, to persecute bloodily the liuely fountaines of waters, or trew Pastours, who yet remained vncorrupted, as ye heard in the sixt Trumpet; and as *Moyses* made all the riuers and fountaines of waters in Egypt to become blood, so shall the teachers and heads of this false Church, be diuided among themselues, yea there shall be in three or foure diuers places, three or foure diuers persons, and euery one of them shall claime to be king of the locusts; which question shall be decided by the cruell and bloodie edge of the sword: And therefore to shew me how iustly that great persecutor of the Saints, is now made to be the persecutor of himselfe, diuided in diuers persons, 5 I heard the Angel of the waters, *to wit*, the third Angel, who powred these plagues vpon the waters, vse these words; Iust art thou, O Lord, who is, who was, and holy for that thou hast iudged these things; 6 Because euen as they, *to wit*, these corrupt, filthie, and false fountaines of waters, haue shed the blood of thy Saints and Prophets; so hast thou now giuen them of blood to drinke, for they are worthy of such a reward. 7 Then I heard the voice of one from the Sanctuarie, for confirmation hereof, saying; Certainely, O Lord God, trew and iust are thy Iudgements, for thou hast perfourmed thy promise, and hast iustly recompensed them. 8 Then the fourth Angel powred foorth his phiale vpon the Sunne, and power was giuen vnto him to afflict men with fire; for euen as the Sunne was darkened in the fourth Trumpet, *to wit*, the speciall teachers did begin to fall from the sinceritie of the trewth, enticed thereunto, though not by *Apollyon* himselfe, (for hee was not yet risen) yet by the qualities whereof hee is composed, and therefore is he here punished for the same: And as *Moses* troubled by the hote Easterne winde the land of Egypt by the breeding of grashoppers, so shall the fierie spirit of God in the mouthes of his witnesses, so trouble *Babylon* with the burning sunne of Gods trewth, as men shall be troubled with a great heat, *to wit*, she and her followers shall be tormented and vexed therewith. 9 But they blasphemed the name of God who had power ouer these plagues, and repented not, that they might giue him glory; for such is the nature of the wicked, and so hardened are their hearts, that the same scourges and afflictions which make the godly turne themselues to God, and so are the sauour of life vnto them to their eternall saluation,

saluation, they by the contrary make the wicked to runne from euill vnto worse, and so are the sauour of death vnto them to their iust and eternall condemnation. 10 Then the fifth Angel powred forth his phiale euen vpon the very throne of the beast, and his kingdome was made darke, and they, *to wit*, he and his followers gnawed their tongues for dolour: for as this beast did breed and was nourished by the smoake and darkenesse that came foorth of the bottomlesse pit, whereof he is the Angel and messenger, as was declared in the fift Trumpet: And as *Moses* made a great darkenesse to come vpon the land of Egypt, so now after the witnesses reuealing him, which yee heard signified by the heat in the fourth phiale, shall follow, that this kingdome shall become obscure by the light of the trewth, and shall come to be despised by many, whereby he and his followers shall be mooued to a great rage, which I meant by gnawing their tongues for dolour. 11 And they blasphemed the God of heauen for their dolours and griefes, and repented them not of their workes: for as I said before, neither corporall punishments, signified by sores, nor spirituall, signified by dolours, can moue them to repent, but to a greater obstinacie and rage, as ye shall see by their actions, immediatly after the powring foorth of the sixt phiale vpon the great water *Euphrates*. 12 Then the sixt Angel powred foorth his phiale vpon the great riuer of *Euphrates*, and the waters thereof were dried vp, that the passage of the Kings, comming from the East might be prepared, so as that beast by the meanes of many people (signified by waters) did tyrannize ouer the Church of God; and as *Moses* by *Aarons* rod made a dry and safe passage through the Red-sea to the people of Israel, so God by this plague dries vp that great water *Euphrates*, which compasseth *Babylon*, during his will, *to wit*, he makes now the power of this Monarchie to decay, and layes it open to inuasion and destruction, as ye shall heare: This water was dried to make passage for the Kings comming from the Sun rising, alluding to *Daniel*, as I shewed in the sixt Trumpet: for euen as the *Persians* and *Medes* came from the East, crossed *Euphrates*, ouercame *Babylon* and slew *Balthasar* King thereof, so immediately after that the Witnesses haue begun to reueale spirituall *Babylon*, as is declared in the fourth phiale, and that thereupon hath followed, that the kingdome thereof is become darke, as is declared in the fift phiale; then shall follow, that God shall prepare the destruction thereof, by drying *Euphrates*, whereupon shall ensue, that such instruments as God shall appoint, directed by that Sunne rising, *to wit*, Christ (as ye heard in the sixt Seale) shall destroy that King, and sacke that great Citie, to the perpetuall confusion of all her followers, as ye wil heare more clearely declared hereafter. 13 And then I saw from the mouth of the dragon, and from the mouth of the beast, and from the mouth of the false prophet, three vncleane spirits come foorth like to froggs; for this is all the repentance that these three phials shall worke in the heart of *Babylon*, as I said before, *to wit*, for the last remedie, the diuel or dragon shall inuent him a fresh order of

Exod. 14.

Chap. 9.

Eccleſiaſticall factours and Agents, as the diuels laſt brood: Theſe are the ſame that I called horſe, in the viſion in the ſixt Trumpet, three in number to correſpond to their threefold armour, as ye heard in the ſaid Trumpet, becauſe there came out of their mouthes three ſorts of perſecutions and deſtructions; And themſelues came out of three mouthes, out of the dragons, becauſe the diuel is the inuenter of them, out of the beaſts, becauſe the beaſt or King of Locuſts commands ouer them, directs and employes them for the ſtanding of his kingdome, as the laſt refuge when now he ſees the decay thereof euidently comming on, out of his falſe prophets or falſe Churches, becauſe it authoriſes them for the aforeſaid effects: Theſe vncleane ſpirits and teachers of falſe and hereticall doctrines and wicked policies, reſembling frogges, as well for that they are bred of an old, filthy, and corrupted falſe doctrine, which for a long ſpace haue blinded the world before their comming, as frogges breed of rotten and ſlimie corruption; as alſo for that they goe craftily about to vndermine and condemne all Eccleſiaſticall orders preceding them, as vnperfect and vnprofitable, becauſe their kingdome is darkeneſſe; But howſoeuer they thus craftily inſinuate themſelues in the fauours of the people, ſurely their doctrine is nothing elſe, but the very ſame filthy puddle of vncleane and wicked hereſies and impieties, taught by the graſhoppers before, euen as the yong frogges grow like the former. 14 For they are ſpirits of diuels, *to wit*, wicked and craftie like them, doing myracles of deceipt, for they ſhall wonderfully deceiue men; and they goe to all the Kings of the earth, and to the whole world, to gather them together to the battell of that day of God Almightie; for they ſhall haue ſuch credit of a great part of the Princes of the earth, as I alſo ſhewed you in the ſixt Trumpet, as they ſhall gather great forces together, as the laſt brood of the diuel, as I told you before, to fight againſt his Church, who notwithſtanding ſhall ouercome them, as will after more clearely be declared. 15 Happy are they then that ſwarue not, nor deſpaire in the meane time, but awake and keepe their garments cleane and vndefiled from the generall corruption, leſt otherwiſe they walke naked, not clothed with the garment of righteouſnes, and ſo their ſhamefull parts, or naturall inclination to euill be diſcouered: For loe I come as a thiefe, for no man ſhall know the houre, nor time of my comming. 16 And the place whereunto theſe vncleane ſpirits gathered the Kings to this battell againſt Gods Church, in Hebrew is called *Armageddon*: for by deceipt they aſſembled the Kings and nations to their owne deſtruction. 17 Then the ſeuenth Angel powred out his phiale in the aire, and there came forth a great voyce from the Temple in heauen, euen from the Throne, ſaying, It is done. 18 Then was heard great ſounds, and lightnings and thunders, and there was a great earthquake, and ſuch in greatneſſe was neuer ſeene ſince men were vpon the face of the earth; for euen as the aire was troubled and obſcured by ſmoke of hell, out of the which the king of Locuſtes, bred in the firſt Seale, and as *Moſes* made haile

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in great abundance to fall on *Egypt*, which Meteore doeth breed in the aire; so God hauing stricken the battell against *Babylon*, and her followers, and hauing ouercome them, as ye heard in the sixt Seale; now followeth immediatly the last plague of the consummation by the aire; for in the aire shall that great noise be heard, which is the fore-runner of that *Great day*, most comfortable to the trew Church, but most terrible to all the rest of the world, which day is proclaimed by the voice of God from his Temple, wherein was his Couenant, declaring the consummation in these words ye heard; and as the great noise signifies the same, so in speciall doeth the great earthquake, as Christ himselfe propheſying thereof, doeth declare. 19 And that Citie was rent in sunder in three parts, and that iustly, because she destroyed the third part of the earth, as ye heard in the sixt Trumpet: and the Cities of the nations fell, because they dranke the cup of her abominations: And great *Babylon* and her sinnes, came then in memorie before God; for then he was to make her drinke the cup full of his wrath, to her vtter destruction. 20 And all the Isles fled, and the mountaines were no more found, for no deepenes of Seas, nor inaccessiblenes of mountaines shall haue power to saue the wicked, from the fearefull and terrible iudgements of that great and last day: This doeth also signifie the *latter day*, as ye heard before. 21 And a great haile to the greatnesse of talents fell vpon men, but they blasphemed God for the plague of haile, for it was exceeding great; This great haile signifieth also a great destruction at the latter day, as ye heard in the seuenth Trumpet, but yet the wicked shall be so stiffenecked, as euen at their last breath, their malice and obstinacie shall rather encrease then diminish, as is declared here by mens blaspheming of God for the plague of the haile.

CHAP. XVII.

ARGVMENT.

The Angel expounded to Iohn this vision of the Pope, describes him at large, and clearely declares the authors, and maner of his destruction.

BVt becausse that these plagues, and *Babylon* whereupon they lighted, did seeme obscure vnto me, therefore one of the seuen Angels who powred forth their phials ful of plagues, did say vnto me, Here then, I will shew vnto thee more plainely the condemnation of this great *Whore*, and what shee is that sitteth vpon many waters; 2 With whom the Kings of the earth haue committed spirituall adulterie, and with the wine of whose whoredome the inhabitants of the earth, *to wit*, a great number of nations, who are not of the Elect, are made drunke, as you heard before. 3 Then he bereft me in Spirit, as I told you in the beginning of this Epistle, to the

wildernes,which ſignifies the Genteliſme,as ſaith *Eſay*; for ſhe and her followers are Gentiles in effect, as ye heard in the ſixt Trumpet: And as our *Maſter* ſayes, All theſe that gather not with vs,they ſcatter; for no more is there a middeſt betwixt God and the diuell,nor betwixt the rewards thereof,heauen and hell; and as one of theſe two Maſters we muſt of neceſſitie follow, ſo of the ſame neceſſitie to one of theſe two places muſt we goe. And then I ſaw in the wildernes a woman, euen *Babylon* that *whore*, ſitting on a ſcarlet coloured and bloody beaſt, euen as ſhee was ſitting before in the likeneſſe of a man vpon a pale horſe, in the fourth Seale: And this beaſt was full of blaſphemie, and had ſeuen heads and tenne hornes,as ye heard before. 4 And the woman was clothed with purple and ſcarlet and pretious ſtones and pearles, and had in her hand a golden Cup; for this Monarchie and the Monarch thereof, ſhall aſwell be corporally clothed with theſe colours, and decked with pretious ſtones; as alſo, theſe colours which are fineſt of all others, and theſe pretious ſtones ſignifie, that this Monarchie and the ſeat thereof, ſhalbe moſt glorious and glauncing to the eyes of the world, as I ſaid before, which ſhall not onely be the trew Church by appearance of outward glory, but euen retaine many of the generall points of religion, which is ſignified by her golden Cup; but this Cup was full of abhominations, and of the vncleanneſſe of her ſpirituall whoredomes: For albeit in many points ſhe ſhal retaine the trewth, which ſhall abuſe men,and allure them to her, yet ſhall ſhe mixe and poyſon this trewth with her owne abominable and hereticall inuentions, and traditions, and with the vncleanneſſe of her ſpirituall adulterie, whereof ye haue heard before. 5 And on her forehead was written a myſterie, *Babylon* the great, *to wit*, *ſpirituall Babylon*, as ye heard before,the mother of the whoredomes and the abhominations of the earth; for from her ſhall proceed the greateſt, and in a maner, the onely chiefe abuſes and hereſies, coloured and clothed with the ſhew and title of Chriſtianitie, with the which theſe, who ſhall outwardly ſay, *Lord, Lord*, ſhall euer be infected with, vntill the conſummation, and as a mother, ſhe ſhall not onely breed, but ſhalbe the chiefe nouriſher and maintainer of them; And this is called a myſterie, becauſe although this abuſe ſhall be publike, as is ſignified by being written on her forehead, yet none ſhall conſider the abuſe thereof, but onely ſuch, whoſe eyes it ſhall pleaſe God to illuminate for that effect. 6 And I ſaw the woman drunken with the blood of the Saints,and of the Martyrs, and witneſſes of Ieſus the Sauiour, *to wit*, ſhe ſhall greedily and cruelly ſhed their blood without all meaſure, reaſon or pitie, as yee haue often heard before: And when I thus ſaw her, I wondered at her marueilouſly, and I could not coniecture the meaning of the ſeuen heads and ten hornes that the beaſt had, on whom ſhe ſate. 7 And the Angel who had now ſhewen her vnto me, as ye now haue heard, ſeeing me thus wonder, ſayes vnto me, Marueile not, for I will reueale vnto thee the myſterie of this woman, and of the beaſt ſhee rideth vpon, which hath ſeuen heads

and

and ten hornes: [8] This beast that thou hast seene (or Monarchie) was, (for it is the fourth Monarchie, which is very great and flourishing) and is not, for it is now so farre decayed, that in a maner it is not, and it is to rise againe out of the bottomlesse pit, as yee heard in the fift Trumpet, how soone the wound of the head shall be healed, whereof ye heard before, and it shall goe to perdition, as ye often haue heard already, and the in-dwellers of the earth shall wonder, whose names are not written in the booke of life, before the foundation of the world was laide; of this wondering yee heard before; they shall wonder (I say) at this beast, which was, *to wit*, in great power, and is not, *to wit*, in a maner, as ye presently heard, and yet is, I meane doeth stand, though farre decayed from the former greatnesse: [9] Take good heede vnto this that I declare vnto thee, for herein shall the trew wisedome of men be tried, *to wit*, in knowing by this my description, what particular Empire and Tyrannie I speake of: And the seuen heads of this beast signifie, aswell seuen materiall hilles, whereupon the seate of this Monarchie is situated, as also seuen kings, or diuers formes of Magistrates that this Empire hath had, and is to haue hereafter; [10] Fiue of them haue beene alreadie, one is presently, and makes the sixt, another shall follow it, and make the seuenth, but it is not yet come; and when it comes, it shall remaine but a very short space. [11] And this beast which was, *to wit*, so great, and is not, for now it is decaying, as thou presently hast heard it, is the eight, and yet one of the seuen; for this beast which rose out of the ruines of the fourth Monarchie, as ye heard before, in respect it vseth an hereticall Tyrannie ouer the consciences of men, by that new forme of Empire, is different from any of the rest, and so is the eight, and yet because this forme of gouernment shall haue the same seate which the rest had, and vse as great Tyrannie, and greater vpon the world, and shall vse the same forme in ciuill gouernment, which one of the seuen vsed, therefore becauſe it is so like them, I call it one of the seuen. [12] And the tenne hornes which thou sawest, signifie tenne Kings, *to wit*, the great number of subalterne Magistrates in all the Prouinces vnder that Monarchy, who haue not yet receiued their kingdome; for vnder all the diuers sorts of gouernments that shall be in it, except the last and hereticall sort, these subalterne powers shall be but in the ranke of subiects, but they shall take their kingly power with the beast, *to wit*, at the very time that this *Apollyon* shall rise out of the ashes of the fourth beast or Monarchie, the kings of the earth shall become his slaues and subalterne Magistrates, whereas the subiects were onely the power of that Monarchie before: so as the hornes or powers of this beast, were but of subiects before it was wounded, but after the healing of it, the worldly kings and rulers shall become the powers and hornes of it. [13] These shall haue one counsell, and shall giue their strength and power to the beast, *to wit*, these kings shal all willingly yeeld obedience to *Babylon*, and shall employ their whole forces for the maintenance of that Monarchie, and the persecution of the Saints: [14] For they shall

ſhal fight with the Lambe in his members, albeit all in vaine, for in the end the Lambe ſhall ouercome them, becauſe he is Lord of lords, and King of all kings, and theſe that are with him and followeth him, are called Choſen and Faithfull. [15] He alſo ſaid vnto me, The waters that thou ſaw this *Whore* ſit vpon, are the peoples, multitudes, nations, and tongues that haue ſubiected themſelues to her Empire: [16] But as touching theſe ten hornes thou ſaw, thus farre I foretell vnto thee, although that for a time theſe kings ſhall be ſlaues and ſeruants to *Babylon*, and ſhall be her inſtruments to perſecute the Saints, the time ſhall come before the conſummation, that they ſhall hate the *Whore*, who abuſed them ſo ſtrongly and long, and ſhall make her to be alone, for they ſhall withdraw from her their Subiects, the nations that were her ſtrength, and ſhall make her naked, for they ſhall diſcouer the myſterie of her abominations, and ſhall eate her fleſh, and burne her with fire, *to wit*, they ſhall ſpoile her of her riches, power and glory, and ſo deſtroy her. [17] But doe not thou wonder at this, for God gaue them in their hearts, *to wit*, permitted them to be abuſed by her for a ſpace, that they might doe what pleaſed her, and conſent to all her vnlawfull policies and pretences, and giue their kingdomes vnto this beaſt, vntill the words of God might be accompliſhed, *to wit*, they ſhall ſubmit their very Crownes, and take the right thereof from her, vnto the fulneſſe of times here prophecied: At what time God ſhall raiſe them vp, as ye heard, to deſtroy *Babylon*; for the hearts of the greateſt kings, as well as of the ſmalleſt ſubiects, are in the hands of the Lord, to be his inſtruments, and to turne them as it ſhall pleaſe him to employ them. [18] And this woman, or *Whore* which thou ſaweſt, is that great citie and ſeate of this Beaſt or Monarchie, which beareth rule ouer the kings of the earth, as thou haſt heard alreadie: But although it be one ſeat, yet diuers and a great number of kings or heads thereof, ſhall ſucceed into it, one to another, all vpholding an hereticall religion, and falſe worſhip of God, and one forme of gouernment, as the fourth Monarchie did, out of the which this did ſpring, as ye haue heard.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

ARGVMENT.

The sorrow of the earth for the destruction of the Popedome: The profite that worldly men had by his standing: The great riches and wealth of that Church: The Pope by his Pardons makes merchandise of the soules of men: Heauen and the Saints reioyce at his destruction, albeit the earth and the worldlings lament for the same.

AND then I saw another Angel comming downe from heauen, hauing great power, so that the earth shined with his glory, for so soone as God, by one of the seauen Angels who had the phials, had more plainely described vnto mee this woman sitting on the beast, then he did before, hee now appointeth this other Angel, who is Christ, to declare vnto me, and proclaime to the world (as is signified by his comming downe to the earth for that cause) the iust condemnation of *Babylon* according to her sinnes. 2 And hee cryed out with a loude voyce, saying, *It is fallen, It is fallen, Babylon* that great Citie, and it is made the dwelling place of vncleane spirits, and the habitation of all vncleane and hatefull fowles, *to wit*, it shall be destroyed, and that great Citie, the seate of that Monarchie, shall be desolate for euer, euen as it was prophesied of *Ierusalem*; 3 Because all nations haue drunke of the Vine of her whoredome, and the kings of the earth haue committed whoredome with her, and the Merchants of the earth are become rich by the great wealth of her delights, in so great a worldly glory and pompe did that Monarchie shine. 4 And I heard another voyce from heauen, *to wit*, the voyce of the holy Spirit, saying, Goe foorth from her my people, *to wit*, all the chosen, lest ye be participants of her sinnes, and of the plagues which are to fall vpon her for them: For if but outwardly ye haunt with her, and seeme to beare with her abominations, yee shall bee accounted guiltie of her sinnes; for if ye will haue Christ to professe you publikely at the latter day, before his Father and his Angels, and reward both your body and soule with eternall felicitie, yee must not bee ashamed to serue him both in body and soule before men. And this warning I giue you before-hand to make you inexcusable, who will otherwise doe: 5 For her sinnes are come to such a height, as they haue touched the heauen, and God is mindfull of them; then not onely haunt not with her, as I haue said, (for it is not enough not to doe euil) but, 6 Rayse your selues vp against her, and render the like that she hath done to you, yea pay her with the double of her owne workes, and in the cup which she propined vnto others, render her the double, *to wit*, trouble, and destroy her by all meanes, and in all things, euen as she troubled and destroyed others before; and according to her pride and wantonnesse, recompence her with torment, woe, and wailing: 7 For she sayes in her mind, *I sit a Queene*, or

or am a ſtabled Monarch, neither am I a widow, or ſhall euer bee deſolate, nor ſhall euer ſee dolour, or taſte deſtruction. 8 And therefore becauſe ſhe thus builds her felicitie vpon her worldly ſtrength, by worldly inſtruments ſhall ſhee bee plagued, with death, with dolour, with hunger, and burnt with fire, *to wit*, after ſuffering all ſorts of torments, ſhee ſhall in the end be vtterly deſtroyed; for ſtrong is the Lord God, who ſhall condemne her. 9 And then ſhall the kings of the earth, who were her hornes, and had committed whoredome and riotouſneſſe with her before, weepe and lament for pittie, when they ſee the ſmoake of her burning; for although ſome of themſelues ſhall be the deſtroyers, as ye heard before, yet ſhall her deſtruction be ſo great, as their hearts ſhall pittie the worke of their hands, when they ſhall ſee the great ſmoake of her deſtruction. 10 And they ſhall ſtand farre off from her torment, *to wit*, her torment ſhall put them in memorie of their guiltineſſe of her ſinnes, which ſhall afray them wonderfully, and ſhall ſay in great admiration, *Alas, Alas*, for that great Citie Babylon, that ſtrong Citie, whoſe iudgement and deſtruction is all come in one howre, and at once. 11 And the Merchants of the earth ſhall weepe and mourne for her, becauſe their merchandiſe wil no more bee bought, for her pompe ſhall make the Merchants rich, by getting readie ſale of all fine wares, 12 Such as gold, ſiluer, precious ſtones, pearles, fine linnen, purple, ſilke, and ſcarlet for her garments, and all kind of veſſels to doe her idolatrous ſeruice, of Iuorie, coſtly wood, braſſe, iron, or marble ſtone; 13 Cynamome, and all kind of odours for her Church, with oyntments, and incenſe for the ſame purpoſe, and the fine flower of wheat, and all kind of victuals and cattell, and ſheepe for her ſumptuous banquets, and horſe, and Chariots, and ſlaues for her triumphes, and proceſſions, and ſoules of men; for ſhee ſhall haue many that ſhall be Merchants vnto her of the ſoules of men, by ſelling for mony, Pardons giuen by that Monarch, which ſhall bee thought to haue power to ſaue, redeeme and free mens ſoules: but ye ſhal heare more ſhortly of this hereafter. 14 And the fruits of the deſire of thy ſoule, O *Babylon*, ſhall goe from thee, *to wit*, thy ioyes and delights ſhall all turne to ſorrow, and all fat and faire things are gone from thee, *to wit*, thou ſhalt leaue all profit and pleaſure, neither ſhalt thou euer find them any more, for thou ſhalt be deſtroyed for euer. 15 And ſo the Merchants of theſe ſtuffes, being made rich by the buying and ſelling of them, they ſhall ſtand afarre off from thy torments, and weepe, and waile, 16 ſaying, *Alas Alas*; for that great Citie that was clothed with fine linnen, purple, and ſcarlet, and was of ſo gliſtering a pompe, as was gilded with gold, and decked with pretious ſtones and pearles: 17 For loe now how in one houre all her riches and pompe is evaniſhed, and all the gouernours and owners of ſhips, and all the multitudes of men in the ſhips, and all the Marriners in them, and all theſe who gaine their liuing vpon the ſea, ſhal ſtand afarre off for feare, 18 And cry, ſeeing the ſmoke of her burning, ſaying with a great admiration, Who was like in power or

ſhining

ſhining glorie to this Citie? 19 And for pittie of her decay,and ſorow for wanting by that meanes, the carrying to her from all other countries all ſorts of merchandiſe, they ſhall caſt duſt and aſhes vpon their heades, and ſay, *Alas, Alas* for that great Citie, wherein was made rich all theſe that had ſhippes vpon the ſea, by the prices and trade ſhee made vs haue, and now ſhe is made deſolate in one houre: 20 But although the earthly men bee ſorrowfull for her fall, as yee haue heard, becauſe they want their earthly commodities and pleaſures thereby, which ſhe whoſe religion was earthly, *to wit*, founded vpon mens traditions and inuentions, and maintained by earthly pompe and power, did make them enioy; yet reioyce yee heauens for her fall,and ye holy Apoſtles and Prophets be glad thereof; for God, in puniſhing her hath reuenged your cauſe. 21 Then for confirmation of this Propheſie of her deſtruction, I ſawe a ſtrong Angel take a great ſtone like a milſtone, and caſt it in the ſea, ſaying, Euen with ſuch a force ſhall Babylon that great Citie be caſten downe, and the very place thereof ſhall no more be found, as *Ieremy* propheſied of corporall Babylon. 22 And the ſound of harpers, and muſitians, and players on pipes and trumpets ſhall no more be heard in thee; for no ioy nor mirth ſhall any more bee in that Monarchie, or the ſeate thereof, nor no craftes-man of any craft ſhall bee found in thee, neither ſhall the grinding of the mill be heard any more in thee; for that Citie, or ſeate and Monarchie ſhall no more bee inhabited: 23 And the light of a candle ſhal be no more found in thee, and the voice of the husband and the wife ſhall no more be heard in thee; for as it ſhall not be inhabited any more by the wicked, ſo neither ſhall the godly dwell therein; ſo accurſed ſhall it be, ſo as the lampes of the fiue virgins ſhall not burne there, neither ſhall Chriſt and his ſpouſe, the true Church any more be there, although that during the ſtanding of that Monarchie, ſome choſen, though few and ſecret, were, and at all times ſhall be, euen within that City, the ſeate thereof, whoſe merchants were the great men of the earth, and with whoſe witchcrafts all nations were ſeduced. 24 And the blood of the Prophets, and of the Saints was found in her, and of all them that were ſlaine vpon the earth, *to wit*, this plague of deſtruction ſhall iuſtly fall vpon her, aſwell for that ſhe made her meſſengers or embaſſadours, who are great in power, (as yee heard before) to bee the ſellers of her Pardons, Prayers, Sacraments, Merits, and euen of the ſinnes, and ſoules of men, as ye haue preſently heard; and ſo by that meanes and the like,bewitched, as it were, and abuſed many nations; as alſo for that ſhee had cruelly perſecuted and murthered the Saints, ſo as the blood of all the Saints ſince *Abel*, who willingly ſacrificed their liues for the loue of Gods trewth, and for the teſtimonie of his Sonne, ſhall be layd vpon her head, and imputed vnto her, in following, fulfilling, and exceeding the rage of former Tyrants, oppreſſing and perſecuting the Church of God.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

ARGVMENT.

The Saints praiſe God for ioy that the Pope is deſtroyed: The glorious forme of Chriſtes ſecond comming ſet downe at large: The Pope and his Church is condemned for euer.

THen according to the voyces ſpeaking to the heauen, and Prophets and Apoſtles there, *to wit*, that they ſhould reioyce as much for the fall of *Babylon*, as the vnregenerate men did lament therefore, as ye haue heard; according, I ſay, to this exhortation, I heard the voyce of a great multitude in heauen, ſaying, *Hallelu-iah*, which is if ye interpret it, *Praiſe God with a lowde voyce*, Saluation, honour, glorie, and power is onely with our Lord God: 2 For true and iuſt are his Iudgements, and he hath condemned that great *Whore*, who hath defiled the earth with her whoredome, and he with his hand hath reuenged vpon her the blood of his ſeruants: 3 Then for the ſecond time they ſaid, *Hallelu-iah*; for the ſmoake of her deſtruction goeth vp in all worlds to come, for ſhe ſhall neuer riſe againe, but ſhalbe burned with a perpetuall fire. 4 And likewiſe for thankeſgiuing for the ſame, the foure and twentie Elders fell downe vpon their faces before God, and adored him, and the foure Beaſts alſo adored God ſitting vpon his Throne, and all the beaſts and Elders ſaid with one voyce, *Amen, Hallelu-iah.* 5 And I heard a voyce come from the Throne, *to wit*, from one of the foure beaſtes that ſupported it, ſaying, Praiſe our God all ye his *Seruants*, and all ye that feare him, ſmall and great. 6 And then conformely to that direction I heard, as it had bene the ſound or voyce of a great multitude, and as it had bene the ſound of many waters, and as the ſound of great thunders, *to wit*, the voyce of all the Creatures in heauen, whoſe ſound in greatnes might be compared to the noiſe of many waters, or to the roaring of the thunder, and they ſaid all in one Voyce, *Hallelu-iah*, becauſe our Lord God Almightie hath now reigned by deſtroying *Babylon*, and her followers. 7 Let vs therefore reioyce and be glad, and render him all glory: for the Marriage of the Lambe is come, *to wit*, the *latter Day* is at hand, and his wife hath made herſelfe ready for him, *to wit*, his Church is now purified from among the wicked. 8 And it was giuen vnto her to clothe herſelfe with pure and bright linnen, which is the iuſtification of the Saints; for as fine linnen is a pure bright, white, and pretious ſtuffe, ſo are the Saints clothed with that pretious vndefiled, and glorious garment of righteouſnes through imputation; And this our garment of Iuſtification, with the which we ſhalbe clothed at the *latter day*, muſt onely come of his righteouſneſſe, ſo (as ye preſently heard,) it muſt be giuen vs by him; for as of our ſelues we cannot thinke a good thought, ſo can we merit nothing but eternall death, and when we haue done all the good workes we can,

can, we must thinke our selues but improfitable seruants, as Christ himselfe said. 9 Then the same voyce, *to wit*, the voyce of the Angel that shewed me these things, said to me, Write and leaue in record to all posterities: *Happie are they that are called to the Supper of the Lambes marriage*, whereof thou thy selfe heard him speake parabolically; for those who are called, shall neuer againe be cast off, but are chosen for euer. And he said vnto me, these words of God are trew which I bad thee write, to leaue to posteritie, that God himselfe hath giuen this comfortable promise, which I haue specially willed thee to witnesse to thy *Brethren*, because it will come to passe in the later dayes, that this whoring and hereticall *Babylon*, shall diswade all her followers from trusting this promise, and so driue men to an vncertaintie of their Election. 10 And I fell downe at this Angels feete to haue adored him (so all flesh is giuen of it selfe, to adore some visible thing which is idolatry, such is the corruption of our flesh, if it be not holden vp by grace from aboue,) but he did reproue me, and said, Beware thou doe it not: For although I be a more excellent creature of God then thou art, yet am I but thy fellow seruant, and so one of thy brethren, bearing the testimony of IESVS in heauen, to be his seruant and creature, as thou doest in earth: Adore therefore God onely, for no creature must either be prayed to, or adored, nor no mediation can come, but by Christ onely, and thinke mee not a God for propheſying thus vnto thee, (for the witnessing of Christ is the Spirit of prophesie) for that gift is common to others, aswell as to mee, and it is the same Spirit of prophesie, albeit not the same gift of it that foretells things to come, which giues grace to all the Elect, to beare trew and constant record of Christ. 11 Then I saw thereafter the forme of the day of Iudgement; for I saw the Heauens open, and loe, a white horse came downe from them, (of this white horse yee heard in the first Seale) and hee that sate vpon him, *to wit*, Christ, was called *faithfull* and *trew*, for by giuing Iudgement, hee was now to performe his promise; and hee was also called, *Hee that iustly iudgeth, and fighteth*, for hee was presently to iudge the world, and to condemne perpetually all the reprobate: 12 And his eyes were like the flames of fire, (as yee heard in the beginning of this Epistle) and on his head were many diademes, for now he was to reigne eternally ouer all the kingdomes of the earth, as the Elders did sing in the seuenth Trumpet; and he had a Name written vpon him, which no man did know but himselfe; for the mysterie of his Name of *Redemptor* is so profound, as no creature is able to comprehend it by wisedome; and therefore I heard himselfe say, that no Angel, no not himselfe in so farre as he is man, did foreknow the day of his last comming, which shall be the fulfilling of that mysterie. 13 And he was clothed with a garment dipt in blood, wherewith the garments of the soules of Martyrs are washed, as ye heard in the fift Seale, and he is named, *The word of God*, as I did shew you in the beginning of my Euangel. 14 And the hostes of Angels and Saints in heauen, followed

him vpon white horſes clothed in white, and pure linnen, whereof yee heard alreadie: [15] And from his mouth came foorth a ſharpe ſword, as ye heard in the beginning of this Epiſtle, that he might ſtrike the Gentiles therewith; for hee ſhall rule them with *a rod of yron*, as Dauid ſayth, and *he treadeth, to wit*, giueth command and power to tread the lake or ſea of the vine of the fury and wrath of God Almightie, as ye heard in the ſeuenth Trumpet: [16] And he hath vpon his garment, and vpon his thigh, as the ſtrongeſt part of his body, this name written, *The King of kings, and Lord of lords.* [17] And I ſaw an Angel ſtanding in the Sunne, that there he might be ſeene publikely of all, and that the Whole world might take heed to that which he was to proclaime, and he cried with a loude voice to all the fowles flying through the middeſt of heauen, *Come*, and gather your ſelues to the ſupper of the Lord; [18] To eate the fleſh of Kings, of Tribunes, of mightie men, of horſes and of their riders: in ſhort, come eate the fleſh of all free-men and ſlaues, great and ſmall: This was to declare, that the day of Iudgement was come, wherein ſhould that deſtruction enſue, ſignified by fowles eating their fleſh, (becauſe fowles vſe to eate the fleſh of dead men vnburied) which ſhould ouerwhelme all ſorts of men, excepting alwayes theſe that were marked, who were ſundry times excepted before, as ye heard. [19] Then I ſaw that beaſt, *to wit*, Babylon, together with the kings of the earth who tooke her part, and their armies gathered together, to make warre with him that ſate vpon the white horſe, and with his armie: [20] But the Beaſt was taken, together with the falſe prophet, or falſe Church, which by her falſe miracles ſeduced the nations that did beare the Character of the Beaſt, and adored his image, as ye heard before, and they were both caſt quicke in the lake of fire burning with brimſtone: [21] And the reſt were ſlaine by the ſword which came out of his mouth, that ſate vpon the horſe, and the fowles were filled with their fleſh; for how ſoone Chriſt ſhall come to Iudgement, then ſhall all the enemies of God be deſtroyed, and ſo full victory obtained of this battell, whereof yee heard in the ſixt Trumpet, and ſixt phiale, and ſhall heare farther hereafter: And chiefly *Babylon*, and the falſe Church ſhall be caſt into hell, becauſe they merit double puniſhment for the abuſing of men, although they ſhall not alſo want their damnation that followeth them, as is ſignified by their ſlaughter with the ſword of his mouth, whereof yee heard in the beginning of this Epiſtle, and by the fowles eating their fleſh, as ye preſently perceiue.

CHAP.

CHAP. XX.

ARGVMENT.

The ſumme and recapitulation of all the former viſions, to wit, the firſt eſtate of the Church in all puritie after Chriſt: The hereſies, and ſpecially the Popedome that followed: The deſtruction thereof, in their greateſt rage: The latter day: The ſaluation of the Elect, and condemnation of all others.

THe Spirit of God hauing now ſhewen vnto me the eſtate of the Church militant, with the ſpeciall temptations and troubles of the ſame, from the death of Chriſt to the conſummation of the world, and their ioyfull deliuerance and victory at that time, by the firſt ſixe Seales; and next more amply by the ſeuenth Seale, wherin were the ſeuen trumpets; and thirdly, her greateſt temptations and troubles, more cleerely and at large, by the viſion of the woman, perſecuted by the Dragon; and laſtly, the cleere and ample deſcription, and damnation of *Babylon*, that great perſecuter, the ſorrow of the earth, and ioy of heauen therefore: This viſion now that ye ſhall preſently heare, was next ſhewen vnto me, to ſerue for a ſumme as it were, and a ſhort recapitulation of the whole Prophecie, ſo often reiterated before; which is here diuided in three parts: Firſt, the happy eſtate of Chriſtes Church, though not in the eyes of the world, from his firſt comming to a long time after, as was declared by the firſt Seale: Next, the grieuous troubles and temptations, vnto the which ſhee ſhall be ſubiect thereafter, as was declared by the third and fourth Seale; and by the third, fourth, fift, and ſixt blaſtes of the Trumpets: And thirdly, the deſtruction of all her enemies, her ioyfull deliuerance, and the conſummation, as was declared by the ſixt Seale, the ſeuenth Trumpet, the ſeuenth phiale, and the comming downe of the white horſe, which in my laſt words before theſe, yee heard deſcribed: But ſpecially in this viſion is declared, the puniſhment at the latter day of the deuill himſelfe, before the deſtruction onely of his inſtruments, being mentioned, as ye formerly heard. The viſion then was this; 1 I ſaw an Angel come downe from heauen, and he had the key of the bottomleſſe pit, and a great chaine in his hand: 2 And hee tooke the dragon, *to wit*, the ancient ſerpent, who is the deuill and Satan, *to wit*, the Tempter, and bound him for the ſpace of a thouſand yeres: 3 And did caſt him in the bottomleſſe pit, and cloſed him in there, that it ſhould not be opened, that he might come foorth and ſeduce the nations, till the ſpace of a thouſand yeeres were completed and paſt, for thereafter he muſt be looſed for a ſhort ſpace. 4 Then I ſaw ſeats, and perſons ſitting vpon them, and iudgment or power of iudging was giuen vnto them: And I alſo ſaw the ſoules of them who were beheaded, or otherwiſe put to death, for the teſtimonie of Chriſt, and the word of God, and adored not the Beaſt, nor tooke his image, neither his character on their foreheads,

nor on their hands: Theſe ſhal liue and reigne with Chriſt, the ſpace of the thouſand yeres ye heard: 5 But the reſt of the dead ſhal not reuiue, till the ſpace of theſe yeres be complete: This is the firſt reſurrectiō. 6 Bleſſed and holy is he that is partaker of the firſt reſurrection; for ouer ſuch the ſecond death ſhal haue no power, but they ſhalbe Prieſts of God and Chriſt, & ſhal reigne with him for euer. This is the firſt part of the diuiſion, wherof I preſently told you, *to wit*, Chriſt by his paſſion did bind the deuill, who before was raging in the world, and cloſed him in hell by the remouing of the vaile of blindnes from the whole earth, which remained ſo the ſpace of a thouſand yeres, *to wit*, a long ſpace, & all that time the deuil remained bound and caſten into hell by Chriſt, who only hath power of it; ſo as in all that ſpace, the nations were not ſeduced: for the efficacie of hereſies was not yet cropen in, and the Saints and Church viſible ſhal ſo increaſe, albeit in the midſt of perſecution all this time, and ſo retaine the purity of the trewth, as by the glory of their conſtancie, and patience in the time of their perſecution, they ſhall as it were reigne ouer the earth, and by their Martyrdome be Iudges therof; for it is called Chriſts reigning and the Saints vpon the earth, when his word, and trew profeſſours thereof, ſhine viſibly therein, as I haue ſaid: and theſe were they who adored not the beaſt, *to wit*, they are the elect, who were predeſtinate before all beginnings, to be preſerued from all infections and hereſies, which is generally repreſented by this part of them, that the beaſt or *Babylon* ſhal raiſe and maintaine, as the greateſt and moſt perillous that euer ſhall be raiſed by Satan: And the honourable ſitting of the Saints and ſoules of Martyrs was ſhewed to me, to aſſure me, that how ſoone the ſoule of any faithfull man is parted from the body, it aſcendeth immediatly vnto heauen, there abiding in all glory, the reioyning againe of his glorified body at the latter day, coniunctly to poſſeſſe all glory in heauen eternally; like as by the contrary, the reprobate ſoule, how ſoone it parteth from the body of the wicked, goes down immediatly to hell, there abiding in all torment, the knitting again with his curſed body at the latter day, there iointly to be ſubiect to eternall paine; neither is there any reſting place by the way for any of them: and the reſt of the dead, *to wit*, all the wicked, ſhal not be reuiued while this ſpace be complete; for the wicked ſhall neither during this ſpace, nor at any time thereafter, taſte of the regeneration, which is the firſt reſurrection, and ſecond birth, as Chriſt ſaid to *Nicodemus*: and therfore, as I ſaid already, *Bleſſed and happy are they who are partakers of the firſt reſurrection*, for the ſecond death, *to wit*, hell, ſhall haue no power of them, but they ſhall be Prieſts of God and Chriſt, and reigne with him theſe thouſand yeeres, *to wit*, they ſhal eternally in heauen offer vp that *Euchariſticall Sacrifice* of praiſe to God, and ſo be ioyned in fellowſhip with the choſen, which were vpon the earth in that aforeſaid time. This firſt part of this viſion is begun alreadie; now followeth the next part. 7 And when theſe happy dayes are expired, then ſhal the deuill be looſed out of his priſon: 8 And he ſhal go forth with greater liberty to ſeduce the nations which are in the four airths

of

of the earth, *to wit*, he shal not only, after the spreding of many heresies, cause a general blindnes & defection, but also make a great persecution vpon the faithful Church, by gathering *Gog* and *Magog* to battell against them, whose number is like the sand of the sea, *to wit*, after innumerable troubles, at last he shall gather to the great day of the battell of the Lord (of the which ye heard in the sixt Trumpet, and sixt phiale, and last immediately before this Vision) *Gog* and *Magog*, *to wit*, two great seates of Monarchies and Tyrannies ouer the Church, who both at one time shall rise in the latter dayes, and both at another time shalbe destroyed by the blast of Christes breath, as ye shall heare; whereof the one is the auowed, and professed enemie of GOD, and his CHRIST, but the other is *Babylon*, the hypocriticall and most dangerous aduersary: Of these two ye heard in the sixt Trumpet, and so these two, although pride, and enuie, shall still keepe a rooted malice betwixt them, yet they shall both with innumerable forces, make warre against the trew Church, as *Herod* and *Pilate* did band themselues against Christ, notwithstanding the particular dislikes which were betwixt them: It is these and their forces that must fight against the Saints at *Arma-geddon*, as ye heard in the sixt phiale, and the special drawers on of this battell shalbe the three frogs, who are the last vermin, bred of the smoake of the bottomlesse pit, as ye also heard in the said phiale. 9 These great forces then went vp vpon the earth; for the diuel raised them out of the bottomlesse pit, and they spread themselues vpon the breadth of the earth, so great was their number, and compassed the Tents or dwellings of the Saints, and the holy Citie; for they were prepared to inuade the trew Church on all sides, and by all meanes, but the fire came downe from heauen and deuoured them, for God by his Almighty power, euen when their power was greatest, and nothing so like, as an apparant rooting out of all the faithfull, *in rebus desperatis*, did miraculously confound all the aduersaries of his Church: And now comes in the third and last part of this Vision, *to wit*, the description of the Consummation: 10 For I did see the diuel, who seduced these wicked, cast into a lake of fire and brimstone, *to wit*, in hell, out of the which he shall neuer come againe, where also the *beast*, and the false prophet were, as ye heard before; Here now I saw the diuel punished eternally, to my greater comfort, for troubling the Church, where before I saw onely his instruments punished, as I said in the beginning of this Vision: and he and his instruments shall be tormented there day and night, *to wit*, incessantly for euer and euer. 11 Then I saw a great white Throne, and one sitting thereupon in all glory and brightnesse, *to wit*, IESVS CHRIST, now comming from heauen, to iudge the earth: and from his sight fled the earth and the heauen, and their place was not found; for the whole earth, and much of the heauen shall be destroyed and renewed at his last comming. 12 And I saw all the dead, great and small, standing in GOD his sight; for then is the resurrection of the dead, who at that time must be iudged: And the bookes were opened,

to wit, the counſels, and ſecrets of all mens hearts; and another booke, *to wit*, the booke of *Life* was opened, to the effect that all thoſe whoſe names were written into it, *to wit*, predeſtinated and elected for ſaluation before all beginnings, might there be ſelected for eternall Glory: And the dead were iudged out of theſe things which were written in the bookes, according to their workes; for as God is a Spirit, ſo iudgeth he the thoughts of man, and ſo by faith onely iuſtifies him, which notwithſtanding is done according to his workes, becauſe they, as the fruits of faith, cannot be ſeparated from it, and beare witneſſe of the ſame to men in the earth. 13 And the Sea gaue vp all the dead ſhe had; for all the dead muſt then riſe, as I haue ſhewed already; And death and hell gaue vp all they had, for not onely the bodies, but euen the ſoules of the wicked ſhalbe iudged there, and euery one was iudged according to his workes, as I preſently did ſhew you. 14 And hell and death were caſten in the Lake of fire, which is the ſecond death, *to wit*, hell and death ſhall then be cloſed vp for euer within themſelues, and ſhall neuer againe come forth to trouble the Saints; for death, which is the laſt enemie, ſhallbe aboliſhed from holy *Ieruſalem* for euer. 15 And whoſoeuers name is not found written in the booke of *Life*, is caſten into the Lake of fire, for not onely the publike euill doers, but euen whoſoeuer is not predeſtinate for ſaluation, ſhall at that time be caſten into hell, for there is no midway; but whoſoeuer gathereth not with Chriſt, he ſcattereth, as I ſhew before.

CHAP. XXI.

ARGVMENT.

A large and glorious deſcription of the Church Triumphant in Heauen: and of all the members of that holy and Eternall Ieruſalem.

NOw the Spirit of God hauing by this laſt viſion made a ſumme and recapitulation of all the former, as yee haue heard, he, by this following and laſt viſion, declareth, and glorioufly deſcribeth the reward of all them, who conſtantly perſeuere vnto the end, in the trew ſeruice of God, notwithſtanding all the aſſaults of Sathan, which ye haue heard dilated: the reward was then, to be eternall inheritours of holy Ieruſalem, as yee ſhall preſently heare. 1 For I ſaw a new heauen and a new earth: it is ouer this new heauen and new earth that the faithfull ſhould reigne kings, and prieſts for euer, as yee heard before: And the firſt heauen, and the firſt earth went away, neither was the ſea any more; for all ſhall be burnt with fire at the conſummation, which fire ſhall renew them, and take away their corruption and mutablitie, releeuing them from the ſeruitude of death, to the liberty of the glory of the ſonnes of God; who notwithſtanding ſhall not dwel there but in heauen. 2 And euen I *Iohn* ſaw the holy new City

Ieruſalem,

Ierusalem comming downe from heauen, made ready of God like a bride, that is decked for her bridegroome: For this holy Church triumphant shal come downe in all shining glorie to meete Christ her husband, when hee shall haue iudged the world, (as ye haue heard before) to bee incorporated and ioyned with him for euer. 3 And I heard a mighty voyce from heauen, saying, for confirmation of this happy coniunction; Loe the Tabernacle of God, and his dwelling place is with men, and hee will now dwell with them for euer, and they shall be his people, and he shall be a God with them, and their God: 4 And God shall wipe all teares from their eyes; for they shall feele no more any sorow, as ye haue often heard before, and death shall be no more, neither shal any sorow, crying, or dolour euer be in that Church triumphant; for the first are gone away, and all these things then shall haue an end. 5 And then hee that sate vpon the Throne, *to wit*, God the Father, said, Loe, I make new or renew all things, and he said vnto me, Write, and leaue in record what thou hast seene: for surely these words are faithfull and trew, and shall come certainely to passe. 6 And he also said vnto me, It is done, for when these things shall come to passe, then is the full accomplishment of all things, I am A and Ω, *to wit*, the beginning, and the ending of all things: For as I made the Creation, so shall I cause the Consummation. And I shall giue to him that thirsteth, of the fountaine of water of life, freely, or for nothing, *to wit*, he will grant saluation to all them who cal vpon him for it, and that for nothing; for it cõmeth of his free mercie, and not of any merit in vs: How foolish then are they to be accompted, who contemning that saluation which they may obtaine for the crauing, buie with their siluer a counterfeit saluation from Babylon, as ye heard before? 7 And he that ouercommeth Satan and his owne flesh shall possesse all, *to wit*, he shall be a full inheritour of Gods kingdome, and I shall be a God to him, and he shall be a sonne to me: 8 But for all them who are fearefull and vnbeleeuing, not hauing a sure confidence and trust in my promises, and for execrable men, and murtherers, and fornicators, and sorcerers, and idolaters, and all lyers, for all these sorts of men, I say, there is place appointed in that lake, which burneth with fire and brimstone, which is the second death. 9 Then there came vnto me one of these seuen Angels, which had the seuen phials ful of the seuen last plagues, and he sayd vnto me, *Come* and I will shew vnto thee the Bride, which is the Wife of the Lambe: for this Angel was directed to shewe mee the glorie of this holy Hierusalem, the Church triumphant, not to satisfie my curiosity therewith, but that I might leaue in record to all posterities to come, not as a hearer onely, but as an *Oculatus testis*, what glorious, and eternall reward did abide all the faithfull. 10 And so he tooke me vp in the Spirit to a high and great Mountaine; for it became well, that so glorious a sight should be shewen vpon so eminent a place, and there hee did shew mee a great Citie, *to wit*, that holy *Ierusalem*, comming downe from heauen, and from God, as ye heard before. 11 And it had the glory of God in it, and the

the light or brightneſſe of it, was like vnto the glittering of a moſt pretious ſtone, yea euen like the greene *Iaſper* in flouriſhing eternitie, and like the cleare *Criſtall* in ſhining brightneſſe; 12 And this Citie had a great and high wall, to hold out all them who had not the marke of the *Lambe*, as ye ſhall heare after, and to protect the Citizens from all blaſtes of troubles, for all teares will then bee wipte from their eyes, as ye heard before; And this Citie had alſo twelue gates, and in them twelue Angels, and their names were written vpon them, which were the names of the twelue Tribes of the ſonnes of *Iſrael*. 13 And there were three gates towards the Eaſt, three towards the Weſt, three towards the South, and three towards the North, to ſignifie that out of all parts and places of the world, and whatſoeuer thy vocation be, if thou call to God with an vpright heart, thou ſhalt find that the entrance into the Citie, is equally diſtributed about the ſame. 14 And the wall of the Citie had twelue foundations, whereupon were written the twelue names of the Apoſtles of the *Lambe*: Theſe twelue Angels of the twelue gates, and twelue foundations of the wall, are the foure and twentie Elders, of whom ye heard in the beginning of this my Epiſtle; the twelue Angels of the twelue gates, are the twelue Patriarkes, who were the firſt teachers of the way, and ſo the guides to this holy *Ieruſalem*; for by the Law which they repreſent, we muſt firſt beginne to know the trewth, and to know our ſelues: and the twelue foundations are we, the twelue Apoſtles, for vpon our doctrine is that wall founded which hedgeth in the Saints in an eternall ſecuritie, and debarreth all others. 15 And the Angel who ſpake with me, had a golden reed in his hand, to meaſure therewith the Citie, and the gates, and the walles of the ſame, thereby to ſignifie the iuſt proportion and ſymmetrie, that ſhall be among all the parts of this holy Citie. 16 And this Citie was foure-ſquare, becauſe of the gates towards the foure parts of the earth, to receiue indifferently the commers out of any of them, as yee heard before; And it was alike long and broad, to ſignifie the infinite bounds thereof: and hee meaſured the Citie with his reed, and it came to twelue thouſand furlongs: this number alſo expreſſeth the great bounds of this Citie; for it is here vſed for a number of perfection, as ſundry times before: And this Citie was alike in length, breadth and height, for all the parts of it were alike large. 17 And the Angel did meaſure the wall of it, and it was an hundred and foure and fourtie cubites of height: this number is correſpondent to the number of Saints, who were ſtanding with the *Lambe* on *Mount Sion*, as ye heard before; and the meaſure wherewith this was meaſured, was the meaſure of the man, which is the meaſure of the Angel; This Citie is meaſured with the meaſure of CHRIST, God and man, to teach vs that he is onely the Architectour of this Spirituall Citie, which he meaſureth by his cubites, and not by the cubites of any man. 18 And the fabricke of the wall of the Citie, was compoſed of *Iaſper*, to ſignifie that the wall thereof ſhall ſtand eternally: and the Citie it ſelfe was of pure gold,

gold, and like to cleere glaſſe, whereon no filth will remaine. 19 And the twelue foundations of the Citie were decked with all kind of precious ſtones: the firſt foundation was of Iaſper, the ſecond of Saphire, the third of Chalcedonie, the fourth of Emerald, 20 The fift of a Sardonix, the ſixt of a Sardius, the ſeuenth of a Chryſolite, the eight of a Berill, the ninth of a Topaze, the tenth of a Chryſophraſus, the eleuenth of an Hyacinth, the twelfth of an Amethiſt: Theſe twelue ſundry ſtones, one for euery one of the foundations, ſignifie, that we, the twelue Apoſtles, who are theſe twelue foundations (as ye heard) ſhall euery one receiue a diuers reward and crowne of glory, according to the greatneſſe and excellencie of our labours in the earth: theſe twelue precious ſtones allude alſo to the twelue precious ſtones in *Aarons* breſtplate. 21 And the twelue gates were of twelue pearles, and euery gate of a ſundry pearle; (this ſignifies the like of the Patriarches) and the Market place of the Citie was of pure golde, and like the gliſtering glaſſe, ſignifying thereby, as by an euident token, that ſeeing the Market place (which is the commoneſt place of euery towne) of this ſpirituall City, is of ſo fine and bright ſtuffe, that no baſe, and vncleane thing ſhall be in any part thereof: 22 And I ſaw no Temple in it, for the Lord God Almightie, euen the Lambe, is the Temple of it, for no other ſhall be there wherein God muſt be praiſed, but the perſon of Chriſt, in whom all the faithfull ſhall be incorporated, as I ſaid before. 23 And this Citie ſhall neede no Sunne nor Moone to ſhine in it, for the glory of God hath made it bright, and the Lambe is the lampe thereof; for as it is no corporall paradiſe nor dwelling place on earth, which is heere ſpoken of, ſo is no part of the glory thereof earthly, but celeſtiall and ſpirituall: 24 And the Gentiles which are ſaued, ſhall walke in that light, and the kings of the earth ſhall bring their glory vnto that citie; for all the faithfull kings ſhall reſigne all their worldly glory in that citie, and receiue a new and incorruptible glory from the Lambe, who is the light thereof: 25 And the gates thereof ſhall not be ſhut in the day time; for there ſhall neuer be any ſuſpicion of trouble there, for which cauſe worldly cities often ſhut their gates, and the night ſhall neuer be there, but an eternall brightneſſe through all. 26 And the honour and the glory of the nations ſhall be brought into her, for all their worldly glory ſhalbe nothing in reſpect of the glory of this City. 27 And there ſhall nothing enter into this Citie that defileth or is defiled, nor no man that committeth any abominable deed, or that ſpeakes lies, but onely theſe ſhall haue entrance into this holy City, whoſe names are written in the Lambe his booke of Life, as ye heard before.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXII.

ARGVMENT.

The reſt of the ſame deſcription: Mans proneneſſe of his owne nature to idolatrie: The Writer tells his name, that no man may doubt who was the writer of this Booke, and who endited the ſame: The faithfull ought to wiſh the comming of the latter day: The curſe vpon them who adde or take from this Booke, and vſe it not aright.

THen to the effect that I might know that the inhabitants of this holy Citie, were as well eternall, as the walles and glory of the ſame, this Angel did ſhew vnto me the cleere and pure flood of the water of life, whereof Chriſt promiſed to giue the *Samaritane* to drinke, as I ſaid before: and it was cleere like cryſtall, and it flowed from the Throne of God, and the Lambe: This Riuer alludeth to that ſpring of *Ezechiel*, which came foorth from vnder the Temple floore, and it alſo alludeth to the Riuers of earthly Paradiſe: 2 And in the middeſt of the market place, and on either ſide of this Riuer, did grow the Tree of Life, hauing twelue maner of fruits, euery moneth bearing once, and bearing leaues for the health of the Gentiles: This Tree, and this water of Life, are the heauenly meat and drinke, meant by Chriſt, when the Capernaites were ſcandalized with his doctrine, as ye read in the Euangel written by me; and of this Tree and water were thoſe of *Ezechiel*, and in earthly paradiſe the figures: the number of the fruits thereof anſwereth to the number of the tribes of Iſrael, who through eating the fruits thereof by faith, obtained ſaluation; as likewiſe the varietie and plentie of ioyes to all the faithfull there; and as it bare fruit to the Iewes for food, that is, to ſatisfie them, ſo it did beare leaues to the Gentiles, who being healed by theſe leaues of all ſpiritual diſeaſes, were not onely preſerued, but alſo prepared and got appetite thereby, to eat and turne into nutriment, or ſpirituall ſtrength and contentation, the fruites thereof: This tree grew on euery ſide of the water of Life, to ſignifie that they are both but one thing and inſeparable, both proceeding from the mightie and mercifull Throne of God, and his Lambe, and they were both in the middeſt of the Market place, to ſignifie by their being in ſo common a place, that as they are the ſupport, ſtrength and comfort of the Church triumphant, or holy Citie, ſo all the in-dwellers therein haue the like free acceſſe thereunto, and are all alike participant thereof: 3 And no accurſed thing ſhall be any more, for then ſhall hell and death be confined, and reſtrained within themſelues for euer, as ye heard in the former viſion: for the ſeat and throne of God and his Lambe, ſhall remaine in this holy Citie for euer; and all his ſeruants ſhall be there, ſeruing him eternally by thankeſgiuing and praiſes: 4 And they ſhall ſee his face, and be euer reioycing at his preſence, hauing his name written vpon their foreheads,

heads, as yee haue often heard. 5 And no night nor darkenesse shall be there at all, neither haue they need of lampes, nor of light of the Sunne, nor any materiall light, for the Lord God makes them bright, as yee haue heard alreadie: and they shall reigne there in all glory for euer and euer. 6 Then the Angel, after all these things had beene reuealed vnto me, sayde vnto me for the confirmation of them, All the wordes of *this Prophecie are trew and faithfull*, and the same Lord GOD who inspired from time to time his holy Prophets to forewarne his Church of things to come, hee also sent his Angel vnto mee, that by me hee might reueale vnto his seruants these things that are shortly to come to passe. 7 Loe, I come shortly, sayth the *Lord*, happy is hee therefore that obserueth and obeyeth the wordes of the Prophecie in this Booke. 8 And I *Iohn* am he who haue heard and seene these things: I declare you my name the oftener, lest the authority of the Booke should be called in doubt, through the vncertaintie of the Writer: And when I had heard and seene these things, I fell at the Angels feet that shewed me them, with mind to haue adored him: 9 But he said vnto me, *See thou doe it not*, I am thy fellow-seruant, and one of thy *Brethren* the Prophets, although I be an Angel, and one of them which keepeth and obeyeth the words of this *Booke*: adore thou therefore God, to whom all worship onely appertaineth: By this my reiterated fall and offence, notwithstanding that lately before I had committed the same, and was reproued for it, and warned to forbeare it, as ye heard before, I am taught, and by my example the whole *Church*, of the great infirmitie of all mankind, and specially in that so great an offence of the adoring of creatures, whereof God is so iealous, as he saith in his Lawe: and vpon consideration of man his infirmitie in this point, not I, but the Spirit of God by me, in the very last words of one of my Epistles, saith, *Deare children, beware of Idoles*: and in this I insist so much not without a cause; For I know that *Babylon* in the latter dayes, shall specially poison her followers with this spirituall adulterie or idolatrie, as ye haue heard mention made in this Booke. 10 And the Angel said vnto me, Seale not the words of the Prophecie of this Booke, for the time is at hand. Yee heard before, how I was commanded to seale that which the seuen Thunders spake, because it was not lawfull for me to reueale the same: but now on the contrarie I am commanded to write, and forbidden to seale these Prophecies, because I am appointed to reueale the same, in respect that the time of their accomplishment is at hand. 11 And hee also said vnto mee, Despaire thou not of the effect of this Prophecie, although it profite nothing the wicked, but to make them the more inexcusable: For God hath fore-signified, that he who doeth harme, notwithstanding this Prophecie shall yet continue his wrongs; and hee who is filthie, shall yet notwithstanding this remaine filthie; euen as on the other part, it shall confirme and encrease the iust man in his iustnesse, and the holy man in his holines: for it is not the words of Prophecie spoken, but the Spirit which is cooperant

rant with it, which makes the ſeed of faith to take root in any mans heart. 12 *Loe I come* ſpeedily, ſaith the Lord IESVS, and bring my reward with me, to render to euery man according to his workes, as ye haue heard before. 13 I am A and Ω, the beginning and the end; the firſt and the laſt, as ye haue heard already. 14 Happie are they who obey and keepe Chriſtes commandements, that they may haue right and part in the tree of life; (for by obeying they ſhall be made Citizens of that holy Citie, of the which that is the food) and that they may enter at the gates to that Citie: for the gates ſhall be readie and open to receiue them: 15 But without this Citie, as debarred thence, ſhall bee *Dogges, to wit*, all prophane liuers, fornicators, ſorcerers, murtherers, and idolaters, and all who loue, and make lies; and ſhortly all, who continue in any kind of knowen ſinne without repentance. 16 I IESVS, ſaith the Lord, ſent my *Angel* to reueale theſe things to *Iohn*, that they might be teſtified to you the ſeuen Churches: I am the root and off-ſpring of *Dauid*, and I am the bright morning Starre, *to wit*, the fountaine of all your glorie. 17 And the *Spirit*, and the Bride ſaith, *Come*, to wit, *the Church*; for they for their deliuerance wiſh his ſecond comming to be haſtened, and Chriſt, for the loue he beareth them, hath graunted them their requeſt: and he that heares it, let him ſay, *Come*, for it becommeth all the faithfull to wiſh it: And he that thirſteth let him *come, to wit*, he that would drinke of the water of life, let him craue earneſtly the diſſolution and latter day: And let any who will, receiue the water of life freely and for nothing, as ye heard before. 18 And I proteſt vnto all that ſhall heare the words of the Propheſie of this Booke, that if any man adde vnto it any thing, God ſhall make all the plagues in this Booke to fall on him. 19 And if any man take away any thing from the words of the Booke of this Propheſie, God ſhal take his part away out of the book of life, and out of the holy Citie, and out of theſe bleſſings that are written in this Booke: For whoſoeuer in coping or tranſlating this Booke, adulterateth any waies the Originall, or in interpreting of it, wittingly ſtrayes from the trew meaning of it, and from the analogie of Faith, to follow the fantaſticall inuention of man, or his owne preoccupied opinions; he I ſay, that doeth any of theſe, ſhalbe accurſed as a peruerter of the trewth of God and his Scriptures. 20 And now I will conclude with this comfort vnto you, *to wit*, He, euen *Chriſt*, that teſtifies theſe things that ye haue heard: he I ſay, doeth ſay, *Surely I come* ſhortly. Euen ſo *come* Lord IESVS to haſten our deliuerance. 21 The *Grace* of our Lord IESVS CHRIST be with you all, and all your ſucceſſours in trew doctrine, by the which both yee and they may be ſo ſtrengthened in the trewth, that by your reſiſting all the temptations contained in this Booke, and conſtantly perſeuering to the end, yee may at laſt receiue that immortall Crowne of glorie mentioned in the laſt Viſion. *AMEN.*

A FRVITFVLL MEDITATION,

CONTAINING A PLAINE AND EASIE EXPOSITION, OR laying open of the VII. VIII. IX. and X. Verſes of the 20. Chapter of the REVELATION, in forme and maner of a Sermon.

THE TEXT.

7 *And when the thouſand yeeres are expired, or ended, Satan ſhall be looſed out of his priſon.*

8 *And ſhall goe out to deceiue the people, which are in the foure quarters of the earth, euen* Gog *and* Magog, *to gather them together to battaile, whoſe number are as the ſand of the Sea.*

9 *And they went vp to the plaine of the earth, which compaſſed the tents of the Saints about, and the beloued Citie: but fire came downe from God out of the heauen, and deuoured them.*

10 *And the diuel that deceiued them, was caſt into a lake of fire and brimſtone, where that beaſt and that falſe prophet are, and ſhalbe tormented euen day and night for euermore.*

THE MEDITATION.

AS of all Bookes the holy Scripture is moſt neceſſary for the inſtruction of a Chriſtian, and of all the Scriptures, the Booke of the REVELATION is moſt meete for this our laſt aage, as a Propheſie of the latter times: ſo haue I ſelected or choſen out this place thereof, as moſt proper for the action we haue in hand preſently. For after the Apoſtle IOHN had propheſied of the latter times, in the nineteenth Chapter afore-going, he now in this twentieth Chapter gathered vp a ſumme of the whole, wherein are expreſſed three heads or principall points.

The neceſſitie of the knowledge of the Reuelation.

A ſumme of the 20. Chap. of the Reuelation.

1. Firſt, the happie eſtate of the Church, from Chriſts dayes, to the dayes of the defection or falling away of the Antichriſt, in the firſt ſixe verſes of this 20. Chapter.

2 Next, the defection or falling away it ſelfe, in this place that I haue in hand, *to wit*, the ſeuenth, eight, ninth, and tenth verſes.

3 Thirdly, the generall puniſhment of the wicked in the great day of Iudgement, from the tenth verſe vnto the end of the Chapter.

The meaning of this preſent text.

The Apoſtle his meaning in this place then is this, That after that Satan then had bene bound a thouſand yeeres, which did appeare by his diſcourſe afore-going, of the Saints triumphing in the earth, hee ſhall at laſt breake forth againe looſe, and for a ſpace rage in the earth more then euer before: but yet ſhall in the end be ouercome and confounded for euer.

The order obſerued in handling this text.

It reſteth now, knowing the ſumme, that we come to the expoſition or meaning of the Verſes; and firſt expound or lay open by way of a Paraphraſe the hardneſſe of the words, next declare the meaning of them, and thirdly note what we ſhould learne of all.

THE FIRST PART.

AS touching the wordes in them for order ſake, wee may note: [1] Firſt Satan his looſing: [2] next his doing, after he is looſed: [3] and laſt his vnhappie ſucceſſe.

Satan in his inſtruments is looſed to trouble the Church.

Then for the firſt, by Satan is meant not onely the Dragon, enemie to Chriſt and his Church, but alſo with him all the inſtruments in whom he ruleth, and by whom he ruleth, and by whom he vttereth his cruell and crafty intentions, ſpecially the Antichriſt and his Clergie, ioyned with the Dragon before in the 16. Chap. verſe 17. and called the beaſt, and the falſe prophet. For as Chriſt and his Church are called after one Name, Chriſt, by reaſon of their moſt ſtrait and neere vnion, and heauenly effects flowing there from, 1. *Cor.* 12. 12. So Satan and his ſinagogue are here rightly called Satan, by reaſon of their vnion, and curſed effects flowing therefrom. Theſe thouſand yeeres, are but a number certaine for an vncertaine, which phraſe or maner of ſpeaking, is often vſed by the Spirit of God in the Scriptures, meaning a great number of yeeres.

The thouſand yeeres.

The priſon whereout Satan is looſed.

2. Pet. 2. 4. Iud. ver. 6.

Moreouer, the priſon whereout he is looſed, is the hels, which by the Spirit of God are called his priſon, for two cauſes: [1] One, becauſe during the time of this world, at times appointed by God, he is debarred from walking on the earth, and ſent thither, greatly to his torment, as was teſtified or witneſſed by the miracle at *Genezareth* among the *Gadarens*, *Matth.* 8. 28. [2] Next, becauſe that after the conſummation or end of the world, he ſhall be perpetually or for euer impriſoned therein, as is written in the ſame Chapter, ver. 10. Finally, he is looſed by interruption or hindering, and for the moſt part, to the iudgement of men, abolition or ouerthrow of the ſincere preaching of the Goſpel, the true vſe of the Sacraments, which are ſeales and pledges of the promiſes contained therein, and lawfull exerciſe of Chriſtian diſcipline, whereby both Word and Sacraments are maintained in purity, called in the firſt verſe the great chaine, whereby the diuell

The looſing of Satan.

uell is bound and ſignified by the white horſe, gouerned by the Lambe. *Chap. 6. verſe 2.* So the meaning of all this 7. verſe is this: The diuel, hauing bene bound, and his power in his inſtruments hauing bene reſtrained for a long ſpace, by the preaching of the Goſpel, at the laſt he is looſed out of hell by the raiſing vp of ſo many new errors and notable euill inſtruments, eſpecially the Antichriſt and his Clergie, who not onely infect the earth a new, but rule alſo ouer the whole, through the decreaſe of trew doctrine, and the number of the faithfull following it, and the dayly increaſe of errours, and nations following them, and beleeuing lies hating the trewth, and taking pleaſure in vnrighteouſnes, 2. *Theſſ.* 2. 11, 12. And thus farre for Satan his looſing.

Satan firſt deceaueth, then allures to follow him, and in the end maketh all his to take armour againſt the Church.

Now to the next, his doing after he is looſed. Firſt he goeth out to ſeduce or beguile the nations that are into the foure corners of the earth, and they become his, though in certaine degrees his tyrannie and trauaile appeareth, and burſteth out in ſome more then in others: For as all that doe good, are inſpired of God thereto, and doe vtter the ſame in certaine degrees, according vnto the meaſure of grace granted vnto them: ſo all that doe euill, are inſpired by Satan, and doe vtter the ſame in diuers degrees, according as that vncleane ſpirit taketh poſſeſſion in them, and by diuers obiects and meanes, allureth them to doe his will, ſome by ambition, ſome by enuie, ſome by malice, and ſome by feare, and ſo forth: and this is the firſt worke.

Gog and Magog.

Secondly, he gathereth *Gog* and *Magog* to battell, in number like the ſand of the Sea, and ſo he and his inclined to battell and bloodſhed, haue mightie armies, and in number many, inflamed with crueltie. The ſpecial heads and rulers of their armies, or rather rankes of their confederats, to goe to battel and to fight, are twaine, here named *Gog* and *Magog*; *Gog* in Hebrew is called Hid, and *Magog* Reuealed, to ſignifie that in two ſorts of men chiefly Satan ſhall vtter himſelfe, *to wit*, hypocrites, and auowed or open enemies to God: It is ſaid then that Satan ſhall in the latter times rule a new ouer the world, who ſhall ſtirre vp the nations vnder the banners of theſe two enemies to God, the hypocriticall and open, to ſpread themſelues in great multitudes vpon the earth.

Thirdly, they ſhall aſcend vpon the plaine of the earth, preſumptuouſly and proudly, bragging of their number and force, and thinking none ſhall be able to reſiſt their rage: They ſhall compaſſe and beſiege the campes of the Saints, and beloued Citie, that is, the handfull of the faithfull beloued of the Lord, againſt whome, truſting in their vntellable number, like the ſand of the ſea, they ſhall make a cruell and vnceſſable warre.

The Elect are the Saints and beloued Citie of God.

The elect are called Saints and beloued, becauſe they are in the loue of God ſelected and ſeuered out, and by grace engraffed in Chriſt, in whom they are counted and found iuſtified, ſanctified, worthy of loue and endleſſe glorie: Their faithfull fellowſhip is compared to Tents, and to a Citie beloued, to ſignifie their continuall warfare in the earth againſt Satan

and ſinne, with all his inſtruments: their mutual amitie, and friendly coniunction in loue among themſelues, and ioyning together to maintaine the good cauſe that their God hath clad them with: but chiefly to ſignifie the mightie and al-ſufficient protection or defence in proſperity and aduerſity, flowing from God for their iuſt aide againſt all powers that can purſue, whereby they alſo become faire as the Moone, pure as the Sunne, terrible as an armie with banners, *Cant.* 1.6,9. Yea as a defenced Citie, and yron pillar: and wals of Braſſe againſt the whole earth, *Ierem.* 1.18.

The ſumme of Satan his doing after he is looſed.

The ſumme then of Satan his doing after he is looſed, is this: hee ſhall deceiue the nations: he ſhall gather an infinite number of hypocrites and open enemies together, inflamed with crueltie, and theſe ſhall in pridefull preſumption fiercely bend themſelues againſt the choſen of God, and his trewth profeſſed by them. But what at laſt ſhall the ſucceſſe be? ſurely moſt vnhappy: for fire ſhall come downe from heauen and deuoure them, and the diuell that deceiued them, and all his inſtruments, chiefly the Beaſt and falſe Prophet ſhall be caſt in a lake of fire and brimſtone, and ſhall bee tormented day and night inceſſantly for euer and euer: that is, how greatly ſoeuer their brags be, how neere ſoeuer they ſhall appeare to be to obtaine their purpoſe, God from heauen, as the pallace and throne, wherefrom hee giueth proofe of his mercie towards his owne, and of his iuſtice toward his enemies, ſhall ſend plagues and deſtruction, as well ordinary, as extraordinarie vpon them: Ordinarie, by reuealing their wickedneſſe by the thundring mouthes of trew paſtors, which is oft called fire in the Scriptures: Extraordinarie, by all corporall plagues to their vtter deſtruction, and vntellable torment for euer in the hels. Thus farre for the expoſition or paraphraſe of the words.

The vnhappy ſucceſſe of Satan.

THE SECOND PART.

The puritie of the Goſpel induring, ſtayeth the Antechriſt his riſing.

NOw followeth the interpretation of the ſentence according to the order vſed in the firſt part. And firſt we muſt know what time theſe thouſand or many yeres was in, and when, and how Satan was looſed. This time is to be found in the ſixt Chapter, in the opening of the firſt three ſeales of the ſecret booke of God his prouidence by the Lambe, *to wit*, the time when the white, red, and blacke horſes had their courſe in the world: And to ſpeake more plainely, the Diuell his power did lurke, which is called his binding, and the Goſpel did flouriſh in a reaſonable puritie many hundreth yeeres after Chriſt, as the Eccleſiaſticall hiſtories beare witneſſe: For in great puritie the Goſpel did continue long, which is ſignified by the courſe of the white horſe, albeit the profeſſors were vnder the croſſe ſignified by the red horſe, and troubled wonderfully by heretickes, ſignified by the blacke horſe, by wormewood that fell in the Fountaines of waters in the third trumpet, and by waters that the dragon ſpewed out of his mouth, in the viſion of the Dragon and the woman, *chap.* 12. This time did endure from

from Christ a space after *Augustine* his dayes, when the bloodie Sword of persecution ceasing, the whole Church began to be defiled with diuers heresies, which comming vnto a mature and ripe heape, did produce or bring foorth the Antechrist, signified by the pale horse in the fourth seale, by the king of the Locusts in the fift trumpet, by *Babylon* in the 11. and 18. Chapter, by the second Beast rising out of the sea in the 13. Chapter, and by the woman clad with scarlet in the 17. chapter. The arisings of the heresies, and the Antichrist breeding of their smoake, is in this place called the loosing of Satan.

The Gospel being hid, the Antichrist begmneth to breed & tend to his height.

Now followeth after this his loosing, what he doeth: He deceiueth the nations vniuersally: he gathereth *Gog* and *Magog* with vntellable armies to fight, he climeth vpon the plaine of the earth, he compasseth the tents of the Saints, and the beloued Citie about: These are his doings.

Now because these actions are most liuely declared in other places of the same booke, I will shortly alleadge them to make the matter cleere by conference of places, expounding euery one another. It is said in the ninth chapter, that the Antichrist shall send out his locusts or Ecclesiasticall orders, by faire allurements to entice the world, to yeeld to his and their abominable heresies, and shall preuaile ouer the most part. It is said in the 11. chapter, that he shall persecute the Saints, kill the two witnesses, and shall reioyce with the kings of the earth, for their killing, as hauing beene the onely lets to his full glory. It is said in the 13. chapter, that he shall blaspheme God in vsurping his power, that by the aduice and assistance of the false Prophet, or false Church, hee shall send out his Images or Embassadours through the world, persecuting and destroying them that will not obey him and them, and acknowledge his supremacie; yea, none shall be suffered to buy or sell, or vse ciuill societie, that acknowledgeth not his supreme power and dignity. It is said in the 16. chapter, that God plaguing him for these foresaid abuses, he shall be so farre from repentance, as by the contrarie he shall finde out a new sort of vermin, that is, a new Ecclesiasticall order, which are called their frogges, who shall mooue and entice the Princes of the earth to ioyne with him, and make warre against the faithfull, pressing vtterly to destroy them: and of that battell, and the end thereof doeth this place make mention.

Now shortly ioyne all these together, and so obtaine the meaning. There shall arise an Antichrist and enemie to God and his Church: hee shall bee head of a false and hypocriticall Church: hee shall claime a supreme power in earth: he shall vsurpe the power of God: he shall deceiue men with abusing locusts: he shall persecute the faithfull: none shall bee found that dare openly resist him: In the end, feeling his kingdome decay, and the trew Church beginning to prosper, he shall by a new sort of deceiuing spirits, gather together the Kings of the earth in great multitudes like the sands of the Sea, and by ioyning or at least suffering of that other great open enemy, he shall with these numbers compasse the campes of the faithfull,

beſiege the beloued Citie, make warre againſt the Saints: but victorie ſhal he not haue, and ſhame and confuſion ſhalbe his, and all his partakers end.

The Pope is Antichriſt, and Poperie the looſing of Satan, from whom proceedeth falſe doctrine & crueltie to ſubuert the kingdom of Chriſt.

Now whether the Pope beareth theſe markes or not, let any indifferent man iudge; I thinke ſurely it expounds it ſelfe: Doeth he not vſurpe Chriſt his office, calling himſelfe vniuerſall Biſhop and head of the Church? Playeth he not the part of *Apollyon*, and *Abaddon* the king of the Locuſts and deſtroyer, or ſonne of perdition, in chopping and changing of ſoules betwixt heauen, hell, and his fantaſticke or imagined purgatorie at his pleaſure? Blaſphemeth he not, in denying vs to be ſaued by the imputation of Chriſt his righteouſneſſe? Moreouer, hath hee not ſent forth and abuſed the world with innumerable orders of locuſts and ſhauelings? Hath hee not ſo fully ruled ouer the world theſe many hundreth yeeres, as to the fire went hee, whoſoeuer hee was, that durſt deny any part of his vſurped ſupremacie? And hath he not of late dayes, ſeeing his kingdome going to decay, ſent out the Ieſuites, his laſt and moſt pernicious vermin, to ſtirre vp the Princes of the earth his ſlaues, to gather and league themſelues together for his defence, and rooting out of all them that profeſſe Chriſt truely? And whereas the open enemie of God, the Turke was vnder bloody warres with him euer before, is there not of late a truce among them, that the faithfull may be the more eaſily rooted out? And are not the armies preſently aſſembled, yea vpon the very point of their execution in *France* againſt the Saints there? In *Flanders* for the like; and in *Germanie*, by whom already the Biſhop of *Collein* is diſplaced? And what is prepared and come forward againſt this Ile? Doe we not daily heare, and by all appearance and likelihood ſhall ſhortly ſee? Now may we iudge if this be not the time, whereof this place that I haue made choice doeth meane, and ſo the due time for the reuealing of this Prophecie. Thus farre for the interpretation of the ſentence or meaning.

The Ieſuites pernicious vermine.

THE THIRD PART.

NOw I come to the laſt part, what we may learne of this place, which I will ſhortly touch in few points, and ſo make an end.

And firſt of the deuill his looſing by the riſing of Antichriſt, for the iuſt puniſhment of the vnthankefull world hating the trewth, and delighting in lies, and manifeſting of his owne choſen that ſtucke to the trewth; we haue two things to note: One for inſtruction, that the iuſtice of God in reſpect of man his falling wilfully frō the trewth, (as *Paul* ſaith) iuſtly did ſend to the world the great abuſer with efficacie of lies; as well to tyrannize ſpiritually ouer the conſcience by hereſie, as corporally ouer their bodies by the ciuill ſword. And therefore we muſt feare to fall from the trewth reuealed and profeſſed by vs, that we may be free from the like puniſhment. The other for our comfort, that this tyrannie of the Antichriſt, ſifting out the chaffe from the corne,

Man his ſinne procureth God his iuſtice to looſe Satan.

corne, as our Maſter ſayth, ſhall tend to the double condemnation of the fallers backe, and to the double crowne of glory, to the perſeuerers or ſtanders out to the end. Bleſſed therefore are they that perſeuere or ſtand out to the end, for they ſhall be ſaued.

Backe-ſliders ſhall periſh: conſtant chriſtians ſhall be crowned. Matth. 10, 22.

Next, of the number of nations in the foure quarters of the earth deceiued, and companies gathered together to fight like the ſand of the ſea, Wee are taught, that the defection or falling away vnder the Antichriſt, was generall, and ſo no viſible Church was there: whereof two things doe follow: One, the Church may be corrupted and erre: another, the Church may lurke, and be vnknowen for a certaine ſpace.

2 The defection or falling away vnder Antichriſt, ſhall be vniuerſall.

Thirdly, of that that Satan is not content onely to deceiue, except hee alſo gather to the battell his inſtruments; we are informed of the implacable or vnappeaſeable malice, borne by Satan in his inſtruments againſt God in his members, who neuer ceaſeth like a roaring Lyon (as *Peter* ſayth) to goe about aſſailing to deuoure. This his malice is notably laid foorth in the 12. and 13. Chap. of this Booke: For it is ſaid, that when he had ſpewed out great riuers of waters, that is, infinite hereſies and lies to ſwallow vp the woman, and notwithſtanding ſhee was deliuered therefro, yet againe hee raiſed vp a beaſt out of the ſea, the bloody Romane Empire by the ſword, to deuoure her, and her ſeed; and that being wounded deadly, yet hee raiſeth another beaſt foorth of the earth, which is the Antichriſt, by hereſie and ſword ioyned together to ſerue his turne: So the deuill, ſeeing that no miſt of hereſies can obſcure or darken the Goſpel in the hearts of the faithfull, and that the cruell ſword of perſecutors cannot ſtay the proſperous ſucceſſe of Chriſt his kingdome, hee raiſeth vp the Antichriſt with both his ſwords, to the effect that as one of them ſayth, That which *Peter* his keyes could not, *Paul* his ſword ſhould: And ſo hath hee done at this time; For ſeeing the true Church will not be abuſed with the abſurd hereſies, for laſt refuge, now rooted out muſt they be by the ciuill Sword.

3 Satan his children both deceiue, and perſecute.

Fourthly, of their great numbers, able to compaſſe about the tents of the Saints, and to beſiege the holy Cities, we are enformed that the wicked are euer the greateſt part of the world: And therfore our Maſter ſayth, *Many are called, few choſen*: And againe, *Wide is the way that leadeth to deſtruction, and many enter thereat: but narrow is the way that leadeth to life, and few enter thereat.* Alſo hee calleth them the world, and the Deuill the prince of the ſame.

4 The wicked in number euer ouerpaſſe the godly.

Fiftly, the agreeance of *Gog* and *Magog*, the Turke the open enemy, and the Pope the couered enemie, to this perſecution, declareth the rooted hatred of the wicked againſt the faithfull: who though they be otherwiſe in enmitie among themſelues, yet agree in this reſpect, *in odium tertij*, as did *Herod* and *Pilate*.

5 The wicked at variance among themſelues, can wel agree in one againſt Chriſt

Sixtly, the compaſſing of the Saints, and beſieging of the beloued City, declareth vnto vs a certaine note of a falſe Church, to be perſecution: for they come to ſeeke the faithfull; the faithfull are thoſe that are ſought: The wicked are the beſiegers; the faithfull the beſieged.

6 The falſe Church euer perſecuteth.

Seuenthly,

7 Scripture by Scripture ſhould be expounded. 2. King. 1. 10, 11.

Seuenthly, in the forme of language, and phraſe or maner of ſpeaking, of fire comming downe from heauen here vſed, and taken out of the Booke of the Kings, where, at *Elias* his prayers, with fire from heauen were deſtroyed *Achazias* his ſouldiers: as the greateſt part of all the words, verſes, and ſentences of this booke are taken and borrowed of other parts of the Scripture, we are taught to vſe onely Scripture for interpretation of Scripture, if we would be ſure, and neuer ſwarue from the analogie of faith in expounding, ſeeing it repeateth ſo oft the owne phraſes, and thereby expoundeth them.

8

Eightly, of the laſt part of the confuſion of the wicked, euen at the top of their height and wheele, we haue two things to note: One that God although he ſuffereth the wicked to run on while their cup be full, yet in the end he ſtriketh them, firſt in this world, and next in the world to come; to the deliuerance of his Church in this world, and the perpetuall glory of the ſame in the world to come: The other note is, that after the great perſecution and the deſtruction of the purſuers, ſhall the day of Iudgement follow: For ſo declareth the 11. verſe of this ſame Chapter; but in how ſhort ſpace it ſhall follow, that is onely knowne vnto God; Onely this farre are we certaine, that in the laſt eſtate, without any moe generall mutations, the world ſhall remaine till the conſummation and end of the ſame.

To conclude then with exhortation: It is al our duties in this Iſle at this time, to do two things: One, to conſider our eſtate: An other to conforme our actions according thereunto: Our eſtate is, we are threefold beſieged: Firſt, ſpiritually by the hereſies of the antichriſt: Secondly, corporally & generally, as members of that Church, the which in the whole they perſecute: Thirdly, corporally and particularly by this preſent armie. Our actions then conformed to our eſtate are theſe: Firſt, to call for helpe at God his hands: Next, to aſſure vs of the ſame, ſeeing we haue a ſufficient warrant, his conſtant promiſe expreſſed in his word: Thirdly, ſince with good conſcience we may, being in the tents of the Saints, & beloued City, ſtand in our defence, encourage one another to vſe lawfull reſiſtance, and concurre or ioyne one with another as warriors in one Campe, and citizens of one beloued City, for maintenance of the good cauſe God hath clad vs with, and in defence of our liberties, natiue countrey, and liues: For ſince we ſee God hath promiſed not only in the world to come, but alſo in this world, to giue vs victory ouer them, let vs in aſſurance hereof ſtrongly truſt in our God, ceaſe to miſtruſt his promiſe, and fall through incredulitie or vnbeliefe: For then are we worthy of double puniſhment: For the ſtronger they waxe, and the neerer they come to their light, the faſter approcheth their wracke, and the day of our deliuery: For kind, and louing, true, and conſtant, carefull, and watchfull, mighty, and reuenging is he that promiſeth it: To whom be praiſe and glory for euer. AMEN.

All men ſhould be lawfully armed ſpiritually and bodily to fight againſt the Antichriſt, and his vpholders.

A MEDI-

A MEDITATION VPON THE xxv. xxvj. xxvij. xxviij. and xxix. verſes of the xv. Chap. of the firſt Booke of the Chronicles of the Kings:

Written by the moſt Chriſtian King, and ſincere Profeſſour of the trewth, IAMES by the grace of God, King of England, France, Scotland, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith.

THE TEXT.

25 *So Dauid and the Elders of Iſrael and the Captaines of thouſands went to bring vp the Arke of the Couenant of the Lord, from the houſe of Obed-Edom with ioy.*

26 *And becauſe that God helped the Leuites that bare the Arke of the Couenant of the Lord, they offered ſeuen Bullockes and ſeuen Rammes.*

27 *And Dauid had on him a linnen garment, as all the Leuites that bare the Arke, and the ſingers and Chenaniah that had the chiefe charge of the ſingers: and vpon Dauid was a linnen Ephod.*

28 *Thus all Iſrael brought vp the Arke of the Lords Couenant with ſhouting and ſound of Cornet, and with Trumpets, and with Cymbales, making a ſound with Violes and with harpes.*

29 *And when the Arke of the Couenant of the Lord came into the Citie of Dauid, Michal the daughter of Saul looked out at a window, and ſaw King Dauid dauncing and playing, and ſhee deſpiſed him in her heart.*

THE MEDITATION.

AS of late when greateſt appearance of perill was by that forreine and godleſſe fleete, I tooke occaſion by a Text ſelected for the purpoſe, to exhort you to remaine conſtant, reſting aſſured of a happy deliuerance: So now by the great mercies of God, my ſpeeches hauing taken an euident effect, I could doe no leſſe of my carefull duety, then out of this place cited, teach you what reſteth on your part to be done; not of any opinion I haue of my abilitie to inſtruct you, but that theſe meditations of mine, may after my death remaine to the poſteritie, as a certaine teſtimony of my vpright and honeſt meaning in this ſo great and weightie a cauſe. Now I come

come to the matter. *Dauid* that godly King, you ſee, hath no ſooner obtained victory ouer Gods, and his enemies the Philiſtines, but his firſt action which followes, is with concurrence of his whole eſtates, to tranſlate the Arke of the Lords couenant to his houſe in great triumph and gladneſſe, accompanied with the ſound of muſicall inſtruments: And being ſo brought to the Kings houſe, he himſelfe dances and reioyces before it: which thing *Michal* the daughter of *Saul* and his wife perceiuing, ſhe contemned and laughed at her husband in her minde. This is the ſumme.

THE METHOD.

FOr better vnderſtanding whereof, theſe heades are to be opened vp in order, and applied. And firſt what cauſes mooued *Dauid* to doe this worke. Secondly, what perſons concurred with *Dauid* in doing of this worke. Thirdly, what was the action it ſelfe, and forme of doing vſed in the ſame. Fourthly, the perſon of *Michal*. And fiftly, her action.

THE FIRST PART.

Zeale in Dauid and experiẽce of Gods kindneſſe towards him, moued Dauid to honour God.

AS to the firſt part; The cauſes mooving *Dauid*, paſſing all others, I note two: One internall, the other, external: the internall was a feruent and zealous mind in *Dauid* fully diſpoſed to extoll the glorie of God that had called him to be King, as he ſaith himſelfe. The zeale of thy houſe it eats me vp, *Pſal.* 69.9. But more largely expreſſed in the 132. *Pſalme*, compoſed at the ſame time while this worke was a doing. The externall was a notable victorie newly obtained by the power of God ouer and againſt the Philiſtines, olde and pernitious enemies to the people of God, expreſſed in the laſt part of the 14. chapter preceding. By this victorie or cauſe externall, the internal cauſes and zeale in *Dauid* is ſo doubly inflamed, that all things ſet aſide, in this worke onely he will be occupied. Theſe are the two weightie cauſes mouing him. Wherof we may learne, firſt that the chiefe vertue which ſhould be in a chriſtian Prince, and which the Spirit of God alwayes chiefly praiſes in him, is a feruencie and conſtant zeale to promote the glorie of God, that hath honoured him. Next, that where this zeale is vnfained, God leaues neuer that perſon, without continuall powring of his bleſſings on him, thereby to ſtirre vp into him a double meaſure of zeale and thankfulneſſe towards God. Thirdly, that the Church of God neuer wanted enemies and notable victories ouer them, to aſſure them at all times of the conſtant kindnes of God towards them; euen, when as by the croſſe, as a bitter medicine, he cureth their infirmities, ſaueth them from groſſe ſinnes, and trieth their faith: For we find plainely in the Scriptures, that no ſooner

The Church euer troubled by men, hath a ioyfull end.

ner God himselfe chooſed Iſrael to be his people; but aſſoone, & euer thereafter as long as they remained his, the diuell ſo enuied their proſperity, as hee hounded out his inſtruments the nations, at all times to trouble and warre againſt them, yet to the comfort of his Church afflicted, and wrack of the afflicters in the end. This firſt was practiſed by *Pharao* in Egypt: and after their deliuerance, firſt by the Ammonites, and then by the Philiſtines continually thereafter, vntill the riſing of the Monarchies, who euery one did exerciſe themſelues in the ſame labour. But to note here the rage of all prophane Princes and nations which exerciſed their crueltie vpon the Church of God, were ſuperfluous and tedious, in reſpect of that which I haue ſet downe in my former meditation: Wherefore I onely goe forward then in this. As this was the continuall behauiour of the Nations towards Iſrael; So it was moſt eſpecially in the time of *Dauid*, and among the reſt at this time here cited; at what time hauing newly inuaded Iſrael, and beeing driuen backe, they would yet aſſemble againe in great multitudes to warre againſt the people of God, and not content to defend their owne countries as the Iſraelites did, would needes come out of the ſame to purſue them, and ſo ſpread themſelues in the valley: But *Dauid* by Gods direction, brings foorth the people againſt them, who fights, and according to Gods promiſes, ouercomes them, onely by the hand of God, and not by their power, as the place it ſelfe moſt plainely doeth ſhew: So the Church of God may be troubled, but in trouble it cannot periſh; and the end of their trouble is the very wracke and deſtruction of Gods enemies.

THE SECOND PART.

NOw followes ſecondly the perſons who did concurre with *Dauid* in this action: The Spirit noteth three rankes of them. In the firſt are the Elders of Iſrael: In the next, are the captaines ouer thouſands: In the third, are the Prieſts and Leuites, of whom ſummarily I will ſpeake. Theſe Elders were ſubſtituted vnder *Dauid* in the kingdome, and as his hands in all parts of the countrey miniſtring iuſtice and iudgement to the Kings ſubiects: And they were of two ſorts, maieſtrates in walled townes, who in the gates of the cities executed iudgement; and chiefe in Tribes, and fathers of families, who in the countrey did iudge and miniſter iudgement as the Scripture reports: They were not vnlike to two of the eſtates of our kingdome, the Baron and the Burgeſſe. The Captaines ouer thouſands were godly and valiant men, who vnder the King did rule in time of warre, had the cuſtodie of the Kings perſon, and fought his battailes: Theſe were neceſſarie officers for *Dauid*, who was appointed by God in his time (as wee are taught out of Gods owne words, ſpeaking by *Nathan* to *Dauid*) to fight Gods battailes, to ſubdue the enemies of his Church, and to procure by ſo doing, a peaceable kingdome for

Three rankes of perſons concurre with Dauid in this worke.

for *Solomon* his ſonne, who ſhould in peace, as a figure of Chriſt the Prince of peace, build the Lords Temple. Theſe are ſpoken of here, to teach vs, firſt, that their calling is lawfull: next, that in their calling, they ſhould be earneſt to honour God: and thirdly, that theſe Captaines chiefly were lawfully called, and lawfully walked therein, as we haue plaine declaration out of *Dauids* owne mouth, expreſſed well in the whole 101. *Pſalme*, ſeeing none were admitted in his ſeruice or houſhold, but ſuch as vnfainedly feared God. And without all queſtion, godly and zealous *Dauid* would neuer haue committed the guard of his perſon, nor the fighting of Gods battailes to the enemies of God, or men of warre, of whoſe godlineſſe and vertue he neuer had proofe: See then their names and praiſe, 1. *Chron.* 11.26. The third rank of Prieſts and Leuites are ſet downe in the ſame chapter, verſ. 4,5,6,7,8,9,10,11. So men of all eſtates were preſent in this godly worke. This is to be marked well of Princes, and of all thoſe of any high calling or degree that hath to doe in Gods cauſe. *Dauid* doth nothing in matters appertaining to God without the preſence and ſpeciall concurrence of Gods Miniſters, appointed to be ſpirituall rulers in his Church: and at the firſt meant to conuey the ſame Arke to Ieruſalem, finding their abſence and want of their counſell hurtfull: now in this chapter, verſ. 12,13. he ſaith to them, *Ye are the chiefe Fathers of the Leuites, ſanctifie your ſelues and your brethren, and bring vp the Arke of the Lord God of Iſrael vnto the place that I haue prepared for it. For becauſe ye were not there at the firſt, the Lord our God made a breach among vs: for we ſought him not in due order.* And thus farre for the ſecond part concerning perſons: Wherein we may learne, firſt, that a godly king findes, as his heart wiſheth, godly eſtates concurring with him. Next a godly king of his godly foreſight in chooſing good vnder-rulers, reapeth this profit and pleaſure, that as hee goeth before, ſo they with zealous hearts doe follow.

THE THIRD PART.

The Arke is tranſported with ioy to Ieruſalem.

THe ſumme of this ioyfull conuoy may be digeſted in three actions, which are theſe: The tranſporting of the Arke; the harmony of muſicall inſtruments; and *Dauids* dancing and reioycing before it. He built a Tabernacle for the Arke in mount *Sion*, & tranſported it therunto, to ſignify his thankfulnes for the many victories God had put in his hands: and this tranſporting was the occaſion of all this ſolemnitie and reioycing that followed thereupon. As to the Arke it ſelfe, we know it was built by *Moyſes* at the cõmand of God, in the wildernes of *Sinai*: This Arke was made of *Shittim* wood, which admits no corruption: It was of moſt comely ſhape and forme, two cubits and a halfe in length, a cubit and a halfe in height, and a cubit and a halfe in breadth, ouerlaid within and without with pure beaten gold, and was not only a figure of *Ieſus Chriſt* our perfect Sauiour, in whom all

The ſignification of the Arke of the Couenant.

all the promiſes of God, are yea and Amen, 2.*Corinth.* 1. 20. and in whom as a ſure Arke, all abundance of Gods bleſſings are placed, that out of his fulneſſe we may all receiue grace vpon grace, *Iohn* 1. 16. ſeeing he is made vnto vs of God, wiſedome, righteouſneſſe, ſanctification and redemption, 1. *Corinth.* 1. 30. but alſo a ſure pledge of Gods continuall preſence in Chriſt with his people, to bleſſe them with all maner of bleſſings. And to ſignifie this purpoſe more particularly, within the Arke was placed the Tables of the Couenant, and Law written by God, (for which cauſe alſo it was called the Arke of the Couenant) *Rom.* 10. 4. to teach them in Chriſt promiſed, the perfection of the whole Law to be found, for all that beleeue in him. Aboue the Arke was a couer or lid called The Mercie Seate, and aboue the lid the figures of two Cherubins, couering with their wings the Mercie Seat: betwixt the which two, the liuing God did louingly ſpeake to the inſtruction and comfort of his people, to aſſure them that all Gods mercifull dealings with man (either in communicating his knowledge to them: or in ſending his Angels miniſtring Spirits for their comfort,) hath the ground and foundation in CHRIST IESVS eternally. This Arke then being a ſure Sacrament of Gods fauour towards them, and a Couenant of IESVS CHRIST, wherein corporally Gods mercifull promiſes did inſue; followes the third part, the forme of doing vſed therein by theſe perſons. Generally, the action was to bring vp the Arke of the Couenant of the Lord, from the houſe of *Obed Edom* with ioy, and to be placed in the Tabernacle built for it by the King in Mount *Sion.* The forme of doing vſed by euery perſon, is: The Prieſts offer Bullocks and Rammes, becauſe that God bleſſed the worke; The King clad in a linnen garment, dances and playes before the Arke: *Chenaniah* the chiefe of the ſingers with his fellowes, praiſes God with Pſalmes, and all the eſtates in Iſrael, bring the Arke of the Couenant with ſhowting, ſound of Cornet, Trumpet, cymbals, violes, and harpes, and place it in the citie of Dauid. Briefly then, *Dauid* vpon his victories doeth tranſport to his houſe the ſame, to teſtifie hereby his care to receiue Gods fauour towards him and his people: Not thinking it enough to haue once or twiſe proofe thereof; but alſo to procure a continuance by the preſence of his holy Arke, eſteeming this the worthieſt trophee or triumph, he could make or erect for his notable victories: A triumph indeed farre ſurpaſing the Egyptian Piramides, the Grecian trophees, or yet the Romane triumphall chariots. As to the harmonie and muſicall inſtruments that accompanied this holy Arke, I truſt no man is ignorant of the cuſtome that was among the Iewes, in praiſing God with all kind of inſtruments, as *Dauids* Pſalmes innumerable times beare witneſſe. But in caſe ſome would demand wherefore the Church of God ſhould more extraordinarily reioyce at one time, then at another, ſeeing we are aſſured that all Gods actions towards vs, are for our weale, either ſpiritually or corporally, ſuppoſe wee cannot at euery time comprehend it: I anſwere, that although I muſt confeſſe that ſentence to bee moſt

Heb. 1. 14.
Ioh. 1. 4, 11.

orthodoxe, yet muſt I alſo confeſſe, that whenſoeuer it ſhall pleaſe God to manifeſt by outward ſignes to the world, as at one time more then another the great loue to his Church, by ſome notable worke for their deliuerance; We are then of duty bound in the higheſt degree to praiſe God, as well for confirming of the weake ones amongſt vs, as for ſtopping of the mouthes, and daſhing of the proud wicked without vs, to make the glory of his Name, as farre as in vs lieth, to reſound: The manifold examples of the Saints of God through the whole Scriptures prooue this more then euidently, beſides the examples of the prayers of ſundry of the godly, who for the glory of his Name, more then for their particular weale, haue prayed him to giue publike teſtimonie of his loue towards them: So did *Moſes*, *Ioſhua*, *Dauid*, *Elias*, *Elizeus*, and innumerable others of the Prophets and ſeruants of God. As to the dancing of *Dauid*: dancing, playing, and ſuch like actions we know are of themſelues indifferent, and good or euil according to their vſe, and the intention of the vſer; and therefore being vſed at this time with a comely zeale, for the ſetting foorth of Gods glory, are not onely to be borne with and excuſed, but euen moſt highly to be prayſed and commended, although that *Michal* diſprayſed the ſame. Moreouer, it is to be marked that *Dauid* in this doing, did nothing without the ſpecial motion of the ſpirit of God, as an extraordinarie worke, which ſo fully poſſeſſed his ſoule at this preſent, that forgetfull, as it were, of the actions of his bodie; hee gaue his whole perſon ouer to be gouerned as it pleaſed him, alwayes ſeeking in all, the honour and glorie of his God, without reſpect to himſelfe: And thus farre for the third part: Whereof wee haue to note firſt in the Arke: The ground of all true and ancient religion, and the body of the whole ſeruice of God that brings ſaluation, is to bee ſituate in Ieſus Chriſt onely, as is plainely ſet downe, *Act.* 4.12. *Ioh.* 14.6. 1. *Cor.* 2.11. 1. *Ioh.* 1.7. Next, that they which will be ſaued by this Arke, muſt beare this Arke in their heart by faith, in their mouth by open confeſſion, *Rom.* 1. and in their actions confirming their whole doing in their calling to his will, *Matth.* 7.21,22,23. Thirdly, that they who are ſincerely ioyned with Chriſt, reioyce in the bearing of Chriſt, and count it their higheſt ioy to be occupied continually in his bearing.

Chriſt is the ground of all true Religion.

THE FOVRTH PART.

Michals hypocriſie.

AS to the perſon of *Michal*, ſhee was *Sauls* daughter, and *Dauids* wife, a woman appearandly euill brought vp by a moſt wicked father; which the Spirit of God will ſignifie, by calling her *Sauls* daughter, as ſhe was in hypocriſie his daughter in deed, as well as by nature: yet ſhee was ioyned with the body of the Church viſible, which is ſignified by the ſtile giuen her, when ſhe was called *Dauids* wife: And ſo ſhe was outwardly a perſon ioyned by mariage in ſocietie with the Church, yet in effect a lurking hypocrite

crite within the bowels of the ſame. Such kinde of folkes (hypocrites I meane) are a *malum neceſſarium* inſeparably and continually ioyned with the trew Church, neuer to be ſifted while the Maſter of the Harueſt come with the fanne in his hand.

THE FIFT PART.

HEr doings are, being quiet in her lodging, al the time of her huſbands great and publike reioycing with the people not comming out; for not being able, as appeareth, to counterfeit finely enough a diſſimulate ioyfull countenance: And therefore looking out at a window, ſhee ſpies her husband dancing before the Arke, incontinent interprets ſhee this indifferent action *in malam partem*, as not being touched with a true feeling of the cauſe of his ioy, and ſo deſpiſes ſhe his doing in her minde, as onely proceeding of a laſciuious wantonneſſe. A marueilous caſe; ſhee that before of naturall loue to her husband did preſerue him, although to her owne great perill, from the hands of her owne father *Saul*, cannot now abide to ſee him vſe aright that indifferent action, which ſhe her ſelfe (I doubt not) did oft through licentiouſnes abuſe. By this we may note the nature of the hypocrites, and interiour enemies of the Church, who although in their particulars not concerning Religion, there will be none in ſhew more friendly to the godly then they; yet how ſoone matters of Religion or concerning the honour of God comes in hand, O then are they no longer able to containe or bridle their paſſions, euen as here *Michal* defended her husband, euen in the particulars betwixt him and her owne father; but his dancing before the Arke to the honour of God, ſhe could no wiſe abide.

Michals doings.

Now thus farre being ſaid for the methodicall opening vp of the Text; It reſts onely to examine how pertinently this place doeth appertaine to vs and our preſent eſtate: And firſt as to the perſons, the people of God and the nations their enemies, together with their pridefull purſuite of *Dauid*, and Gods moſt notable deliuerance. Is there not now a ſincere profeſſion of the trewth amongſt vs in this Iſle, oppugned by the nations about, haters of the holy word? And doe we not alſo as Iſrael, profeſſe one onely God, and are ruled by his pure word onely? on the other part, are they not as Philiſtines, adorers of legions of gods, and ruled by the fooliſh traditions of men? Haue they not as the Philiſtines, beene continually the purſuers, and we as Iſrael the defenders of our natiue ſoile and countrey? next, haue they not now at the laſt euen like the Philiſtines, come out of their owne ſoiles to purſue vs, and ſpread themſelues to that effect vpon the great valley of our ſeas, preſumptuouſly threatning the deſtruction and wracke of vs? But thirdly, had not our victory beene farre more notable then that of Iſrael, and hath not the one beene as well wrought by the

The application of the purpoſe to vs.

hand of God, as the other? For as God by ſhaking the tops of the mulbery trees with his mightie windes, put the Philiſtines to flight, hath hee not euen in like maner by brangling with his mightie windes their timber caſtles, ſcattered and ſhaken them aſunder to the wracke of a great part, and confuſion of the whole? Now that we may reſemble Iſrael as well in the reſt of this action, what triumph reſts vs to make for the crowning of this bleſſed comedy? Euen to bring amongſt vs the Arke with all reioycing. What is the Arke of Chriſtians vnder grace, but the Lord Ieſus Chriſt, whom with ioy wee bring amongſt vs, when as receiuing with ſinceritie and gladneſſe the new Teſtament in the blood of Chriſt our Sauiour, in our heart we beleeue his promiſes, and in word and deede wee beare witneſſe thereto before the whole world, and walke ſo in the light as it becomes the ſonnes of the ſame? this is the worthieſt triumph of our victory that we can make. And although there will doubtleſſe be many *Michals* amongſt vs, let vs reioyce and praiſe God for the diſcouerie of them, aſſuring our ſelues they were neuer of vs, accounting all them to be againſt vs, that either reioyce at the proſperitie of our enemies, or reioyce not with vs at our miraculous deliuerance: For all they that gather not with vs, they ſcatter. And let vs alſo diligently and warily trie out theſe craftie *Michals*: for it is in that reſpect that Chriſt recommends vnto vs the wiſedome of Serpents, not thereby to deceiue and betray others (no, God forbid) but to arme vs againſt the deceit and treaſon of hypocrites that goe about to trap vs. And leſt that theſe great benefits which God hath beſtowed vpon vs, be turned through our vnthankfulneſſe into a greater curſe, in ſeruing for teſtimonies at the latter day againſt vs, to the procuring of our double ſtripes; let vs now to conclude, bring in the Arke amongſt vs in two reſpects before mentioned, ſeeing we haue already receiued the Goſpel; firſt by conſtant remaining in the puritie of the trewth, which is our moſt certeine couenant of ſaluation in the only merits of our Sauior: And next, let vs ſo reforme our defiled liues, as becomes regenerate Chriſtians, to the great glory of our God, the vtter defacing of our aduerſaries the wicked, and our vnſpeakeable comfort both here and alſo for euer. AMEN.

His

His Maieſties owne Sonnet.

THe nations banded gainſt the Lord of might
Prepar'd a force, and ſet them to the way:
Mars dreſt himſelfe in ſuch an awfull plight,
The like whereof was neuer ſeene they ſay:
They forward came in monſtrous aray,
Both Sea and land beſet vs euery where:
Bragges threatned vs a ruinous decay,
What came of that? the iſſue did declare.
The windes began to toſſe them here and there,
The Seas begun in foming waues to ſwell:
The number that eſcap'd, it fell them faire:
The reſt were ſwallowed vp in gulfes of hell:
But how were all theſe things miraculous done?
God laught at them out of his heauenly throne.

Idem Latinè.

INSANO tumidæ gentes coiere tumultu,
Auſæ, inſigne nefas, bello vltro ciere tonantem,
Mars ſeſe accinxit, metuenda tot agmina nunquam,
Viſa ferunt, properare truces miro ordine turmæ,
Noſque mari & terra ſæuo claſere duello,
Exitium diraque minantes ſtrage ruinam;
Irrita ſed triſti lugent conamina fine:
Nam laceras iecit ventus ludibria puppes,
Et merſit rapidis turgeſcens montibus æquor.
Fœlix communi qui euaſit clade ſuperſtes,
Dum reliquos miſero, deglutit abyſſus hiatu.
Qui vis tanta cadit? quis totque ſtupenda peregit?
Vanos Ioua *ſacro conatus riſit Olympo.*

Per Metellanum Cancellarium.

DAEMONOLOGIE,

IN FORME OF A DIALOGVE,

Diuided into three Bookes,

WRITTEN BY THE HIGH AND MIGHTIE PRINCE, IAMES by the Grace of GOD King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, *Defender of the Faith, &c.*

¶ THE PREFACE TO THE READER.

He feareſull abounding at this time in this Countrey, of theſe deteſtable ſlaues of the Diuel, the Witches or enchaunters, hath mooued mee (beloued Reader) to diſpatch in poſt, this following Treatiſe of mine, not in any wiſe (as I proteſt) to ſerue for a ſhew of my learning and ingine, but onely (moued of conſcience) to preaſſe thereby, ſo farre as I can, to reſolue the doubting hearts of many; both that ſuch aſſaults of Satan are moſt certainely practiſed, and that the inſtruments thereof, merits moſt ſeuerely to be puniſhed: againſt the damnable opinions of two principally in our aage, whereof the one called Scot, *an Engliſhman, is not aſhamed in publike Print to deny, that there can be ſuch a thing*

thing as Witch-craft: and ſo maintaines the old errour of the Sadduces in denying of ſpirits; The other called Wierus, *a German Phyſition, ſets out a publike Apologie for all theſe craftſ-folkes, whereby, procuring for their impunitie, he plainely bewrayes himſelfe to haue bene one of that profeſſion. And for to make this Treatiſe the more pleaſant and facill, I haue put it in forme of a Dialogue, which I haue diuided into three Bookes: The firſt ſpeaking of Magie in generall, and Necromancie in ſpeciall: The ſecond, of Sorcerie and Witch-craft: and the third, containes a diſcourſe of all theſe kinds of ſpirits, and Spectres that appeares and troubles perſons, together with a concluſion of the whole worke. My intention in this labour, is onely to prooue two things, as I haue already ſaid: The one, that ſuch diueliſh artes haue bene and are: The other, what exact triall and ſeuere puniſhment they merit: and therefore reaſon I, What kinde of things are poſſible to be performed in theſe Arts, and by what naturall cauſes they may be, not that I touch euery particular thing of the Diuels power, for that were infinite: but onely to ſpeake ſcholaſtickely, (ſince this cannot be ſpoken in our language) I reaſon vpon* genus *leauing* ſpecies, *and* differentia *to bee comprehended therein: As for example, ſpeaking of the power of Magiciens, in the firſt booke and ſixt Chapter, I ſay, that they can ſuddenly cauſe be brought vnto them, all kinds of daintie diſhes, by their familiar ſpirit; ſince as a thiefe he delights to ſteale, and as a ſpirit he can ſubtilly and ſuddenly ynough tranſport the ſame. Now vnder this* genus, *may be comprehended all particulars, depending thereupon; ſuch as the bringing Wine out of a wall (as wee haue heard oft to haue bene practiſed) and ſuch others; which particulars, are ſufficiently prooued by the reaſons of the generall. And ſuch like in the ſecond booke of Witch-craft in ſpeciall, and fift Chapter, I ſay, and proue by diuers Arguments, that Witches can by the power of their maſter, cure or caſt on diſeaſes: Now by theſe ſame reaſons, that proues their power by the Diuell of diſeaſes in generall, is aſwell proued their power in ſpecial; as of weakning the nature of ſome men, to make them vnable for women, and*

making

making it to abound in others, more then the ordinary course of nature would permit: And such like in all other particular sicknesses. But one thing I will pray thee to obserue in all these places, where I reason vpon the diuels power, which is the different ends and scopes, that God as the first cause, and the diuell as his instrument and second cause, shoots at in all these actions of the diuel, (as Gods hang-man:) For where the diuels intention in them is euer to perish, either the soule, or the body, or both of them, that he is so permitted to deale with; God by the contrary, drawes euer out of that euill, glory to himselfe, either by the wracke of the wicked in his iustice, or by the triall of the patient, and amendment of the faithful, being wakened vp with that rod of correction. Hauing thus declared vnto thee then, my full intention in this Treatise, thou wilt easily excuse, I doubt not, aswel my pretermitting, to declare the whole particular rites and secrets of these vnlawfull arts; as also their infinit and wonderfull practises, as being neither of them pertinent to my purpose: the reason whereof, is giuen in the hinder end of the first Chapter of the third booke: and who likes to be curious in these things, he may reade, if he will heare of their practises, Bodinus Dæmonomanie, *collected with greater diligence, then written with iudgement, together with their confessions, that haue bene at this time apprehended. If he would know what hath bene the opinion of the Ancients, concerning their power, he shall see it well described by* Hyperius & Hemmingius, *two late Germane writers; Besides innumerable other neotericke Theologues, that write largely vpon that subject: And if he would know what are the particular rites, and curiosities of these blacke Arts (which is both vnnecessary and perillous) he will finde it in the fourth Booke of* Cornelius Agrippa, *and in* Wierus, *whom of I spake. And so wishing my paines in this Treatise (beloued Reader) to be effectuall, in arming all them that reade the same, against these aboue mentioned errours, and recommending my good will to thy friendly acceptation, I bid thee heartily fare-well.*

IAMES R.

DAEMONOLOGIE, IN FORME OF A DIALOGVE.

First Booke.

ARGVMENT.

The exord of the whole. The deſcription of Magie in ſpeciall.

Chap. I. Argvment.

Proued by the Scripture, that theſe vnlawfull arts in genere, *haue bene and may be put in practiſe.*

Philomathes and Epistemon reaſon the matter.

Philomathes.

Am ſurely very glad to haue met with you this day: for I am of opinion, that ye can better reſolue me of ſome thing, whereof I ſtand in great doubt, nor any other whom-with I could haue met.

Epi. In what I can, that ye like to ſpeir at me, I will willingly and freely tell my opinion, and if I proue it not ſufficiently, I am heartily content that a better reaſon carry it away then.

Phi. What thinke ye of theſe ſtrange newes, which now onely furniſhes purpoſe to all men at their meeting: I meane of theſe Witches?

Epi. Surely they are wonderfull: And I thinke ſo cleare and plaine confeſſions in that purpoſe, haue neuer fallen out in any aage or countrey.

Phi. No queſtion if they be true, but thereof the Doctours doubts.

Epi. What part of it doubt ye of?

Phi.

Phi. Euen of all, for ought I can yet perceiue: and namely, that there is such a thing as Witch-craft or Witches, and I would pray you to resolue me thereof if ye may: for I haue reasoned with sundrie in that matter, and yet could neuer be satisfied therein.

Epi. I shall with good will doe the best I can: But I thinke it the difficiller, since ye deny the thing it selfe in generall: for as it is said in the Logicke schooles, *Contra negantem principia non est disputandum.* Alwaies for that part, that Witch-craft, and Witches haue beene, and are, the former part is clearely prooued by the Scriptures, and the last by daily experience and confessions.

Phi. I know ye wil alleadge me *Sauls Pythonisse*: but that as appeares will not make much for you.

Epi. Not onely that place, but diuers others: But I maruell why that should not make much for me?

Phi. The reasons are these, first yee may consider, that *Saul* beeing troubled in spirit, and hauing fasted long before, as the text testifieth, and being come to a woman that was bruted to haue such knowledge, and that to enquire so important newes, he hauing so guilty a conscience for his hainous offences, and specially, for that same vnlawfull curiositie, and horrible defection: and then the woman crying out vpon the suddaine in great admiration, for the vncouth sight that she alledged to haue seene, discouering him to be the King, though disguised, and denied by him before: it was no wonder, I say, that his senses being thus distracted, hee could not perceaue her fayning of her voice, he being himselfe in another chalmer, and seeing nothing. Next, what could be, or was raised? The spirit of *Samuel*? prophane, and against all Theologie: the deuill in his likenesse? as vnappeirant, that either God would permit him to come in the shape of his Saints, (for then could neuer the Prophets in those dayes haue beene sure, what spirit spake to them in their visions) or then that he could fore-tell what was to come thereafter; for Prophecie proceedeth onely of God: and the diuell hath no knowledge of things to come.

Epi. Yet if ye will marke the words of the text, yee will finde clearely, that *Saul* saw that apparition: for giuing you that *Saul* was in another chalmer, at the making of the circles and coniurations, needfull for that purpose (as none of that craft wil permit any others to behold at that time) yet it is euident by the text, that how soone that once that vncleane spirit was fully risen, she called in vpon *Saul*: For it is said in the text, that *Saul knew him to be Samuel*, which could not haue beene, by the hearing tell onely of an olde man with a mantill, since there was many moe old men dead in *Israel* nor *Samuel*: And the common weid of that whole countrey was mantils. As to the next, that it was not the spirit of *Samuel*, I grant: In the prouing whereof ye need not to insist, since all Christians of whatsoeuer religion agrees vpon that: and none but either mere ignorants, or Necromanciers, or Witches doubts thereof. And that the deuill is permitted at some-

ſometimes to put himſelfe in the likeneſſe of the Saints, it is plaine in the Scriptures, where it is ſaid, that *Satan can transforme himſelfe into an Angel of light*. Neither could that bring any inconuenience with the viſions of the Prophets, ſince it is moſt certaine, that God will not permit him ſo to deceiue his owne: but onely ſuch, as firſt wilfully deceiue them-ſelues, by running vnto him, whom God then ſuffers to fall in their owne ſnares, and iuſtly permits them to be illuded with great efficacie of deceit, becauſe they would not beleeue the trueth (as *Paul* ſayth.) And as to the diuels foretelling of things to come, it is true that he knowes not all things future; but yet that hee knowes part, the tragicall euent of this hiſtorie declares it, (which the wit of woman could neuer haue fore-ſpoken) not that hee hath any preſcience, which is onely proper to God; or yet knowes any thing by looking vpon God, as in a mirrour (as the good Angels doe) hee being for euer debarred from the fauourable preſence and countenance of his Creatour; but onely by one of theſe two meanes: either, as being worldly wiſe, and taught by a continuall experience, euer ſince the Creation, iudges by likelyhood of things to come, according to the like that hath paſſed before, and the naturall cauſes, in reſpect of the viciſſitude of all things worldly: or elſe by Gods imploying of him in a turne, and ſo foreſeene thereof, as appeares to haue beene in this, whereof we finde the very like in *Micheas* propheticke diſcourſe to king *Achab*. But to prooue this my firſt propoſition, that there can be ſuch a thing as Witch-craft and Witches, there are many moe places in the Scriptures then this, as I ſaid before. As firſt in the Lawe of God, it is plainely prohibited: But certaine it is, that the Law of God ſpeakes nothing in vaine, neither doeth it lay curſes, or enioyne puniſhments vpon ſhadowes, condemning that to be ill, which is not in eſſence or being, as we call it. Secondly, it is plaine, where wicked *Pharaohs* Wiſe-men imitated a number of *Moſes* miracles, to harden the tyrants heart thereby. Thirdly, ſaid not *Samuel* to *Saul*, that *diſobedience is as the ſinne of Witch-craft*? To compare it to a thing that were not, it were too too abſurd. Fourthly, was not *Simon Magus* a man of that craft? And fiftly, what was ſhe that had the ſpirit of *Python*? beſide innumerable other places that were irkeſome to recite.

1. Cor. 11. 14.

1. King. 22.

Exod. 22.

Exod. 7. & 2.

1. Sam. 15.

Acts 8.
Acts 16.

CHAP.

Chap. II. Argv.

What kind of ſinne the practiſers of theſe vnlawfull arts commit. The diuiſion of theſe arts: And what are the meanes that allure any to practiſe them.

Philomathes.

BVt I thinke it very ſtrange, that God ſhould permit any man-kind (ſince they beare his owne Image) to fall in ſo groſſe and filthie a defection.

Epi. Although man in his Creation was made to the image of the Creator, yet through his fall hauing once loſt it, it is but reſtored againe in a part by grace onely to the elect: So all the reſt falling away from God, are giuen ouer into the hands of the diuell that enemy, to beare his image; and being once ſo giuen ouer, the greateſt and the groſſeſt impietie is the pleaſanteſt, and moſt delightfull vnto them. Gene.1.

Phi. But may it not ſuffice him to haue indirectly the rule, and procure the perdition of ſo many ſoules by alluring them to vices, and to the following of their owne appetites, ſuppoſe hee abuſe not ſo many ſimple ſoules, in making them directly acknowledge him for their maſter?

Epi. No ſurely, for he vſes euery man, whom of he hath the rule, according to their complexion and knowledge: and ſo, whom hee findes moſt ſimple, he plainelieſt diſcouers himſelfe vnto them: For he being the enemie of mans ſaluation, vſes all the meanes hee can to intrappe them ſo farre in his ſnares, as it may bee vnable to them thereafter (ſuppoſe they would) to rid themſelues out of the ſame.

Phi. Then this ſinne is a ſinne againſt the holy Ghoſt.

Epi. It is in ſome, but not in all.

Phi. How that? Are not all theſe that runne directly to the diuell in one Categorie?

Epi. God forbid, for the ſinne againſt the holy Ghoſt hath two branches: The one, a falling backe from the whole ſeruice of God, and a refuſall of all his precepts: The other is the doing of the firſt with knowledge, knowing that they doe wrong againſt their owne conſcience, and the teſtimonie of the holy Spirit, hauing once had a taſte of the ſweetnes of Gods mercies: Now in the firſt of theſe two, all ſorts of Necromancers, Enchanters or Witches, are comprehended, but in the laſt, none but ſuch as erre with this knowledge that I haue ſpoken of. Hebr.6.1a.

Phi. Then it appeares that there are more ſorts nor one, that are directly profeſſours of his ſeruice: and if ſo be, I pray you tell me how many and what are they?

Epi. There are principally two ſorts, whereunto all the parts of that vnhappy Art are redacted; whereof the one is called *Magie* or *Necromancie*, the other *Sorcerie* or *Witch-craft*.

Phi. What I pray you? and how many are the meanes, whereby the diuell allures perſons in any of theſe ſnares?

EPI. Euen by these three passions that are within our selues: Curiositie in great ingines: thirst of reuenge, for some tortes deepely apprehended: or greedy appetite of geare, caused through great pouertie. As to the first of these, Curiositie, it is onely the inticement of *Magicians* or *Necromanciers*: and the other two are the allurers of the *Sorcerers* or *Witches*; for that old and craftie serpent being a Spirit, he easily spies our affections, and so conformes himselfe thereto, to deceiue vs to our wracke.

CHAP. III. ARGV.

The significations and etymologies of the words of Magie *and* Necromancie. *The difference betwixt* Necromancie *and* Witchcraft: *What are the entresses, and beginnings, that bring any to the knowledge thereof.*

PHILOMATHES.

I Would gladly first heare, what thing it is that ye call *Magie* or *Necromancie*.

EPI. This word *Magi* in the Persian tongue, imports as much as to be a contemplatour or Interpretour of Diuine and heauenly sciences, which being first vsed among the *Chaldees*, through their ignorance of the true diuinitie, was esteemed and reputed amongst them, as a principall vertue: And therfore, was named vniustly with an honourable stile, which name the *Greekes* imitated, generally importing all these kindes of vnlawfull artes: And this word *Necromancie* is a Greeke word, compounded of νέκυες and μάντεια, which is to say, the prophecie by the dead. This last name is giuen, to this blacke and vnlawfull science, by the figure *Synechdoche*, because it is a principall part of that arte, to serue themselues with dead carcases in their diuinations.

PHI. What difference is there betwixt this arte, and Witch-craft?

EPI. Surely, the difference vulgare put betwixt them, is very merry, and in a maner true; for they say, that the Witches are seruants onely, and slaues to the diuel; but the Necromanciers are his Masters and commanders.

PHI. How can that be true, that any men being specially addicted to his seruice, can be his commanders?

EPI. Yea they may be; but it is onely *secundum quid*: For it is not by any power that they can haue ouer him, but *ex pacto* allanerlie; whereby he obliges himselfe in some trifles to them, that he may on the other part obteine the fruition of their body and soule, which is the onely thing he huntes for.

PHI. A very in-æquitable contract forsooth: But I pray you discourse vnto me, what is the effect and secrets of that arte.

EPI. That is an ouer large field ye giue me: yet I shall doe my good-will, the most summarly that I can, to runne through the principall points thereof. As there are two sorts of folkes, that may be entised to this art, *to wit,*

wit, learned or vnlearned: ſo is there two meanes, which are the firſt ſteerers vp and feeders of their curioſitie, thereby to make them to giue themſelues ouer to the ſame: Which two meanes, I call the diuels ſchoole, and his rudiments. The learned haue their curioſitie wakened vp, and fed by that which I cal his ſchole: this is the *Aſtrologie* iudiciar; For diuers men hauing attained to a great perfection in learning, and yet remayning ouerbare (alas) of the Spirit of regeneration and fruits thereof, finding all naturall things common, aſwell to the ſtupide pedants, as vnto them, they aſſay to vendicate vnto them a greater name, by not onely knowing the courſe of things heauenly, but likewiſe to clime to the knowledge of things to come thereby: Which, at the firſt face appearing lawfull vnto them, in reſpect the ground thereof ſeemeth to proceed of naturall cauſes onely, they are ſo allured thereby, that finding their practiſe to proue trew in ſundry things, they ſtudy to know the cauſe thereof, and ſo mounting from degree to degree, vpon the ſlipperie and vncertaine ſcale of curioſitie; they are at laſt entiſed, that where lawfull artes or ſciences faile, to ſatisfie their reſtleſſe minds, euen to ſeeke to that blacke and vnlawfull ſcience of *Magie*: Where, finding at the firſt, that ſuch diuers formes of circles and coniurations rightly ioyned thereunto, will raiſe ſuch diuers formes of ſpirits, to reſolue them of their doubts, and attributing the doing thereof, to the power inſeparably tied, or inherent in the circles, and many wordes of God, confuſedly wrapped in; they blindly glory of themſelues, as if they had by their quickneſſe of ingine, made a conqueſt of *Plutoes* dominion, and were become Emperours ouer the *Stygian* habitacles: Where, in the meane time (miſerable wretches) they are become in very deed, bondſlaues to their mortall enemie: and their knowledge, for all that they preſume thereof, is nothing increaſed, except in knowing euill, and the horrors of hell for puniſhment thereof, as *Adams* was by the eating of the forbidden tree. Gene. 3.

CHAP. IIII. ARGV.

The deſcription of the rudiments and Schoole, which are the entreſſes to the arte of Magie: *And in ſpeciall the differences betwixt* Aſtronomie *and* Aſtrologie: *Diuiſion of* Aſtrologie *in diuers parts.*

PHILOMATHES.

BVt I pray you likewiſe forget not to tell what are the diuels rudiments.

EPI. His rudiments, I call firſt in generall, all that which is called vulgarly the vertue of word, herbe, and ſtone, which is vſed by vnlawfull charmes, without naturall cauſes; as likewiſe all kinde of practicques, freites, or other like extraordinary actions, which cannot abide the trew touch of naturall reaſon.

PHI. I would haue you to make that plainer, by ſome particular examples; for your propoſition is very generall.

EPI. I meane either by ſuch kinde of Charmes as commonly daft wiues vſe, for healing of forſpoken goods, for preſeruing them from euill eyes, by knitting roun trees, or ſundrieſt kinde of hearbes, to the haire or tailes of the goods: by curing the worme, by ſtemming of blood, by healing of Horſe-crookes, by turning of the riddle, or doing of ſuch like innumerable things by words, without applying any thing, meete to the part offended, as Mediciners doe: Or elſe by ſtaying married folkes, to haue naturally adoe with other (by knitting ſo many knots vpon a point at the time of their marriage,) And ſuch like things, which men vſe to practiſe in their merrineſſe: For fra vnlearned men (being naturally curious, and lacking the trew knowledge of God) finde theſe practiſes to proue trew, as ſundrie of them will doe, by the power of the diuell for deceiuing men, and not by any inherent vertue in theſe vaine words and freites; and being deſirous to winne a reputation to themſelues in ſuch like turnes, they either (if they be of the ſhamefaſter ſort) ſeeke to be learned by ſome that are experimented in that Arte, (not knowing it to be euill at the firſt) or elſe being of the groſſer ſort, runne directly to the diuel for ambition or deſire of gaine, and plainely contract with him thereupon.

PHI. But me thinkes theſe meanes which ye call the Schoole and rudiments of the diuel, are things lawfull, and haue bene approued for ſuch in all times and aages: as in ſpeciall, this ſcience of *Aſtrologie*, which is one of the ſpeciall members of the *Mathematiques*.

EPI. There are two things which the learned haue obſerued from the beginning, in the ſcience of the heauenly Creatures, the Planets, Starres, and ſuch like: The one is their courſe and ordinarie motions, which for that cauſe is called *Aſtronomia*, Which word is a compound of νόμος and ἀστέρων, that is to ſay, the law of the Starres: And this Art indeed is one of the members of the *Mathematiques*, and not onely lawfull, but moſt neceſſary and commendable: The other is called *Aſtrologia*, being compounded of ἀστέρων and λόγος, which is to ſay, the word and preaching of the Starres: Which is diuided into two parts: The firſt, by knowing thereby the powers of ſimples, and ſickneſſes, the courſe of the ſeaſons and the weather, being ruled by their influence; which part depending vpon the former, although it bee not of it ſelfe a part of *Mathematiques*: yet it is not vnlawfull, being moderately vſed, ſuppoſe not ſo neceſſarie and commendable as the former. The ſecond part is to truſt ſo much to their influences, as thereby to foretell what common-weales ſhall flouriſh or decay: what perſons ſhall be fortunate or vnfortunate: what ſide ſhall winne in any battell: what man ſhal obtaine victorie at ſingular combate: what way, and of what aage ſhall men die: what horſe ſhall winne at match-running: and diuers ſuch like incredible things, wherein *Cardanus*, *Cornelius Agrippa*, and diuers others haue more curiouſly then profitably written at large. Of this roote laſt ſpoken of,

ſprings

ſprings innumerable branches; ſuch as the knowledge by the natiuities; the *Cheiromancie*, *Geomancie*, *Hydromancie*, *Arithmancie*, *Phyſiognomie*, and a thouſand others, which were much practiſed, and holden in great reuerence by the Gentiles of old: And this laſt part of *Aſtrologie* whereof I haue ſpoken, which is the root of their branches, was called by them *pars fortunæ*. This part now is vtterly vnlawfull to be truſted in, or practiſed amongſt Chriſtians, as leaning to no ground of naturall reaſon: and it is this part which I called before the Diuels ſchoole.

Phi. But yet many of the learned are of the contrarie opinion.

Epi. I grant, yet I could giue my reaſons to fortifie and maintaine my opinion, if to enter into this diſputation it would not draw me quite off the ground of our diſcourſe, beſides the miſ-ſpending of the whole day thereupon: One word onely I will anſwere to them, and that in the Scriptures (which muſt be an infallible ground to all true Chriſtians,) That in the Prophet *Ieremie* it is plainely forbidden, to beleeue or hearken vnto them that propheſie and fore-ſpeake by the courſe of the Planets and Stars.

Chap. V. Argv.

How farre the vſing of Charmes is lawfull or vnlawfull. The deſcription of the formes of Circles and Coniurations: And what cauſeth the Magicians *themſelues to be wearie thereof.*

Philomathes.

WEL, ye haue ſaid farre inough in that argument. But how prooue yee now that theſe Charmes or vnnaturall practiques are vnlawfull: For ſo many honeſt and merry men and women haue publikely practiſed ſome of them, that I think if ye would accuſe them all of Witch-craft, ye would affirme more nor ye will be beleeued in.

Epi. I ſee if you had taken good tent (to the nature of that word, wherby I named it,) ye would not haue beene in this doubt, nor miſtaken mee ſo farre as ye haue done: For although, as none can be ſcholers in a ſchoole, and not be ſubiect to the maſter thereof: ſo none can ſtudie and put in practiſe (for ſtudie the alone, and knowledge, is more perillous nor offenſiue; and it is the practiſe onely that makes the greatneſſe of the offence,) the Circles and Art of *Magie*, without committing an horrible defection from God: And yet as they that reade and learne their rudiments, are not the more ſubiect to any ſchoole-maſter, if it pleaſe not their parents to put them to the ſchoole thereafter: So they who ignorantly prooue theſe practiques, which I call the Diuels rudiments, vnknowing them to be baits, caſt out by him, for trapping ſuch as God will permit to fall into his hands, this kinde of folkes I ſay, no doubt, are to be iudged the beſt of, in reſpect they vſe no inuocation nor helpe of him (by their knowledge at leaſt) in

theſe turnes, and ſo haue neuer entred themſelues into Satans ſeruice; Yet to ſpeake trewly for mine owne part (I ſpeake but for my ſelfe) I deſire not to make ſo neere riding: For in my opinion our enemie is ouer craftie, and wee ouer weake (except the greater grace of God) to aſſay ſuch hazards, wherein he preaſes to trap vs.

PHI. Ye haue reaſon forſooth: for as the common prouerbe ſayth; They that ſup keile with the deuill, haue need of long ſpoones: But now I pray you goe forward in the deſcribing of this arte of *Magie*.

EPI. Fra they be come once vnto this perfection in euill, in hauing any knowledge (whether learned or vnlearned) of this blacke arte; they then begin to be wearie of the raiſing of their Maiſter, by coniured circles, being both ſo difficile and perillous, and ſo come plainely to a contract with him, wherein is ſpecially contained formes and effects.

PHI. But I pray you or euer you goe further, diſcourſe me ſomewhat of their circles and coniurations; and what ſhould be the cauſe of their wearying thereof: For it ſhould ſeeme that that forme ſhould be leſſe fearefull yet, then the direct haunting and ſocietie, with that foule and vncleane Spirite.

EPI. I thinke yee take me to be a Witch my ſelfe, or at the leaſt would faine ſweare your ſelfe prentiſe to that craft: Alwayes as I may, I ſhal ſhortly ſatisfie you, in that kinde of coniurations, which are contained in ſuch bookes, which I call the Deuils Schoole: There are foure principall parts: the perſons of the coniurers; the action of the coniuration; the words and rites vſed to that effect; and the Spirits that are coniured. Ye muſt firſt remember to lay the ground, that I tolde you before, which is, that it is no power inherent in the circles, or in the holineſſe of the names of God blaſphemouſly vſed; nor in whatſoeuer rites or ceremonies at that time vſed, that either can raiſe any infernall ſpirit, or yet limitate him perforce within or without theſe circles. For it is he onely, the father of all lies, who hauing firſt of all preſcribed that forme of doing, feining himſelfe to be commanded and reſtrained thereby, will be loth to paſſe the boundes of theſe iniunctions; as wel thereby to make them glory in the impiring ouer him (as I ſaid before:) as likewiſe to make himſelfe ſo to be truſted in theſe little things, that he may haue the better commoditie thereafter, to deceiue them in the end with a tricke once for all; I meane the euerlaſting perdition of their ſoule and body. Then laying this ground, as I haue ſaid, theſe coniurations muſt haue fewe or moe in number of the perſons coniurers (alwayes paſſing the ſingular number) according to the qualitie of the circle, and forme of apparition. Two principall things cannot well in that errand be wanted: holy-water (whereby the deuill mockes the *Papiſts*) and ſome preſent of a liuing thing vnto him. There are likewiſe certaine ſeaſons, dayes and houres, that they obſerue in this purpoſe: Theſe things being all ready and prepared, circles are made triangular, quadrangular, round, double or ſingle, according to the forme of apparition that they craue.

craue. But to ſpeake of the diuers formes of the circles, of the innumerable characters and croſſes that are within and without, and out-through the ſame, of the diuers formes of apparitions, that that craftie ſpirit illudes them with, and of all ſuch particulars in that action, I remit it to ouermany that haue buſied their heads in deſcribing of the ſame; as being but curious, and altogether vnprofitable. And this farre onely I touch, that when the coniured Spirit appeares, which will not be while after many circumſtances, long prayers, and much muttring and murmuring of the coniurers; like a *Papiſt* Prieſt, diſpatching a hunting *Maſſe*: how ſoone I ſay, he appeares, if they haue miſſed one iote of all their rites; or if any of their feet once ſlyde ouer the circle through terrour of his fearefull apparition, hee payes himſelfe at that time in his owne hand, of that due debt which they ought him; and otherwiſe would haue delayed longer to haue payed him: I meane, hee carries them with him body and ſoule. If this be not now a iuſt cauſe to make them weary of theſe formes of coniuration, I leaue it to you to iudge vpon; conſidering the long ſomneſſe of the labour, the preciſe keeping of dayes and houres (as I haue ſaid) the terribleneſſe of apparition, and the preſent perill that they ſtand in, in miſſing the leaſt circumſtance or freite, that they ought to obſerue: And on the other part, the deuill is glad to mooue them to a plaine and ſquare dealing with him, as I ſaid before.

CHAP. VI. ARGV.

The Deuils contract with the Magicians: *The diuiſion there of in two parts: What is the difference betwixt Gods miracles and the Deuils.*

PHILOMATHES.

INdeed there is cauſe enough, but rather to leaue him at all, then to runne more plainely to him, if they were wiſe hee dealt with: But goe forward now, I pray you, to theſe turnes, fra they become once deacons in this craft.

EPI. From time that they once plainely begin to contract with him: The effect of their contract conſiſts in two things: in formes and effects, as I began to tell already, were it not ye interrupted me: (for although the contract be mutual, I ſpeake firſt of that part, wherein the diuel obliges himſelfe to them) By formes, I meane in what ſhape or faſhion he ſhall come vnto them, when they call vpon him; And by effects, I vnderſtand, in what ſpeciall ſorts or ſeruices he binds himſelfe to bee ſubiect vnto them. The qualitie of theſe formes and effects, is leſſe or greater, according to the skill and art of the *Magician*: For as to the formes, to ſome of the baſer ſort of them he obliges himſelfe to appeare at their calling vpon him, by ſuch a proper name which he ſhewes vnto them, either in likenes of a Dog, a Cat, an Ape, or ſuch-like other beaſt; or elſe to anſwere by a voice

voice onely. The effects, are to anſwere to ſuch demands, as concerne curing of diſeaſes, their owne particular menagerie, or ſuch other baſe things as they require of him. But to the moſt curious ſort, in the formes hee will oblige himſelfe, to enter into a dead bodie, and there out of to giue ſuch anſweres, of the euent of battels, of matters concerning the eſtate of commonwealths, and ſuch like other great queſtions: yea, to ſome he will bee a continuall attender, in forme of a Page: Hee will permit himſelfe to bee coniured, for the ſpace of ſo many yeeres, either in a tablet or a ring, or ſuch like thing, which they may eaſily cary about with them: Hee giues them power to ſell ſuch wares to others, whereof ſome will be dearer, and ſome better cheape, according to the lying or true ſpeaking of the Spirit that is coniured therein: Not but that in very deed, all deuils muſt be lyars; but ſo they abuſe the ſimplicitie of theſe wretches, that become their ſcholers, that they make them beleeue, that at the fall of *Lucifer*, ſome Spirits fell in the aire, ſome in the fire, ſome in the water, ſome in the land, in which Elements they ſtill remaine. Whereupon they build, that ſuch as fell in the fire, or in the aire, are trewer then they, who fell in the water, or in the land, which are all but meere trattles, and forged by the authour of all deceite. For they fell not by weight, as a ſolide ſubſtance, to ſticke in any one part; but the principall part of their fall, conſiſting in quality, by the falling from the grace of God, wherein they were created, they continued ſtil thereafter, and ſhall doe while the latter day, in wandring through the world, as Gods hang-men, to execute ſuch turnes as hee employes them in: And when any of them are not occupied in that, returne they muſt to their priſon in hell (as it is plaine in the miracle that CHRIST wrought at *Gennezareth*) therein at the latter day to be all enMatth.8. cloſed for euer: and as they deceiue their Schollers in this, ſo doe they, in imprinting in them the opinion, that there are ſo many Princes, Dukes, and Kings amongſt them, euery one commanding fewer or moe Legions, and impiring in diuers artes, and quarters of the earth: For though that I will not deny that there be a forme of order amongſt the Angels in Heauen, and conſequently, was amongſt them before their fall; yet, either that they bruike the ſame ſenſine; or that God will permit vs to know by damned diuels, ſuch heauenly myſteries of his, which he would not reueale to vs, neither by Scripture nor Prophets, I thinke no Chriſtian will once thinke it. But by the contrary of all ſuch myſteries, as he hath cloſed vp with his Seale of ſecrecie; it becommeth vs to be contented with an humble ignorance, they being things not neceſſary for our ſaluation. But to returne to the purpoſe, as theſe formes, wherein Satan obliges himſelfe to the greateſt of the *Magicians*, are wonderfull curious; ſo are the effects correſpondent vnto the ſame: For he will oblige himſelfe to teach them artes and ſciences, which he may eaſily doe, being ſo learned a knaue as he is, to carry them newes from any part of the world, which the agilitie of a Spirit may eaſily performe: to reueale to them the ſecrets of any perſons,

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ſo being they be once ſpoken, for the thought none knowes but GOD; except ſo farre as ye may gheſſe by their countenance, as one who is doubtleſly learned enough in the *Phyſiognomie*: Yea, hee will make his Schollers to creepe in credite with Princes, by fore-telling them many great things; part true, part falſe: For if all were falſe, hee would tyne credite at all handes; but alwayes doubtſome, as his Oracles were. And he will alſo make them to pleaſe Princes, by faire banquets and daintie diſhes, carried in ſhort ſpace fra the fartheſt part of the world: For no man doubts but he is a thiefe, and his agilitie (as I ſpake before) makes him to come with ſuch ſpeed. Such like, he wil guard his Schollers with faire armies of horſemen and footmen in appearance, Caſtles and forts, Which all are but impreſſions in the aire, eaſily gathered by a Spirit, drawing ſo neere to that ſubſtance himſelfe: As in like maner he will learne them many Iuglarie trickes at Cardes, dice, and ſuch like, to deceiue mens ſenſes thereby, and ſuch innumerable falſe practiques, which are proued by ouer-many in this aage; as they who are acquainted with that *Italian* called SCOTO yet liuing, can report: And yet are all theſe things but deluding of the ſenſes, and no wayes true in ſubſtance; as were the falſe miracles wrought by King *Pharaos* Magicians, for counterfeiting *Moyſes*: For that is the difference betwixt GODS miracles and the diuels, GOD is a creatour, what he makes appeare in myracle, it is ſo in effect: As *Moyſes* Rod being caſten downe, was no doubt turned into a naturall Serpent: where as the diuel (as Gods Ape) counterfetting that by his *Magicians*, made their wandes to appeare ſo, onely to mens outward ſenſes: as kythed in effect by their being deuoured by the other; For it is no wonder, that the diuel may delude our ſenſes, ſince we ſee by common proofe, that ſimple Iugglars wil make an hundreth things ſeeme both to our eyes and eares otherwayes then they are. Now as to the *Magicians* part of the contract, it is in a word that thing which I ſaid before, the diuel hunts for in all men.

PHI. Surely ye haue ſaid much to mee in this art, if all that you haue ſaid be as trew as wonderfull.

EPI. For the trewth in theſe actions, it wil be eaſily confirmed, to any that pleaſes to take paine vpon the reading of diuers authenticke hiſtories, and the enquiring of daily experiences. And as for the trewth of their poſſibilitie, that they may be, and in what maner, I truſt I haue alledged nothing whereunto I haue not ioyned ſuch probable reaſons, as I leaue to your diſcretion, to weigh and conſider: One word onely I omitted, concerning the forme of making of this contract, which is either written with the *Magicians* owne blood: or elſe being agreed vpon (in termes his ſchole-maſter) touches him in ſome part, though peraduenture no marke remain, as it doeth with all Witches.

CHAP.

Chap. VII. Arg.

The reason why the art of Magie *is vnlawfull: What punishment they merit, And who may be accounted guilty of that crime.*

Philomathes.

SVrely, ye haue made this art to appeare very monstrous and detestable. But what I pray you shal be said to such as maintaine this arte to bee lawfull, for as euill as you haue made it?

Epi. I say, they sauour of the panne themselues, or at least little better; and yet I would be glad to heare their reasons.

Phi. There are two principally, that euer I heard vsed; beside that which is founded vpon the common Prouerbe (that the *Necromancers* command the deuill, which ye haue already refuted.) The one is grounded vpon a receiued custome: The other vpon an authoritie, which some think infallible. Vpon custome, we see that diuerse Christian Princes and Magistrates seuere punishers of Witches, will not onely ouer-see *Magicians* to liue within their dominions; but euen sometimes delight to see them prooue some of their practicques. The other reason is, that *Moyses* beeing brought vp (as it is expresly said in the Scriptures) *in all the sciences of the Egyptians*; whereof no doubt, this was one of the principals; and hee notwithstanding of this art, pleasing God, as he did, consequently that art professed by so godly a man, could not be vnlawfull.

Epi. As to the first of your reasons, grounded vpon custome: I say, an euill custome can neuer be accepted for a good law, for the ouer great ignorance of the word in some Princes and Magistrates, and the contempt thereof in others, mooues them to sinne heauily against their office in that point. As to the other reason, which seemes to be of greater weight, if it were formed in a Syllogisme; it behooued to be in many termes, and full of fallacies (to speake in termes of *Logicque*:) for first, that that generall proposition, affirming *Moyses* to be taught *in all the sciences of the Egyptians*, should conclude that he was taught in *Magie*, I see no necessitie: For we must vnderstand, that the Spirit of God there, speaking of sciences, vnderstands them that are lawfull; for except they be lawfull, they are but *abusiuè* called sciences, and are but ignorances, indeed: *Nam homo pictus, non est homo.* Secondly, giuing that he had beene taught in it, there is great difference betwixt knowledge and practising of a thing, as I said before: For God knoweth all things, being alwaies good, and of our sinne and our infirmitie proceedeth our ignorance. Thirdly, giuing that he had both studied and practised the same (which is more then monstrous to bee beleeued by any Christian) yet we know well inough, that before that euer the Spirit of God began to call *Moyses*, he was fled out of Egypt, being fourtie yeeres of aage, for the slaughter of an Egyptian, and in his good father *Iethroes* land,

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first called at the fierie bush, hauing remained there other fourtie yeeres in exile: so that suppose hee had beene the wickeddest man in the world before, he then became a changed and regenerate man, and very little of olde *Moyses* remained in him. *Abraham* was an Idolater in *Vr* of *Chaldæa*, before he was called: And *Paul* beeing called *Saul*, was a most sharpe persecutour of the Saints of God, while that name was changed.

Phi. What punishment then thinke ye merit these *Magicians* and *Necromancers*?

Epi. The like no doubt, that *Sorcerers* and *Witches* merit; and rather so much greater, as their errour proceedes of the greater knowledge, and so drawes neerer to the sinne against the holy Ghost. And as I say of them, so say I the like of all such as consult, enquire, entertaine, and oversee them, which is seene by the miserable ends of many that aske counsell of them: For the deuill hath neuer better tidings to tell to any, then hee told to *Saul*: neither is it lawfull to vse so vnlawful instruments, were it neuer for so good a purpose: For that axiome in Theologie is most certaine and infallible, *Nunquam faciendum est malum, vt bonum inde eueniat.* Actes 3.

THE

THE SECOND BOOKE OF DÆMONOLOGIE.

ARGVMENT.

The description of Sorcerie and Witchcraft in speciall.

CHAP. I. ARGVMENT.

Proued by the Scripture, that such a thing can be: And the reasons refuted of all such as would call it but an imagination and Melancholicque humour.

PHILOMATHES.

NOW, since ye haue satisfied mee now so fully, concerning *Magie* or *Necromancie*, I wil pray you to doe the like in *Sorcerie* or *Witchcraft*.

EPI. That field is likewise very large, and although in the mouthes and pennes of many, yet few knowe the trewth thereof, so well as they beleeue themselues, as I shall so shortly as I can, make you (God willing) as easily to perceiue.

PHI. But I pray you before ye goe further, let mee interrupt you here with a short digression, which is, that many can scarcely beleeue that there is such a thing as *Witchcraft*: Whose reasons I will shortly alleage vnto you, that yee may satisfie mee as well in that, as yee haue done in the rest. For first, whereas the Scripture seemes to prooue *Witchcraft* to bee, by diuers examples, and specially by sundrie of the same, which ye haue alleaged; it is thought by some, that these places speake of *Magicians* and *Necromancers* onely, and not of *Witches*: As in speciall, these wise men of *Pharaohs*, that counterfeited *Moyses* myracles, were *Magicians* say they, and not *Witches*: As likewise that *Pythoniſſe* that *Saul* consulted with: And so was *Simon Magus* in the new Testament, as that very stile imports. Secondly, where ye would oppone the dayly practicque, and confession of so many, that is thought likewise to be but very Melancholicque imaginations of simple rauing creatures. Thirdly, if *Witches* had such power of Witching of folkes to death, (as they say they haue) there had bene none left aliue long since in the world but they; at the least, no good or godly person of whatsoeuer estate, could haue escaped their diuelrie.

EPI.

EPI. Your three reaſons, as I take, are grounded: the firſt of them *negatiuè* vpon the Scripture: The ſecond *affirmatiuè* vpõ Phiſick: And the third vpon the certaine proofe of experience. As to your firſt, it is moſt trew indeede, that all theſe wiſe men of *Pharaoh* were *Magicians* of arte: As likewiſe it appeares well, that the *Pythoniſſe*, with whom *Saul* conſulted, was of that ſame profeſſion: and ſo was *Simon Magus*. But ye omitted to ſpeake of the Lawe of God, wherein are all *Magicians*, Diuiners, Enchanters, Sorcerers, Witches, and whatſoeuer of that kind that conſult with the deuill, plainely prohibited, and alike threatned againſt. And beſides that, ſhe who had the Spirit of *Python*, in the Actes, whoſe Spirit was put to ſilence by the Apoſtle, could be no other thing but a very Sorcerer or Witch, if ye admit the vulgar diſtinction, to be in a maner trew, whereof I ſpake in the beginning of our conference: For that ſpirit whereby ſhe conqueſted ſuch gaine to her Maſters, was not at her raiſing or commanding, as ſhee pleaſed to appoint, but ſpake by her tongue, as well publikely as priuately: whereby ſhe ſeemed to draw nearer to the ſort of *Demoniakes* or poſſeſſed, if that coniunction betwixt them, had not beene of her owne conſent; as it appeared by her, not being tormented therewith, and by her conqueſting of ſuch gaine to her Maſters (as I haue alreadie ſaid.) As to your ſecond reaſon grounded vpon Phyſicke, in attributing their confeſſions or apprehenſions, to a naturall melancholique humour, any that pleaſe phyſically to conſider vpon the naturall humour of melancholly, according to all the Phyſicians, that euer writ thereupon, they ſhall find that that will be ouerſhort a cloake to couer their knauery with: For as the humour of Melancholly in the ſelfe is blacke, heauie and terrene, ſo are the ſymptomes thereof, in any perſons that are ſubiect thereunto, leanneſſe, paleneſſe, deſire of ſolitude; and if they come to the higheſt degree thereof, meere folly and *Manie*: whereas by the contrary, a great number of them that euer haue beene conuict or confeſſours of Witchcraft, as may be preſently ſeene by many that haue at this time confeſſed; they are by the contrary, I ſay, ſome of them rich and worldly wiſe, ſome of them fat or corpulent in their bodies, and moſt part of them altogether giuen ouer to the pleaſures of the fleſh, continuall haunting of companie, and all kinde of merrineſſe, both lawfull and vnlawful, which are things directly contrary to the ſymptomes of melancholly, whereof I ſpake; and further experience daily prooues, how loth they are to confeſſe without torture, which witneſſeth their guiltineſſe; where by the contrary, the Melancholiques neuer ſpare to bewray themſelues, by their continuall diſcourſes, feeding thereby their humor in that which they thinke no crime. As to your third reaſon, it ſcarſely merits an anſwere: for if the deuill their maſter were not bridled, as the Scriptures teach vs, ſuppoſe there were no men nor women to bee his inſtruments, he could finde wayes enough without any helpe of others to wracke all mankinde; whereunto he employes his whole ſtudy, and *goeth about like a roaring Lyon* (as *Peter* ſayth) to that effect, but the limits of his

Acts 16.

power were set downe before the foundations of the world were laide, which he hath not power in the least iote to transgresse. But beside all this, there is ouer great a certaintie to prooue that they are, by the daily experience of the harmes that they doe, both to men, and whatsoeuer thing men possesse, whom God will permit them to be the instruments, so to trouble or visite, as in my discourse of that arte, ye shall heare clearely prooued.

CHAP. II. ARGV.

The Etymologie and signification of that word Sorcerie: *The first entresse and prentiship of them that giue themselues to that craft.*

PHILOMATHES.

COme on then I pray you, and returne where ye left.

EPI. This word of *Sorcerie* is a Latine word, which is taken from casting of the lot, and therefore he that vseth it, is called *Sortiarius à sorte*: As to the word of *Witchcraft*, it is nothing but a proper name giuen in our language: The cause wherefore they were called *Sortiarij*, proceeded of their practiques, seeming to come of lot or chance, such as the turning of the riddle, the knowing of the forme of prayers, or such like tokens, if a person diseased would liue or die: And in generall, that name was giuen them for vsing of such charmes, and freits, as that Craft teacheth them. Many points of their craft and practicques are common betwixt the *Magicians* and them: for they serue both one Master, although in diuers fashions. And as I deuided the *Necromancers* into two sortes, learned and vnlearned; so must I deny them in other two, rich and of better accompt; poore and of baser degree. These two degrees now of persons, that practise this Craft, answere to the passions in them, which (I tolde you before) the Diuell vsed as meanes to entice them to his seruice: for such of them as are in great miserie and pouertie, he allures to follow him, by promising vnto them great riches, and worldly commoditie: Such as though rich, yet burne in a desperate desire of reuenge, he allures them by promises, to get their turne satisfied to their hearts contentment. It is to be noted now, that that olde and craftie enemie of ours, assailes none, though touched with any of these two extremities, except he first finde an entresse ready for him, either by the great ignorance of the person he deales with, ioyned with an euill life, or else by their careleasnesse and contempt of God: And finding them in an vtter despaire, for one of these two former causes that I haue spoken of, he prepares the way by feeding them craftely in their humour, and filling them further and further with despaire, while hee finde the time proper to discouer himselfe vnto them: At which time, either vpon their walking solitarie in the fieldes, or else lying pansing in their bed, but alwaies without the company of any other, hee either by a voyce, or in likenesse of

of a man inquires of them, what troubles them, and promiſeth them, a ſuddaine and certaine way of remedie, vpon condition on the other part, that they follow his aduiſe, and doe ſuch things as he will require of them: Their mindes being prepared before-hand, as I haue alreadie ſpoken, they eaſily agreed vnto that demand of his, and ſyne ſets an other tryiſt, where they may meete againe: At which time, before hee proceede any further with them, hee firſt perſwades them to addict themſelues to his ſeruice, which being eaſily obtained, he then diſcouers what he is vnto them, makes them to renounce their God and Baptiſme directly, and giues them his marke vpon ſome ſecret place of their bodie, which remaines ſoare vnhealed, while his next meeting with them, and thereafter euer inſenſible, howſoeuer it be nipped or pricked by any, as is daily prooued, to giue them a proofe thereby, that as in that doing, he could hurt and heale them; ſo all their ill and well doing thereafter, muſt depend vpon him: And beſides that, the intolerable dolour that they feele in that place, where he hath marked them, ſerues to waken them, and not to let them reſt, while their next meeting againe: fearing leſt otherwaies they might either forget him, being as new Prentiſes, and not well enough founded yet, in that fiendly follie: or elſe remembring of that horrible promiſe they made him at their laſt meeting, they might skunner at the ſame, and preaſſe to call it backe. At their third meeting, he makes a ſhew to be carefull to performe his promiſes, either by teaching them waies how to get themſelues reuenged, if they be of that ſort: or elſe by teaching them leſſons, how by moſt vile and vnlawfull meanes, they may obtaine gaine, and wordly commoditie, if they be of the other ſort.

CHAP. III. ARGV.

The Witches *actions diuided into two parts: The actions proper to their owne perſons: Their actions toward others: The forme of their conuentions, and adoring of their Maſter.*

PHILOMATHES.

YEe haue ſaid now enough of their initiating in that order, It reſts then that yee diſcourſe vpon their practiſes, fra they be paſſed Prentiſes: for I would faine heare what is poſſible to them to performe in very deed. Although they ſerue a common Maſter with the *Necromancers*, (as I haue before ſaid) yet ſerue they him in another forme: For as the meanes are diuers, which allure them to theſe vnlawful Arts of ſeruing the deuill; ſo by diuers waies vſe they their practiſes, anſwering to theſe meanes, which firſt the deuill vſed as inſtruments in them, though all tending to one end, *to wit*, the enlarging of Satans tyrannie, and croſſing of the propagation of the Kingdome of CHRIST, ſo farre as lyeth in the poſſibilitie, either of the one or

other ſort, or of the deuill their maſter: For where the *Magicians*, as allured by curioſitie, in the moſt part of their practiſes, ſeeke principally the ſatiſfying of the ſame, and to winne to themſelues a popular honour and eſtimation; theſe Witches on the other part, being inticed, either for the deſire of reuenge, or of worldly riches, their whole practiſes are either to hurt men and their goods, or what they poſſeſſe, for ſatisfying of their cruell mindes in the former, or elſe by the wracke in whatſoeuer ſort, of any whom God will permit them to haue power of, to ſatisfie their greedie deſire in the laſt point.

EPI. In two parts their actions may be diuided; the actions of their owne perſons, and the actions proceeding from them towards any other: And this diuiſion being well vnderſtood, will eaſily reſolue you, what is poſſible to them to doe: For although all that they confeſſe is no lie vpon their part, yet doubtleſly, in my opinion, a part of it is not indeede, according as they take it to be: And in this I meane by the actions of their owne perſons: For as I ſaid before, ſpeaking of *Magie*, that the diuell illudes the ſenſes of theſe ſchollers of his, in many things, ſo ſay I the like of theſe Witches.

PHI. Then I pray you firſt to ſpeake of that part of their owne perſons, and ſyne ye may come next to their actions towards others.

EPI. To the effect that they may performe ſuch ſeruices of their falſe Maſter, as he employes them in, the deuill as Gods Ape, counterfeits in his ſeruants this ſeruice and forme of adoration, that God preſcribed and made his ſeruants to practiſe: For as the ſeruants of God publikely vſe to conveene for ſeruing of him, ſo makes he them in great numbers to conveene (though publikely they dare not) for his ſeruice. As none conveenes to the adoration and worſhipping of God, except they be marked with his Seale, the Sacrament of Baptiſme: So none ſerues Satan, and conveenes to the adoring of him, that are not marked with that marke, whereof I alreadie ſpake. As the Miniſter ſent by God teacheth plainely at the time of their publike conuentions, how to ſerue him in ſpirit and trewth; ſo that vnclean ſpirit, in his owne perſon teacheth his diſciples at the time of their conueening, how to worke all kind of miſchiefe, and craues coumpt of all their horrible and deteſtable proceedings paſſed, for aduancement of his ſeruice: Yea that hee may the more viuely counterfeit and ſcorne God, he oft times makes his ſlaues to conueene in theſe very places, which are deſtinate and ordained for the conveening of the ſeruants of God (I meane by Churches) But this farre, which I haue yet ſaid, I not onely take it to be trew in their opinions, but euen ſo to be indeed: For the forme that he vſed in counterfaiting God amongſt the Gentiles, makes me ſo to thinke: As God ſpake by his Oracles, ſpake he not ſo by his? As God had aſwell bloodie Sacrifices, as others without blood, had not he the like? As God had Churches ſanctified to his ſeruice, with Altars, Prieſts, Sacrifices, Ceremonies and Prayers; had he not the like polluted to his ſeruice? As God gaue reſponſes by

Vrim

Vrim and *Thummim*, gaue he not his reſponſes by the intralles of beaſts, by the ſinging of fowles, and by their actions in the aire? As God by viſions, dreames, and extaſies reuealed what was to come, and what was his will vnto his ſeruants; vſed hee not the like meanes to forewarne his ſlaues of things to come? Yea euen as God loued cleaneneſſe, hated vice and impuritie, and appointed puniſhments therefore; vſed he not the like (though falſly I grant, and but in eſchewing the leſſe inconuenience, to draw them vpon a greater) yet diſſimuled he not, I ſay, ſo farre as to appoint his prieſts to keepe their bodies cleane and vndefiled, before their asking reſponſes of him? And fained he not God, to be a protectour of euery vertue, and a iuſt reuenger of the contrarie? This reaſon then mooues mee, that as he is that ſame diuell, and as crafty now as he was then, ſo will he not ſpare as pertly in theſe actions that I haue ſpoken of, concerning the Witches perſons: but further, Witches oft times confeſſe, not only his conueening in the Church with them, but his occupying of the Pulpit; Yea, their forme of adoration, to be the kiſſing of his hinder parts: Which though it ſeeme ridiculous, yet may it likewiſe be trew, ſeeing we reade that in *Calicute*, he appearing in forme of a Goat-bucke, hath publikely that vn-honeſt homage done vnto him, by euery one of the people: So ambitious is he, and greedy of honour (which procured his fall) that he will euen imitate God in that part, where it is ſaid, that *Moyſes* could ſee but the *hinder parts of God, for the brightneſſe of his glory*: And yet that ſpeech is ſpoken but διὰ παροιμίας. Exod. 33.

CHAP. IIII. ARGV.

What are the wayes poſsible, whereby the Witches may tranſport themſelues to places farre diſtant: And what are impoſsible and meere illuſions of Satan: And the reaſons thereof.

PHILOMATHES.

BVt by what way ſay they, or thinke yee it poſſible they can come to theſe vnlawfull conuentions?

EPI. There is the thing which I eſteeme their ſenſes to be deluded in, and though they lie not in confeſſing of it, becauſe they thinke it to be trew, yet not to be ſo in ſubſtance or effect: for they ſay, that by diuers meanes they may conueene, either to the adoring of their Maſter, or to the putting in practiſe any ſeruice of his, committed vnto their charge: one way is naturall, which is naturall riding, going, or ſailing, at what houre their maſter comes and aduertiſes them: and this way may be eaſily beleeued: another way is ſome-what more ſtrange, and yet it is poſſible to bee trew: which is, by being caried by the force of the ſpirit which is their conducter, either aboue the earth, or aboue the Sea ſwiftly, to the place where they are to meete: which I am perſwaded to bee likewiſe poſsible, in reſpect that as *Habakkuk* was carried by the Angel in that forme, to the den where *Daniel* lay; ſo thinke I, the diuell will be readie to imitate God,

Apocrypha of Bel and the Dragon.

as well in that as in other things: which is much more possible to him to doe, being a Spirit, then to a mighty wind, being but a naturall Meteore, to transport from one place to another, a solide body, as is commonly and daily seene in practise: But in this violent forme they cannot be caried, but a short bounds, agreeing with the space that they may retaine their breath: for if it were longer, their breath could not remaine vnextinguished, their body being caried in such a violent and forcible maner; as by example: If one fall off a small height, his life is but in perill, according to the hard or soft lighting: but if one fall from an high and stay rocke, his breath will be forcibly banished from the body, before he can win to the earth, as is oft seene by experience: And in this transporting they say themselues, that they are inuisible to any other, except amongst themselues, which may also be possible in my opinion: For if the deuill may forme what kinde of impressions he pleases in the aire, (as I haue said before, speaking of *Magie*) why may hee not farre easilier thicken and obscure so the aire, that is next about them, by contracting it straite together, that the beames of any other mans eyes cannot pierce thorow the same, to see them? But the third way of their comming to their conuentions, is that, wherein I thinke them deluded: for some of them say, that being transformed in the likenesse of a little beast or foule, they will come and pierce through whatsoeuer house or Church, though all ordinarie passages be closed, by whatsoeuer open the aire may enter in at: And some say, that their bodies lying still, as in an extasie, their spirits will be rauished out of their bodies, and caried to such places; and for verifying thereof, will giue euident tokens, as well by witnesses that haue seene their body lying senceless in the meane time, as by naming persons whom-with they met, and giuing tokens what purpose was amongst them, whom otherwise they could not haue knowen: for this forme of iourneying, they affirme to vse most, when they are transported from one countrey to another.

PHI. Surely I long to heare your owne opinion of this: for they are like old wiues trattles about the fire. The reasons that mooue me to thinke that these are meere illusions, are these: First, for them that are transformed in likenesse of beasts or foules, can enter through so narrow passages, although I may easily beleeue that the diuell could by his workmanship vpon the aire, make them appeare to be in such formes, either to themselues, or to others: yet how he can contract a solide body within so little roome, I thinke it is directly contrary to it selfe; for to be made so little, and yet not diminished; to be so straitly drawen together, and yet feele no paine, I thinke it is so contrary to the qualitie of a naturall bodie, and so like to the little transubstantiate god in the Papists Masse, that I can neuer beleeue it: So to haue a quantitie, is so proper to a solide body, that as all Philosophers conclude, it cannot be any more without one, then a spirit can haue one: For, when *Peter* came out of the prison, and the doores all locked; it was not by any cõtracting of his body in so little roome, but by the giuing

Actes 12.

place

place of the doore, though vneſpied by the Gaylors: And yet is there no compariſon, when this is done, betwixt the power of God, and of the diuel. As to their forme of extaſie and ſpirituall tranſporting, it is certaine the ſoules going out of the body, is the onely definition of naturall death: and who are once dead, God forbid we ſhould thinke that it ſhould lie in the power of all the diuels in hell, to reſtore them to their life againe; although he can put his owne ſpirit in a dead body, which the *Necromancers* commonly practiſe, as ye haue heard: For that is the office properly belonging to God; and beſides that, the ſoule once parting from the body, cannot wander any longer in the world, but to the owne reſting place muſt it goe immediately, abiding the coniunction of the body againe, at the latter day. And what Chriſt or the Prophets did miraculouſly in this caſe, it can in no Chriſtian mans opinion, be made common with the diuel. As for any tokens that they giue for prouing of this, it is very poſſible to the diuels craft, to perſwade them to theſe meanes: for he being a ſpirit, may he not ſo rauiſh their thoughts, and dull their ſenſes, that their body lying as dead, he may obiect to their ſpirits, as it were in a dreame, and (as the Poets write of *Morpheus*) repreſent ſuch formes of perſons, of places, and other circumſtances, as he pleaſes to illude them with? Yea, that he may deceiue them with the greater efficacie, may he not at that ſame inſtant by fellow angels of his, illude ſuch other perſons ſo in that ſame faſhion, whom-with hee makes them to beleeue that they mette, that all their reports and tokens, though ſeuerally examined, may euery one agree with another? And that whatſoeuer actions, either in hurting men or beaſts, or whatſoeuer other thing that they falſly imagine, at that time to haue done, may by himſelfe or his marrowes, at that ſame time be done indeed; ſo as if they would giue for a token of their being rauiſhed at the death of ſuch a perſon within ſo ſhort ſpace thereafter, whom they beleeue to haue poiſoned, or witched at that inſtant, might he not at that ſame houre, haue ſmitten that ſame perſon, by the permiſſion of GOD, to the farther deceiuing of them, and to mooue others to beleeue them? And this is ſurely the likelyeſt way, and moſt according to reaſon, which my iudgement can finde out in this, and whatſoeuer other vnnaturall points of their confeſſion: And by theſe meanes ſhall we faile ſurely, betwixt *Charybdis* and *Scylla*, in eſchewing the not beleeuing of them altogether on the one part, leſt that draw vs to the errour, that there is no *Witches*: and on the other part in beleeuing of it, make vs to eſchew the falling into innumerable abſurdities, both monſtrouſly againſt all Theologie diuine, and Philoſophie humane.

CHAP.

Chap. V. Argv.

Witches actions towards others: Why there are more women of that craft then men: What things are possible to them to effectuate by the power of their master: The reasons thereof: What is the surest remedy of the harmes done by them.

Philomathes.

FOrsooth your opinion in this, seemes to cary most reason with it; and since ye haue ended then the actions belonging properly to their owne persons, say forward now to their actions vsed towards others.

Epi. In their actions vsed towards others, three things ought to be considered: First, the maner of their consulting thereupon: Next, their part as instruments: And last, their masters part, who puts the same in execution. As to their consultations thereupon, they vse them oftest in the Churches, where they conueene for adoring, at what time their master enquiring at them what they would be at, euery one of them propones vnto him, what wicked turne they would haue done, either for obtaining of riches, or for reuenging them vpon any whom they haue malice at; who granting their demaund, as no doubt willingly he will, since it is to doe euill, hee teacheth them the meanes whereby they may doe the same: As for little trifling turnes that women haue adoe with, he causeth them to ioynt dead corpses, and to make powders thereof, mixing such other things there amongst, as he giues vnto them.

Phi. But before ye goe further, permit me, I pray you, to interrupt you one word, which ye haue put me in memorie of, by speaking of Women; What can be the cause that there are twentie women giuen to that craft, where there is one man?

Epi. The reason is easie, for as that sexe is frailer then man is, so is it easier to be intrapped in these grosse snares of the diuell, as was ouer-well prooued to be trew, by the Serpents deceiuing of *Eua* at the beginning, which makes him the homelier with that sexe sensine.

Phi. Returne now where ye left.

Epi. To some others at these times he teacheth, how to make pictures of waxe or clay, that by the roasting thereof, the persons that they beare the name of, may be continually melted or dried away by continuall sickenesse: To some he giues such stones or pouders, as will helpe to cure or cast on diseases: And to some hee teacheth kindes of vncouth poysons, which Mediciners vnderstand not (for he is farre cunninger then man, in the knowledge of all the occult proprieties of nature) not that any of these meanes which he teacheth them (except the poysons which are composed of things naturall,) can of themselues helpe any thing to these turnes, that they are employed in, but onely being Gods ape, as well in that, as in all other things; Euen as God by his Sacraments which are earthly of themselues,

ſelues, workes a heauenly effect, though no wayes by any cooperation in them: And as Chriſt by clay and ſpettle wrought together, *opened the eyes of the blinde man*, ſuppoſe there was no vertue in that which he outwardly applied, ſo the diuel will haue his outward meanes to be ſhewes as it were of his doing, which hath no part or cooperation in his turnes with him, how farre that euer the ignorants be abuſed in the contrarie. And as to the effects of theſe two former parts; *to wit*, the conſultations and the outward meanes, they are ſo wonderfull, as I dare not alleadge any of them, without ioyning a ſufficient reaſon of the poſſibilitie thereof; For leauing all the ſmall trifles among wiues, and to ſpeake of the principall points of their craft, for the common trifles thereof, they can doe without conuerting well enough by themſelues, theſe principall points, I ſay, are theſe; They can make men or women to loue or hate other, which may be very poſſible to the diuel to effectuate, ſeeing he being a ſubtile ſpirit, knowes well enough how to perſwade the corrupted affection of them whom God wil permit him ſo to deale with: They can lay the ſickneſſe of one vpon another, which likewiſe is very poſſible vnto him: For ſince by Gods permiſſion, he laide ſickeneſſe vpon *Iob*, why may he not farre eaſilier lay it vpon any other; For as an old practitian, hee knowes well enough what humour domines moſt in any of vs, and as a ſpirit he can ſubtillie waken vp the ſame, making it peccant, or to abound, as hee thinkes meet for troubling of vs, when God will ſo permit him: And for the taking off of it, no doubt he will be glad to relieue ſuch of preſent paine, as he may thinke by theſe meanes to perſwade to be catched in his euerlaſting ſnares and fetters. They can bewitch and take the life of men or women, by roaſting of the Pictures, as I ſpake of before, which likewiſe is verie poſſible to their maſter to performe: for although (as I ſaid before) that inſtrument of waxe haue no vertue in that turne doing, yet may he not very well, euen by the ſame meaſure, that his coniured ſlaues melts that waxe at the fire, may hee not, I ſay, at theſe ſame times, ſubtily, as a ſpirit, ſo weaken and ſcatter the ſpirits of life of the patient, as may make him on the one part, for faintneſſe, to ſweat out the humour of his bodie, and on the other part, for the not concurrence of theſe ſpirits, which cauſes his digeſtion, ſo debilitate his ſtomacke, that this humour radicall continually, ſweating out on the one part, and no new good ſucke being put in the place thereof, for lacke of digeſtion on the other, he at laſt ſhall vaniſh away, euen as his picture will doe at the fire? And that knauiſh and cunning workeman, by troubling him, onely at ſometimes, makes a proportion, ſo neere betwixt the working of the one and the other, that both ſhall end as it were at one time. They can raiſe ſtormes and tempeſts in the aire, either vpon Sea or land, though not vniuerſally, but in ſuch a particular place and preſcribed bounds, as GOD will permit them ſo to trouble: Which likewiſe is very eaſie to be diſcerned from any other naturall tempeſts that are Meteores, in reſpect of the ſudden and violent raiſing thereof, together with the ſhort

Iohn 9.

ſhort induring of the ſame. And this is likewiſe very poſſible to their maſter to doe, hee hauing ſuch affinitie with the aire, as being a ſpirit, and hauing ſuch power of the forming and moouing thereof, as yee haue heard me alreadie declare: For in the Scripture, that ſtile of *the Prince of the aire*, is giuen vnto him. They can make folkes to become Phrenticque or Maniacque, which likewiſe is very poſſible to their maſter to doe, ſince they are but naturall ſickneſſes: and ſo he may lay on theſe kindes, as well as any others. They can make ſpirits, either to follow and trouble perſons, or haunt certaine houſes, and affray oftentimes the inhabitants, as hath bene knowne to bee done by our *Witches* at this time. And likewiſe they can make ſome to bee poſſeſſed with ſpirits, and ſo to become very Dæmoniacques: and this laſt ſort is very poſſible likewiſe to the diuel their maſter to doe, ſince he may eaſily ſend his owne angels to trouble in what forme he pleaſes, any whom God will permit him ſo to vſe.

Ephes. 2.

PHI. But will God permit theſe wicked inſtruments by the power of the deuill their maſter, to trouble by any of theſe meanes, any that beleeue in him?

EPI. No doubt, for there are three kinds of folkes whom God will permit ſo to be tempted or troubled; the wicked for their horrible ſinnes, to puniſh them in the like meaſure; the godly that are ſleeping in any great ſinnes or infirmities, and weakneſſe in faith, to waken them vp the faſter by ſuch an vncouth forme: and euen ſome of the beſt, that their patience may be tried before the world, as *Iobs* was: For why may not God vſe any kinde of extraordinary puniſhment, when it pleaſes him; as well as the ordinarie rods of ſickeneſſe or other aduerſities?

PHI. Who then may be free from theſe deuiliſh practiſes?

EPI. No man ought to preſume ſo farre as to promiſe any impunitie to himſelfe: for God hath before all beginnings, præordinated, as well the particular ſorts of plagues, as of benefites for euery man, which in the owne time he ordaines them to be viſited with, and yet ought we not to be the more afraide for that, of any thing that the diuell and his wicked inſtruments can doe againſt vs: for we daily fight againſt the diuell in a hundreth other wayes: And therefore, as a valiant captaine affraies no more being at the combate, nor ſtayes from his purpoſe for the rummiſhing ſhot of a Canon, nor the ſmall clacke of a Piſtolet, ſuppoſe he be not certaine what may light vpon him; Euen ſo ought we boldly to goe forward in fighting againſt the diuell without any greater terrour, for theſe his rareſt weapons, nor for the ordinary whereof we haue daily the proofe.

PHI. Is it not lawfull then, by the helpe of ſome other Witch, to cure the diſeaſe that is caſten on by that craft?

EPI. No wayes lawfull; for I gaue you the reaſon thereof in that axiome of Theologie, which was the laſt words I ſpake of *Magie*.

PHI. How then may theſe diſeaſes be lawfully cured?

EPI. Only by earneſt prayer vnto God, by amendment of their liues, and

and by ſharpe purſuing euery one, according to his calling of theſe inſtruments of Satan, whoſe puniſhment to the death will be a ſalutarie ſacrifice for the patient. And this is not onely the lawfull way, but likewiſe the moſt ſure: For by the deuils meanes, *can neuer the deuill be caſten out*, as Chriſt ſayth. And when ſuch a cure is vſed, it may well ſerue for a ſhort time, but at the laſt, it will doubtleſly tend to the vtter perdition of the patient, both in body and ſoule. Marke 3.

CHAP. VI. ARGV.

What ſort of folkes are leaſt or moſt ſubiect to receiue harme by Witchcraft: What power they haue to harme the Magiſtrate, and vpon what reſpects they haue any power in priſon: And to what end may or will the deuill appeare to them therein: Vpon what reſpects the deuill appeares in ſundry ſhapes to ſundry of them at any time.

PHILOMATHES.

BVt who dare take vpon him to puniſh them, if no man can be ſure to be free from their vnnaturall inuaſions?

EPI. Wee ought not the more of that reſtraine from vertue, that the way wherby we clime thereunto be ſtraight and perillous: But beſides that, as there is no kinde of perſons ſo ſubiect to receiue harme of them, as theſe that are of infirme and weake faith (which is the beſt buckler againſt ſuch inuaſions:) ſo haue they ſo ſmall power ouer none, as ouer ſuch as zealouſly and earneſtly purſue them, without ſparing for any wordly reſpect.

PHI. Then they are like the Peſt, which ſmites theſe ſickareſt, that flies it fartheſt, and apprehends deepelieſt the perill thereof.

EPI. It is euen ſo with them: for neither is it able to them to vſe any falſe cure vpon a patient, except the patient firſt beleeue in their power, and ſo hazard the tinſell of his owne ſoule, nor yet can they haue leſſe power to hurt any, nor ſuch as contemne moſt their doings, ſo being it comes of faith, and not of any vaine arrogancie in themſelues.

PHI. But what is their power againſt the Magiſtrate?

EPI. Leſſe or greater, according as he deales with them: for if hee be ſlothfull towards them, God is very able to make them inſtruments to waken and puniſh his ſlouth: but if he be the contrary, hee according to the iuſt Law of God, and allowable law of all nations, will be diligent in examining and puniſhing of them: God will not permit their maſter to trouble or hinder ſo good a worke.

PHI. But fra they be once in hands and firmance, haue they any further power in their craft?

EPI. That is according to the forme of their detention: If they be but apprehended and deteined by any priuate perſon, vpon other priuate reſpects, their power no doubt either in eſcaping, or in doing hurt, is no leſſe

leſſe nor euer it was before: But if on the other part, their apprehending and detention be by the lawfull Magiſtrate, vpon the iuſt reſpects of their guiltineſſe in that craft, their power is then no greater then before that euer they medled with their maſter: For where God begins iuſtly to ſtrike by his lawfull Lieutenants, it is not in the deuils power to defraud or bereaue him of the office, or effect of his powerfull and reuenging Scepter.

PHI. But will neuer their Maſter come to viſite them, fra they be once apprehended and put in firmance?

EPI. That is according to the eſtate that theſe miſerable wretches are in: For if they be obſtinate in ſtill denying, he will not ſpare, when hee findes time to ſpeake with them, either if he finde them in any comfort, to fill them more and more with the vaine hope of ſome manner of reliefe; or elſe if he finde them in a deepe deſpaire, by all meanes to augment the ſame, and to perſwade them by ſome extraordinarie meanes to put themſelues downe, which very commonly they doe: But if they bee penitent and confeſſe, God will not permit him to trouble them any more with his preſence and allurements.

PHI. It is not good vſing his counſell I ſee then: But I would earneſtly know when he appeares to them in priſon, what formes vſes hee then to take?

EPI. Diuers formes, euen as hee vſes to doe at other times vnto them: For as I told you, ſpeaking of *Magie*, he appeares to that kind of crafteſ-men ordinarily in a forme, according as they agree vpon it among themſelues; Or if they be but prentiſes, according to the qualitie of their circles or coniurations: Yet to theſe capped creatures, he appeares as hee pleaſes, and as he findes meeteſt for their humors: For euen at their publicke conuentions, hee appeares to diuers of them in diuers formes, as we haue found by the difference of their confeſſions in that point: For he deluding them with vaine impreſſions in the aire, makes himſelfe to ſeeme more terrible to the groſſer ſort, that they may thereby be mooued to feare and reuerence him the more: and leſſe monſtrous and vncouth like againe to the craftier ſort, leſt otherwiſe they might ſturre and skunner at his vglineſſe.

PHI. How can he then be felt, as they confeſſe they haue done him, if his body be but of aire?

EPI. I heare little of that amongſt their confeſſions, yet may hee make himſelfe palpable, either by aſſuming any dead bodie, and vſing the miniſterie thereof, or elſe by deluding as well their ſence of feeling as ſeeing; which is not impoſſible to him to doe, ſince all our ſenſes, as wee are ſo weake, and euen by ordinarie ſickneſſes will be oftentimes deluded.

PHI. But I would ſpeere one word further yet, concerning his appearing to them in priſon, which is this: May any other that chances to be preſent at that time in the priſon, ſee him as well as they?

EPI. Sometimes they will, and ſometimes not, as it pleaſes God.

CHAP. VII. ARG.

Two formes of the diuels visible conuersing in the earth, with the reasons wherefore the one of them was commonest in the time of Papistrie, *and the other sensine. Those that deny the power of the diuell, denie the power of God, and are guilty of the errour of the* Sadduces.

PHILOMATHES.

HAth the Diuell then power to appeare to any other, except to such as are his sworne disciples; especially since all Oracles, and such like kinds of illusions were taken away and abolished by the comming of CHRIST?

EPI. Although it be true indeede, that the brightnesse of the Gospel at his comming, scaled the cloudes of all these grosse errours in the Gentilisme; yet that these abusing spirits, cease not sensine at sometimes to appeare, daily experience teaches vs. Indeed this difference is to be marked betwixt the formes of Satans conuersing visibly in the world: For of two different formes thereof, the one of them by the spreading of the Euangel, and conquest of the white horse, in the sixt Chapter of the Reuelation, is much hindred and become rather there-through: This his appearing to any Christians, troubling of them outwardly, or possessing of them constrainedly: The other of them is become commoner and more vsed sensine, I meane by their vnlawfull artes, whereupon our whole purpose hath beene. This wee finde by experience in this Isle to be true: For as wee know, moe ghosts and spirits were seene, nor tongue can tell, in the time of blind *Papistrie* in these countries, where now by the contrarie, a man shall scarcely all his time heare once of such things; and yet were these vnlawful artes farre rarer at that time, and neuer were so much heard of, nor so rife as they are now.

PHI. What should be the cause of that?

EPI. The diuers nature of our sinnes procures at the Iustice of God, diuers sorts of punishments answering thereunto: and therefore as in the time of *Papistrie*, our fathers erring grossely, and through ignorance, that mist of errours ouershadowed the Diuell to walke the more familiarly amongst them, and as it were by barnely and affraying terrours, to mocke and accuse their barnely errours; by the contrarie, we now being sound of Religion, and in our life rebelling to our profession, God iustly by that sinne of rebellion, as *Samuel* calleth it, accuseth our life so wilfully fighting against our profession.

PHI. Since ye are entred now to speake of the appearing of spirits, I would be glad to heare your opinion in that matter: for many denie that any such spirits can appeare in these daies, as I haue said.

EPI Doubtlesse who denieth the power of the Diuell, would like-

wiſe denie the power of God, if they could for ſhame. For ſince the Diuel is the very contrarie oppoſite to God, there can bee no better way to know God, then by the contrarie; as by the ones power (though a creature) to admire the power of the great Creatour: by the falſhood of the one to conſider the trewth of the other: by the iniuſtice of the one, to conſider the Iuſtice of the other: And by the cruelty of the one, to conſider the mercifulneſſe of the other: And ſo foorth in all the reſt of the eſſence of God, and qualities of the Diuell. But I feare indeed, there bee ouer many *Sadduces* in this world, that denie all kindes of Spirits: For conuicting of whoſe errour, there is cauſe inough if there were no more, that God ſhould permit at ſometimes Spirits viſibly to kyith.

THE

THE THIRD BOOKE OF DÆMONOLOGIE.

ARGVMENT.

The deſcription of all theſe kinds of Spirits that trouble men or women. The concluſion of the whole Dialogue.

CHAP. I. ARGV.

The diuiſion of Spirits in foure principall kindes: The deſcription of the firſt kinde of them, called Spectra & vmbræ mortuorum: *What is the beſt way to be free of their trouble.*

PHILOMATHES.

THen pray you now then goe forward in telling what ye thinke fabulous, or may be trowed in that caſe.

EPI. That kind of the diuels cõuerſing in the earth, may be diuided in foure different kindes, whereby he affraieth and troubleth the bodies of men: For of the abuſing of the ſoule, I haue ſpoken alreadie. The firſt is, where ſpirits trouble ſome houſes or ſolitarie places: The ſecond, where Spirits follow vpon certaine perſons, and at diuers houres trouble them: The third, when they enter within them, and poſſeſſe them: The fourth is theſe kinde of Spirits that are called vulgarly the *Fairie*: Of the three former kinds, ye heard already, how they may artificially be made by *Witchcraft* to trouble folke; now it reſtes to ſpeake of their naturall comming as it were, and not raiſed by *Witchcraft*. But generally I muſt forewarne you of one thing before I enter in this purpoſe: that is, that although in my diſcourſing of them, I deuide them in diuers kinds, ye muſt notwithſtanding thereof note my phraſe of ſpeaking in that: For doubtleſlie they are in effect, but all one kinde of Spirits, who for abuſing the more of mankinde, take on theſe ſundrie ſhapes, and vſe diuers formes of outward actions, as if ſome were of nature better then other. Now I returne to my purpoſe: As to the firſt kinde of theſe ſpirits, that were called by the ancients by diuers names, according as their actions were: For if they were Spirits that haunted ſome houſes, by appearing in diuers and horrible formes, and making great dinne, they were

called *Lemures* or *Spectra*: If they appeared in likeneſſe of any defunct to ſome friends of his, they were called *Vmbræ mortuorum*: And ſo innumerable ſtiles they got, according to their actions, as I haue ſaid alreadie; as we ſee by experience, how many ſtiles they haue giuen them in our language in the like maner. Of the appearing of theſe Spirits, we are certified by the Scriptures, where the Prophet *Eſay* 13. and 34. Chap. threatning the deſtruction of *Ieruſalem*, declares, that it ſhall not onely be wracked, but ſhall become ſo great a ſolitude, as it ſhall be the habitacle of Howlets, and of *Zijm* and *Ijm*, which are the proper Hebrew names for theſe Spirits. The cauſe why they haunt ſollitarie places, it is by reaſon, that they may affray and brangle the more the faith of ſuch as them alone hauntes ſuch places: For our nature is ſuch, as in companies we are not ſo ſoone moued to any ſuch kind of feare, as being ſollitarie, which the diuel knowing well enough, he will not therefore aſſaile vs but when wee are weake: And beſides that, God will not permit him ſo to diſhonour the ſocieties and companies of Chriſtians, as in publicque times and places to walke viſiblie amongſt them: On the other part, when he troubles certaine houſes that are dwelt in, it is a ſure token either of groſſe ignorance, or of ſome groſſe and ſlanderous ſinnes amongſt the inhabitants thereof, which God by that extraordinarie rod puniſhes.

Eſay 13. Iere. 50.

PHI. But by what way or paſſage can theſe Spirits enter into theſe houſes, ſeeing they alledge that they will enter, doore and window being ſteiked?

EPI. They will chooſe the paſſage for their entreſſe, according to the forme that they are in at that time: For if they haue aſſumed a dead bodie, whereinto they lodge themſelues, they can eaſily enough open without dinne any doore or window, and enter in thereat; And if they enter as a Spirit onely, any place where the aire may come in at, is large enough an entrie for them: For as I ſaid before, a Spirit can occupie no quantitie.

PHI. And will God then permit theſe wicked Spirits to trouble the reſt of a dead bodie, before the reſurrection thereof? Or if hee will ſo, I thinke it ſhould be of the reprobate onely.

EPI. What more is the reſt troubled of a dead bodie, when the diuell caries it out of the graue to ſerue his turne for a ſpace, nor when the *Witches* take it vp and ioynts it, or when as Swine wortes vp the graues? The reſt of them that the Scripture ſpeakes of, is not meaned by a locall remaining continually in one place, but by their reſting from their trauailes and miſeries of this world, while their latter coniunction againe with the ſoule at that time, to receiue full glorie in both: And that the diuel may vſe as well the miniſtrie of the bodies of the faithfull in theſe caſes, as of the vnfaithfull, there is no inconuenience; for his haunting with their bodies after they are dead, can no-waies defile them, in reſpect of the ſoules abſence: And for any diſhonour it can be vnto them, by what reaſon can it be greater, then the hanging, heading, or many ſuch ſhamefull deaths, that good men

men will ſuffer? For there is nothing in the bodies of the faithfull, more worthie of honour, or freer from corruption by nature, nor in theſe of the vnfaithfull, while time they be purged and glorified in the *latter Day*, as is daily ſeene by the vilde diſeaſes and corruptions, that the bodies of the faithfull are ſubiect vnto, as ye will ſee clearely proued, when I ſpeake of the poſſeſſed and Dæmoniacques.

PHI. Yet there are ſundry that affirme to haue haunted ſuch places, where theſe ſpirits are alledged to be; and could neuer heare nor ſee any thing.

EPI. I thinke well: for that is onely reſerued to the ſecret knowledge of God, whom he will permit to ſee ſuch things, and whom not.

PHI. But where theſe ſpirits haunt and trouble any houſes, what is the beſt way to baniſh them?

EPI. By two meanes may onely the remeid of ſuch things be procured: The one is ardent prayer to God, both of theſe perſons that are troubled with them, and of that Church whereof they are: The other is the purging of themſelues by amendment of life, from ſuch ſinnes, as haue procured that extraordinarie plague.

PHI. And what meane then theſe kindes of ſpirits, when they appeare in the ſhadow of a perſon newly dead, or to die, to his friends?

EPI. When they appeare vpon that occaſion, they are called Wraithes in our language: Amongſt the *Gentiles* the diuell vſed that much, to make them beleeue that it was ſome good ſpirit that appeared to them then, either to forewarne them of the death of their friend, or elſe to diſcouer vnto them the will of the defunct, or what was the way of his ſlaughter, as it is written in the booke of the hiſtories prodigious: and this way he eaſily deceiued the *Gentiles*, becauſe they knew not God: and to that ſame effect is it, that he now appeares in that maner to ſome ignorant Chriſtians: for hee dares not ſo illude any that knoweth that, neither can the ſpirit of the defunct returne to his friend, or yet an Angel vſe ſuch formes.

PHI. And are not our war-woolfes one ſort of theſe ſpirits alſo, that haunt and trouble ſome houſes or dwelling places?

EPI. There hath indeede beene an olde opinion of ſuch like things; for by the *Greekes* they were called λυκανθρωποι, which ſignifieth men-wolfes: But to tell you ſimply my opinion in this, if any ſuch thing hath beene, I take it to haue proceeded but of a naturall ſuper-abundance of Melancholy, which as we reade, that it hath made ſome thinke themſelues pitchers, and ſome horſes, and ſome one kinde of beaſt or other, ſo ſuppoſe I that it hath ſo viciat the imagination and memory of ſome, as *per lucida interualla*, it hath ſo highly occupied them, that they haue thought themſelues very Woolfes indeed at theſe times: and ſo haue counterfeited their actions in going on their hands and feete, preaſſing to deuoure women and barnes, fighting and ſnatching with all the towne dogges, and in vſing ſuch like other brutiſh actions, and ſo to become beaſts by a ſtrong apprehenſion, as

Daniel 4. *Nebuchad-nezzar* was ſeuen yeeres: but as to their hauing and hiding of their hard and ſchelly ſluiches, I take that to be but eiked, by vncertaine report, the author of all lies.

CHAP. II. ARGV.

The deſcription of the next two kinds of Spirits, whereof the one followes outwardly, the other poſſeſſes inwardly the perſons that they trouble: That ſince all prophecies and viſions are now ceaſed, all ſpirits that appeare in theſe formes are euill.

PHILOMATHES.

COme forward now to the reſt of theſe kinds of ſpirits.

EPI. As to the next two kindes, that is, either theſe that outwardly trouble and follow ſome perſons, or elſe inwardly poſſeſſe them, I wil conioine them in one, becauſe as well the cauſes are alike in the perſons that they are permitted to trouble; as alſo the wayes whereby they may be remedied and cured.

PHI. What kinde of perſons are they that vſe to be ſo troubled?

EPI. Two kindes in ſpeciall; either ſuch as being guiltie of grieuous offences, God puniſhes by that horrible kinde of ſcourge; or elſe being perſons of the beſt nature peraduenture, that ye ſhall finde in all the countrey about them, God permits them to be troubled in that ſort, for the triall of their patience, and wakening vp of their zeale, for admoniſhing of the beholders, not to truſt ouer-much in themſelues, ſince they are made of no better ſtuffe, and peraduenture blotted with no ſmaller ſinnes (as Chriſt ſaid, ſpeaking of them vpon whom the Tower of *Syloe* fell:) And for giuing likewiſe to the ſpectators, matter to praiſe God, that they meriting no better, are yet ſpared from being corrected in that fearefull forme.

Luke 13.

PHI. Theſe are good reaſons for the part of GOD, which apparantly mooues him ſo to permit the Diuell to trouble ſuch perſons: But ſince the Diuell hath euer a contrarie reſpect in all the actions that GOD imployes him in, which is I pray you the end and marke he ſhootes at in this turne?

EPI. It is to obtaine one of two things thereby, if he may: The one is the tinſell of their life, by inducing them to ſuch perillous places, at ſuch time as he either followes or poſſeſſes them, which may procure the ſame, and ſuch like, ſo farre as GOD will permit him, by tormenting them to weaken their bodie, and caſt them into incurable diſeaſes: The other thing that he preaſſes to obtaine by troubling of them, is the tinſell of their ſoule, by intiſing them to miſtruſt & blaſpheme God, either for the intolerableneſſe of their torments, as hee aſſayed to haue done with *Iob*; or elſe for his promiſing vnto them to leaue the troubling of them, in caſe they would ſo doe, as is knowen by experience at this ſame time by the confeſſion of a young one that was ſo troubled.

Iob 1.

PHI. Since ye haue ſpoken now of both theſe kinds of ſpirits comprehending them in one, I muſt now goe backe againe in ſpeering ſome queſtions

ſtions of euery one of theſe kindes in ſpeciall. And firſt for theſe that follow certaine perſons, ye know that there are two ſorts of them: One ſorte that trouble and torment the perſons that they haunt with: Another ſort that are ſeruiceable vnto them in all kind of their neceſſaries, and omit neuer to forewarne them of any ſuddaine perill that they are to bee in: And ſo in this caſe, I would vnderſtand whether both theſe ſorts be but wicked and damned ſpirits, or if the laſt ſort be rather Angels, (as ſhould appeare by their actions) ſent by God to aſſiſt ſuch as hee ſpecially fauours: For it is written in the Scriptures, that *God ſends legions of Angels to guard and watch ouer his elect.* Gene.32. 1.Kings 6. Pſal.34.

EPI. I know well inough whereſra that errour which ye alledge hath proceeded; For it was the ignorant Gentiles that were the fountaine thereof, Who for that they knew not God, they forged in their owne imaginations, euery man to be ſtil accompanied with two ſpirits, whereof they called the one *genius bonus*, the other *genius malus*: the Greekes called them εὐδαίμονα and κακοδαίμονα: whereof the former they ſaide, perſwaded him to all the good hee did; the other entiſed him to all the euill. But praiſed bee GOD, wee that are Chriſtians, and walke not amongſt the *Cymmerian* coniectures of man, know well inough, that it is the good Spirit of GOD onely, who is the fountaine of all goodneſſe, that perſwades vs to the thinking or doing of any good, and that it is our corrupted fleſh and Satan, that intiſeth vs to the contrarie: And yet the Diuell for confirming in the heades of ignorant Chriſtians, that errour firſt maintained among the Gentiles, he whiles among the firſt kind of ſpirits that I ſpeake of, appeared in time of Papiſtrie and blindneſſe, and haunted diuers houſes, without doing any euill, but doing as it were neceſſarie turnes vp and downe the houſe: and this ſpirit they called *Brownie* in our language, who appeared like a rough-man: yea, ſome were ſo blinded, as to beleeue that their houſe was all their ſonſier, as they called it, that ſuch ſpirits reſorted there.

PHI. But ſince the diuels intention in all his actions, is euer to doe euill, what euill was there in that forme of doing, ſince their actions outwardly were good?

EPI. Was it not euill inough to deceiue ſimple ignorants, in making them to take him for an Angel of light, and ſo to account of Gods enemy as of their particular friend? where by the contrary, all we that are Chriſtians, ought aſſuredly to know, that ſince the comming of Chriſt in the fleſh, and eſtabliſhing of his Church by the Apoſtles, al miracles, viſions, prophecies, & appearances of Angels or good ſpirits, are ceaſed; which ſerued only for the firſt ſowing of faith, and planting of the Church: Where now the Church being eſtabliſhed, and the white Horſe whereof I ſpake before, hauing made his conqueſt, the Law and Prophets are thought ſufficient to ſerue vs, or make vs inexcuſable, as Chriſt ſaith in his parable of *Lazarus* and the rich man.

CHAP. III. ARGV.

The deſcription of a particular ſort of that kinde of following Spirits, called Incubi *and* Succubi: *And what is the reaſon wherefore theſe kinds of Spirits haunt moſt the Northerne and barbarous parts of the world.*

PHILOMATHES.

THE next queſtion that I would ſpeere, is likewiſe concerning this firſt of theſe two kinds of Spirits that ye haue conioyned; and it is this: ye know how it is commonly written and reported, that amongſt the reſt of the ſorts of Spirits that follow certaine perſons, there is one more monſtrous then all the reſt, in reſpect as it is alleaged, they conuerſe naturally with them whom they trouble and haunt with: and therefore I would know in two things your opinion herein: Firſt, if ſuch a thing can be: and next if it be, whether there be a difference of ſexes amongſt theſe Spirits or not?

EPI. That abhominable kinde of the diuels abuſing of men or women, was called of old, *Incubi* and *Succubi*, according to the difference of the ſexes that they conuerſed with. By two meanes this great kinde of abuſe might poſſibly be performed: The one, when the diuel onely as a Spirit, and ſtealing out the ſperme of a dead bodie, abuſes them that way, they not graithly ſeeing any ſhape, or feeling any thing, but that which hee ſo conueyes in that part; as we reade of a Monaſterie of Nunnes which were burnt for their being that way abuſed: The other meane is, when he borrowes a dead body and ſo viſibly, and as it ſeemes vnto them naturally as a man conuerſes with them. But it is to be noted, that in whatſoeuer way he vſeth it, that ſperme ſeemes intollerably cold to the perſon abuſed: For if he ſteale out the nature of a quicke perſon, it cannot be ſo quickly caried, but it will both tine the ſtrength and heate by the way, which it could neuer haue had for lacke of agitation, which in the time of procreation is the procurer and wakener vp of theſe two naturall qualities: And if he occupying the dead bodie as his lodging, expell the ſame out thereof in the due time, it muſt likewiſe be cold by the participation with the qualities of the dead body whereout of it comes. And whereas ye enquire if theſe Spirits be diuided in ſexes or not, I thinke the rules of Philoſophie may eaſily reſolue a man of the contrary: For it is a ſure principle of that Art, that nothing can be diuided in ſexes, except ſuch liuing bodies as muſt haue a naturall ſeed to gener by: But we know Spirits haue no ſeed proper to themſelues, nor yet can they gender one with an other.

PHI. How is it then, that they ſay ſundrie monſters haue bene gotten by that way?

EPI. Theſe tales are nothing but *Aniles fabulæ*: For that they haue no nature of their owne, I haue ſhewed you alreadie: And that the cold nature of

of a dead bodie, can worke nothing in generation, it is more nor plaine, as being alreadie dead of it ſelfe, as well as the reſt of the bodie is, wanting the naturall heate, and ſuch other naturall operation, as is neceſſarie for working that effect, and in caſe ſuch a thing were poſſible (which were vtterly againſt all the rules of nature) it would breed no monſter, but onely ſuch a naturall off-ſpring, as would haue come betwixt that man or woman and that other abuſed perſon, in caſe they both being aliue had had a doe with other: For the Diuels part therein, is but the naked carrying or expelling of that ſubſtance; and ſo it could participate with no quality of the ſame. Indeede, it is poſſible to the craft of the Diuell to make a womans belly to ſwell after he hath that way abuſed her, which hee may doe either by ſtirring vp her owne humour, or by hearbes, as wee ſee beggers daily doe: And when the time of her deliuery ſhould come to make her thoil great dolours, like vnto that naturall courſe, and then ſubtilly to ſlip in the Mid-wiues hands, ſtocks, ſtones, or ſome monſtrous barne brought from ſome other place: but this is more reported and gueſſed at by others, nor beleeued by me.

PHI. But what is the cauſe that this kinde of abuſe is thought to bee moſt common in ſuch wilde parts of the world, as *Lap-land*, and *Fin-land*, or in our North Iſles of *Orknay* and *Schet-land*?

EPI. Becauſe where the Diuell findes greateſt ignorance and barbaritie, there aſſailes he groſſelieſt, as I gaue you the reaſon wherfore there were moe Witches of women-kinde nor men.

PHI. Can any be ſo vnhappie as to giue their willing conſent to the Diuels vile abuſing them in this forme?

EPI. Yea, ſome of the Witches haue confeſſed, that he hath perſwaded them to giue their willing conſent thereunto, that hee may thereby haue them feltred the ſikarer in his ſnares: but as the other compelled ſort is to be pitied and prayed for, ſo is this moſt highly to be puniſhed and deteſted.

PHI. Is it not the thing which we call the *Mare*, which takes folkes ſleeping in their beds, a kinde of theſe ſpirits, whereof ye are ſpeaking?

EPI. No, that is but a naturall ſickeneſſe, which the Mediciners haue giuen that name of *Incubus* vnto, *ab incubando*, becauſe it being a thicke fleume, falling into our breaſt vpon the heart, while we are ſleeping, intercludes ſo our vitall ſpirits, and takes all power from vs, as makes vs think that there were ſome vnnaturall burden or ſpirit, lying vpon vs, and holding vs downe.

CHAP.

CHAP. IIII. ARGV.

The deſcription of the Dæmoniackes and poſſeſſed: By what reaſon the Papiſts may haue power to cure them.

PHILOMATHES.

WEll, I haue tolde you now all my doubts, and ye haue ſatiſfied me therein, concerning the firſt of theſe two kindes of ſpirits that yee haue conioyned: now I am to enquire onely two things at you concerning the laſt kinde, I meane the Dæmoniackes. The firſt is, whereby ſhall theſe poſſeſſed folkes be diſcerned fra them that are troubled with a naturall Phrenſie or *Manie:* The next is, how can it be that they can be remedied by the Papiſts Church, whom we counting as Heretiques, it ſhould appeare that one diuell ſhould not caſt out another, for then would *his kingdome be diuided in it ſelfe,* as Chriſt ſaid.

Matth.12. Marke 3.

EPI. As to your firſt queſtion; there are diuers ſymptomes, whereby that heauie trouble may be diſcerned from a naturall ſickneſſe, and ſpecially three, omitting the diuers vaine ſignes that the Papiſts attribute vnto it: Such as the raging at holy water, their fleeing abacke from the Croſſe, their not abiding the hearing of God named, and innumerable ſuch like vaine things that were alike faſhious and feckles to recite: But to come to theſe three ſymptomes then, whereof I ſpake, I account the one of them to be the incredible ſtrength of the poſſeſſed creature, which will farre exceede the ſtrength of ſixe of the wighteſt and wodeſt of any other men that are not ſo troubled: The next is the boldening vp ſo farre of the patients breaſt and belly, with ſuch an vnnaturall ſturring and vehement agitation within them, and ſuch an ironie hardneſſe of his ſinewes ſo ſtiffely bended out, that it were not poſſible to pricke out as it were the skinne of any other perſon ſo farre; ſo mightily workes the diuell in all the members and ſenſes of his body, hee being locally within the ſame, ſuppoſe of his ſoule and affections thereof, hee haue no more power then of any other mans: The laſt is, the ſpeaking of ſundry languages, which the patient is knowen, by them that were acquainted with him, neuer to haue learned, and that with an vncouth and hollow voice, and all the time of his ſpeaking, a greater motion being in his breaſt then in his mouth: But fra this laſt ſymptome is excepted ſuch, as are altogether in the time of their poſſeſſing bereft of all their ſenſes, being poſſeſſed with a dumbe and blind ſpirit, whereof Chriſt relieued one, in the 12. of *Matthew.* And as to your next demand, it is firſt to be doubted if the Papiſts, or any not profeſſing the onely true Religion, can relieue any of that trouble: and next, in caſe they can, vpon what reſpect it is poſſible vnto them. As to the former, vpon two reaſons it is grounded: firſt that it is knowen ſo many of them to be counterfeit, which wyle the Clergie inuents for confirming of their

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rotten Religion: The next is, that by experience we finde, that few who are poſſeſſed indeed, are fully cured by them; but rather the diuell is content to releaſe the bodily hurting of them, for a ſhort ſpace, thereby to obtaine the perpetuall hurt of the ſoules of ſo many that by theſe falſe miracles may be induced or confirmed in the profeſſion of that erroneous Religion; euen as I told you before that he doeth in the falſe cures or caſting off of diſeaſes by Witches. As to the other part of the argument in caſe they can, which rather (with reuerence of the learned thinking otherwiſe) I am induced to beleeue, by reaſon of the faithfull report that men ſound of Religion, haue made according to their ſight thereof, I thinke if ſo be I ſay theſe may be the reſpects, whereupon the Papiſts may haue that power. Chriſt gaue a commiſſion and power to his Apoſtles to caſt out diuels, which they according thereunto put in execution: the rules he bade them obſerue in that action, was faſting and prayer; and the action it ſelfe to be done in his name. This power of theirs proceeded not then of any vertue in them, but onely in him who directed them; as was clearely prooued by *Iudas* his hauing as great power in that commiſſion, as any of the reſt. It is eaſie then to be vnderſtood that the caſting out of diuels, is by the vertue of faſting and prayer, and in calling of the Name of God, ſuppoſe many imperfections be in the perſon that is the inſtrument, as Chriſt himſelfe teacheth vs of the power that falſe prophets ſhall haue to caſt out diuels. It is no wonder then, theſe reſpects of this action being conſidered, that it may be poſſible to the Papiſts, though erring in ſundry points of Religion to accompliſh this, if they vſe the right forme preſcribed by Chriſt herein: For what the worſe is that action that they erre in other things, more then their Baptiſme is the worſe that they erre in the other Sacrament, and haue eiked many vaine freittes to the Baptiſme it ſelfe.

PHI. Surely it is no little wonder that God ſhould permit the bodies of any of the faithfull to be ſo diſhonoured, as to be a dwelling place to that vncleane ſpirit.

EPI. There is it which I told right now, would proue and ſtrengthen my argument of the diuels entring into the dead bodies of the faithfull: For if he is permitted to enter into their liuing bodies, euen when they are ioyned with the ſoule; how much more will God permit him to enter into their dead carions, which is no more man, but the filthie and corruptible caiſe of man? For as Chriſt ſaith, *It is not any thing that enters within man that defiles him, but onely that which proceedes and commeth out of him.* Marke 7.

CHAP.

CHAP. V. ARGV.

The description of the fourth kinde of Spirits, called the Phairie: *What is possible therein, and what is but illusions. How farre this Dialogue entreates of all these things, and to what end.*

PHILOMATHES.

NOw I pray you come on to that fourth kinde of Spirits.

EPI. That fourth kinde of Spirits, which by the Gentiles was called *Diana*, and her wandering court, and amongst vs was called the *Phairie* (as I told you) or our good neighbours, was one of the sorts of illusions that was rifest in the time of Papistrie: for although it was holden odious to propheſie by the diuel, yet whom these kinde of Spirits caried away, and informed, they were thought to be sonsiest and of best life. To speake of the many vaine trattles founded vpon that illusion, How there was a King and Queene of *Phairie*, of such a iolly court and traine as they had, how they had a teynd, and duetie, as it were, of all goods, how they naturally rode and went, eate and dranke, and did all other actions like naturall men and women, I thinke it liker *Virgils Campi Elysij*, nor any thing that ought to be beleeued by Christians, except in generall, that as I spake sundrie times before, the diuell illuded the senses of sundrie simple creatures, in making them beleeue that they saw and heard such things as were nothing so indeed.

PHI. But how can it be then, that sundrie *Witches* haue gone to death with that confession, that they haue bene transported with the *Phairie* to such a hill, which opening, they went in, and there saw a faire Queene, who being now lighter, gaue them a stone that had sundrie vertues, which at sundrie times hath bene produced in iudgement?

EPI. I say that, euen as I said before of that imaginar rauishing of the Spirit foorth of the bodie: For may not the diuel obiect to their fantasie, their senses being dulled, and as it were asleepe, such hilles and houses within them, such glistering courtes and traines, and whatsoeuer such like wherewith he pleaseth to delude them, and in the meane time their bodies being senseleſſe, to conuey in their hand any stone or such like thing, which he makes them to imagine to haue receiued in such a place.

PHI. But what say ye to their foretelling the death of sundrie persons, whom they alleage to haue seene in these places? that is, a sooth-dreame (as they say) since they see it walking.

EPI. I thinke that either they haue not bene sharpely enough examined, that gaue so blunt a reason for their propheſie, or otherwise, I thinke it likewise as possible that the diuel may propheſie to them when he deceiues their imaginations in that sort, as well as when hee plainely speakes vnto them at other times: for their propheſying, is but by a kind of vision,

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as it were, wherein he commonly counterfeites God among the Ethnicks, as I told you before.

PHI. I would know now whether these kinds of Spirits may onely appeare to *Witches*, or if they may also appeare to any other.

EPI. They may doe to both; to the innocent sort, either to affray them, or to seeme to be a better sort of folkes nor vncleane Spirits are; and to the *Witches* to be a colour of safetie for them, that ignorant Magistrates may not punish them for it, as I told euen now: But as the one sort, for being perforce troubled with them ought to be pitied, so ought the other sort (who may be discerned by their taking vpon them to propheſie by them,) that sort, I say, ought as seuerely to be punished as any other *Witches*, and rather the more, that they goe dissemblingly to worke.

PHI. And what makes the spirits haue so different names from others?

EPI. Euen the knauerie of that same diuell; who as he illudes the *Necromancers* with innumerable feined names for him and his angels, as in speciall, making *Satan*, *Beelzebub*, and *Lucifer*, to bee three sundry spirits, where wee finde the two former, but diuers names giuen to the Prince of all the rebelling Angels by the Scripture; as by Christ, the Prince of all the diuels is called *Beelzebub* in that place, which I alleaged against the power of any hereticques to cast out diuels. By *Iohn* in the Reuelation, the old tempter is called *Satan the Prince of all the euill Angels*: And the last, to wit, *Lucifer*, is but by allegorie taken from *the day Starre* (so named in diuers places of the Scriptures) because of his excellencie (I meane the Prince of them) in his creation before his fall; euen so I say hee deceiues the Witches, by attributing to himselfe diuers names; as if euery diuers shape that he transformes himselfe in, were a diuers kinde of spirit.

PHI. But I haue heard many moe strange tales of this *Phairie*, nor ye haue yet told me.

EPI. As well I doe in that, as I did in all the rest of my discourse: For because the ground of this conference of ours, proceeded of your speering at me at our meeting: if there was such a thing as Witches or spirits: and if they had any power: I therefore haue framed my whole discourse, onely to proue that such things are and may be, by such number of examples as I shew to be possible by reason, and keepe me from dipping any further in playing the part of a Dictionarie, to tell what euer I haue read or heard in that purpose, which both would exceede faith, and rather would seeme to teach such vnlawfull artes, nor to disallow and condemne them, as it is the duetie of all Christians to doe.

CHAP. VI. ARG.

Of the tryall and punishment of Witches: What sort of accusation ought to be admitted against them: What is the cause of the increasing so farre of their number in this aage.

PHILOMATHES.

THen to make an end of our conference, since I see it drawes late, what forme of punishment thinke yee merite these *Magicians* and Witches? For I see that ye account them to be all alike guiltie.

EPI. They ought to be put to death according to the Law of God, the ciuill and imperiall Law, and municipall Law of all Christian nations.

PHI. But what kinde of death I pray you?

EPI. It is commonly vsed by fire, but that is an indifferent thing to be vsed in euery countrey, according to the Law or custome thereof.

PHI. But ought no sexe, aage nor rancke to be exempted?

EPI. None at all (being so vsed by the lawfull magistrate) for it is the highest point of Idolatry, wherein no exception is admitted by the law of God.

PHI. Then barnes may not be spared.

EPI. Yea, not a haire the lesse of my conclusion: For they are not that capable of reason as to practise such things: And for any being in company and not reueiling thereof, their lesse and ignorant aage will no doubt excuse them.

PHI. I see ye condemne them all that are of the counsell of such craftes.

EPI. No doubt, for as I said, speaking of *Magie*, the consulters, trusters in, ouer-seers, interteiners or stirrers vp of these craftes-folkes, are equally guiltie with themselues that are the practisers.

PHI. Whether may the Prince then, or supreame Magistrate, spare or ouer-see any that are guilty of that craft, vpon some great respects knowen to him?

EPI. The Prince or Magistrate for further trials cause, may continue the punishing of them such a certaine space as he thinkes conuenient: But in the end to spare the life, and not to strike when God bids strike, and so seuerely punish in so odious a fault and treason against God, it is not onely vnlawfull, but doubtlesse no lesse sinne in that Magistrate, nor it was in *Saules* sparing of *Agag*; and so comparable to the sinne of Witch-craft it selfe, as *Samuel* alledged at that time.

1.Sam.15.

PHI. Surely then, I thinke since this crime ought to be so seuerely punished, Iudges ought to beware to condemne any, but such as they are sure are guiltie, neither should the clattering report of a carling serue in so weightie a case.

EPI.

EPI. Iudges ought indeede to beware whom they condemne: for it is as great a crime (as *Salomon* ſaith,) *To condemne the innocent, as to let the guiltie eſcape free*; neither ought the report of any one infamous perſon, be admitted for a ſufficient proofe, which can ſtand of no law. Prou. 17.

PHI. And what may a number then of guilty perſons confeſſions, worke againſt one that is accuſed?

EPI. The Aſſiſe muſt ſerue for interpretour of our law in that reſpect: But in my opinion, ſince in a matter of treaſon againſt the Prince, barnes or wiues, or neuer ſo diffamed perſons, may of our law ſerue for ſufficient witneſſes and proofes; I thinke ſurely that by a farre greater reaſon, ſuch witneſſes may be ſufficient in matters of high treaſon againſt God: For who but Witches can be prooues, and ſo witneſſes of the doings of Witches?

PHI. Indeed, I trow they will be loath to put any honeſt man vpon their counſell: But what if they accuſe folke to haue bene preſent at their Imaginar conuentions in the ſpirit, when their bodies lye ſenceleſſe, as ye haue ſaid?

EPI. I thinke they are not a haire the leſſe guiltie: For the Diuel durſt neuer haue borrowed their ſhadow or ſimilitude to that turne, if their conſent had not beene at it: And the conſent in theſe turnes is death of the lawe.

PHI. Then *Samuel* was a Witch: For the diuell reſembled his ſhape, and played his perſon in giuing reſponſe to *Saul*.

EPI. *Samuel* was dead as well before that; and ſo none could ſlaunder him with medling in that vnlawful arte: For the cauſe why, as I take it, that God will not permit Satan to vſe the ſhapes of ſimilitudes of any innocent perſons at ſuch vnlawfull times, is, that God will not permit that any innocent perſons ſhalbe ſlandered with that vile defection: for then the diuell would finde waies anew, to calumniate the beſt. And this wee haue in proofe by them that are carried with the *Phairie*, who neuer ſee the ſhadowes of any in that Court, but of them that thereafter are tryed to haue beene brethren and ſiſters of that craft: And this was likewiſe prooued by the confeſſion of a young Laſſe, troubled with ſpirits, laid on her by Witchcraft: that although ſhe ſaw the ſhapes of diuers men and women troubling her, and naming the perſons whom theſe ſhadowes repreſent: yet neuer one of them are found to be innocent, but all clearely tryed to bee moſt guiltie, and the moſt part of them confeſſing the ſame. And beſides that, I thinke it hath beene ſeldome heard tell of, that any, whom perſons guiltie of that crime accuſed, as hauing knowen them to be their marrowes by eye-ſight, and not by heare-ſay, but ſuch as were ſo accuſed of Witchcraft, could not be clearely tried vpon them, were at the leaſt put likely knowen to be of a very euill life and reputation: ſo iealous is God I ſay, of the fame of them that are innocent in ſuch cauſes. And beſides that, there are two other good helps that may be vſed for their triall: The one is, the finding of their marke, and the trying the inſenſiblenes therof: The other

is their fleeting on the water: for as in a ſecret murther, if the dead carkaſſe bee at any time thereafter handled by the murtherer, it will guſh out of bloud, as if the bloud were crying to the heauen for reuenge of the murtherer, God hauing appointed that ſecret ſupernaturall ſigne, for triall of that ſecret vnnaturall crime, ſo it appeares that God hath appointed (for a ſupernaturall ſigne of the monſtrous impietie of Witches) that the water ſhall refuſe to receiue them in her boſome, that haue ſhaken off them the ſacred water of Baptiſme, and wilfully refuſed the benefite thereof: No, not ſo much as their eyes are able to ſhed teares (threaten and torture them as ye pleaſe) while firſt they repent (God not permitting them to diſſemble their obſtinacie in ſo horrible a crime) albeit the women-kind eſpecially, be able otherwayes to ſhed teares at euery light occaſion when they will, yea, although it were diſſemblingly like the Crocodiles.

PHI. Well, wee haue made this conference to laſt as long as leiſure would permit: and to conclude then, ſince I am to take my leaue of you, I pray God to purge this countrey of theſe diuelliſh practiſes: for they were neuer ſo rife in theſe parts, as they are now.

EPI. I pray God that ſo be too. But the cauſes are ouer-manifeſt, that make them to be ſo rife: For the great wickednes of the people on the one part, procures this horrible defection, whereby God iuſtly puniſheth ſinne by a greater iniquitie: and on the other part, the conſummation of the world, and our deliuerance drawing neere, makes Satan to rage the more in his inſtruments, knowing his kingdome to be ſo neere an end. And ſo farewell for this time.

BAΣI-

ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ.

OR

HIS MAIESTIES IN-STRVCTIONS TO HIS DEAREST SONNE, *HENRY* THE PRINCE.

THE ARGVMENT.

SONNET.

GOD giues not Kings the ſtile of *Gods* in vaine,
For on his Throne his Scepter doe they ſwey:
And as their ſubiects ought them to obey,
So Kings ſhould feare and ſerue their God againe:
If then ye would enioy a happie raigne,
Obſerue the Statutes of your heauenly King,
And from his Law, make all your Lawes to ſpring:
Since his Lieutenant here ye ſhould remaine,
Reward the iuſt, be ſtedfaſt, true, and plaine,
Repreſſe the proud, maintayning aye the right,
Walke alwayes ſo, as euer in his ſight,
Who guardes the godly, plaguing the prophane:
And ſo ye ſhall in Princely vertues ſhine,
Reſembling right your mightie King Diuine.

TO HENRY MY DEAREST SONNE, AND NATVRAL SVCCESSOVR.

WHom-to can ſo rightly appertaine *this Booke of inſtructions to a Prince in all the points of his calling, aſwell generall, as a Chriſtian towards God; as particular, as a King towards his people? Whom-to, I ſay, can it ſo iuſtly appertaine, as vnto you my deareſt Sonne? Since I the authour thereof, as your naturall Father, muſt be carefull for your godly and vertuous education, as my eldeſt Sonne, and the firſt fruits of Gods bleſſing towards mee in my poſteritie: and as a King muſt timouſly prouide for your trayning vp in all the points of a Kings Office; ſince yee are my naturall and lawfull ſucceſſour therein: that being rightly informed hereby, of the waight of your burthen, ye may in time beginne to conſider, that being borne to be a king, ye are rather borne to* onus, *then* honos: *not excelling all your people ſo farre in ranke and honour, as in daily care and hazardous paines-taking, for the dutifull adminiſtration of that great office, that God hath laide vpon your ſhoulders. Laying ſo a juſt ſymmetrie and proportion, betwixt the height of your honourable place, and the heauie waight of your great charge: and conſequently,*

sequently, in case of failing, which God forbid, of the sadnesse of your fall, according to the proportion of that height. I haue therefore for the greater ease to your memory, and that yee may at the first, cast vp any part that yee haue to doe with, deuided this Treatise in three parts. The first teacheth you your duetie towards God as a Christian: the next, your duetie in your Office as a King: and the third informeth you how to behaue your selfe in indifferent things, which of them-selues are neither right nor wrong, but according as they are rightly or wrong vsed; and yet will serue according to your behauiour therein, to augment or empaire your fame and authoritie at the handes of your people. Receiue and welcome this Booke then, as a faithfull Præceptour and counsellour vnto you: which, because my affaires will not permit mee euer to bee present with you, I ordaine to bee a resident faithfull admonisher of you: And because the houre of death is vncertaine to mee, as vnto all flesh, I leaue it as my Testament and latter will vnto you. Charging you in the presence of GOD, and by the fatherly authoritie I haue ouer you, that yee keepe it euer with you, as carefully, as Alexander *did the* Iliads *of* Homer. *Yee will finde it a iust and impartiall counsellour; neither flattering you in any vice, nor importuning you at vnmeete times. It will not come vn-called, neither speake vnspeered at: and yet conferring with it when yee are at quiet, yee shall say with* Scipio, *that yee are* nunquam minûs solus, quàm cum solus. *To conclude then, I charge you, as euer yee thinke to deserue my Fatherly blessing, to follow and put in practise, as farre as lyeth in you, the præcepts hereafter following. And if yee follow the contrary course, I take the Great GOD to record, that this Booke shall one day bee a witnesse betwixt mee and you; and shall procure to bee ratified in Heauen, the curse that in that case here I giue vnto you. For I protest before that Great GOD, I had rather not bee a Father, and childlesse, then bee a Father of wicked children. But hoping, yea, euen promising vnto my selfe, that GOD, who in his great blessing sent you vnto mee; shall in the same*

ſame bleſsing, as hee hath giuen mee a Sonne; ſo make him a good and a godly Sonne; not repenting him of his Mercie ſhewed vnto mee, I end, with my earneſt prayer to GOD, to worke effectually into you, the fruites of that bleſsing, which here from my heart I beſtow vpon you.

Your louing Father

I. R.

TO

TO THE READER.

CHaritable Reader, it is one of the golden Sentences, which Chriſt our Sauiour vttered to his Apoſtles, that there is nothing ſo couered, that ſhal not be reuealed, neither ſo hidde, that ſhall not be knowen: and whatſoeuer they haue ſpoken in darkeneſſe, ſhould be heard in the light: and that which they had ſpoken in the eare in ſecret place, ſhould be publikely preached on the tops of the houſes: *And ſince he hath ſaid it, moſt trew muſt it be, ſince the authour thereof is the fountaine and very being of trewth: which ſhould moove all godly and honeſt men, to be very warie in all their ſecreteſt actions, and whatſoeuer middeſſes they vſe for attaining to their moſt wiſhed ends; leſt otherwiſe how auowable ſoeuer the marke be, whereat they aime, the middeſſes being diſcouered to be ſhamefull whereby they climbe, it may turne to the diſgrace both of the good worke it ſelfe, and of the authour thereof; ſince the deepeſt of our ſecrets, cannot be hidde from that all-ſeeing eye, and penetrant light, piercing through the bowels of very darkeneſſe it ſelfe.* Luk. 12.

But as this is generally trew in the actions of all men, ſo is it more ſpecially trew in the affaires of Kings: for Kings being publike perſons, by reaſon of their office and authority, are as it were ſet (as it was ſaid of old) vpon a publike ſtage, in the ſight of all the people; where all the beholders eyes are attentiuely bent to looke and pry in the leaſt circumſtance of their ſecreteſt drifts: Which ſhould make Kings the more carefull not to harbour the ſecreteſt thought in their minde, but ſuch as in the owne time they ſhall not be aſhamed openly to auouch; aſſuring themſelues that Time the mother of Veritie, will in the due ſeaſon bring her owne daughter to perfection.

The trew practiſe hereof, I haue as a King oft found in my owne perſon, though I thanke God, neuer to my ſhame, hauing laide my count, euer to walke as in the eyes of the Almightie, examining euer ſo the ſecreteſt of my drifts, before I gaue them courſe, as how they might ſome day bide the touchſtone of a publike triall. And amongſt the reſt of my ſecret actions, which haue (vnlooked for of me) come to publike knowledge, it hath ſo fared with my ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ, *directed to my eldeſt ſon; which I wrote for exerciſe of mine owne ingyne, and inſtruction of him, who is appointed by God (I hope) to ſit on my Throne after me: For the purpoſe and matter thereof being onely fit for a King, as teaching him his office; and the perſon whomfor it was ordained, a Kings heire, whoſe ſecret counſellor and faithfull admoniſher it muſt be, I thought it no wayes conuenient nor comely, that either it ſhould to all be proclaimed,*

proclaimed, which to one onely appertained (and ſpecially being a meſſenger betwixt two ſo coniunct perſons) or yet that the mould whereupon he ſhould frame his future behauiour, when hee comes both vnto the perfection of his yeeres, and poſſeſſion of his inheritance, ſhould before the hand be made common to the people, the ſubiect of his future happy gouernment. And therefore for the more ſecret and cloſe keeping of them, I onely permitted ſeuen of them to be printed, the Printer being firſt ſworne for ſecrecie: and theſe ſeuen I diſperſed amongſt ſome of my truſtieſt ſeruants, to be keeped cloſely by them, leſt in caſe by the iniquitie or wearing of time, any of them might haue beene loſt, yet ſome of them might haue remained after me, as witneſſes to my Sonne, both of the honeſt integritie of my heart, and of my fatherly affection and naturall care towards him. But ſince contrary to my intention and expectation, as I haue alreadie ſaid, this Booke is now vented, and ſet foorth to the publike view of the world, and conſequently ſubiect to euery mans cenſure, as the current of his affection leades him; I am now forced, as well for reſiſting to the malice of the children of enuie, who like waſpes ſucke venome out of euery wholſome herbe; as for the ſatisfaction of the godly honeſt ſort, in any thing that they may miſtake therein, both to publiſh and ſpread the true copies thereof, for defacing of the falſe copies that are alreadie ſpread, as I am enformed; as likewiſe by this Preface, to cleare ſuch parts thereof, as in reſpect of the conciſed ſhortneſſe of my Style, may be miſ-interpreted therein.

To come then particularly to the matter of my Booke, there are two ſpeciall great points, which (as I am informed) the malicious ſort of men haue detracted therein; and ſome of the honeſt ſort haue ſeemed a little to miſtake: whereof the firſt and greateſt is, that ſome ſentences therein ſhould ſeeme to furniſh grounds to men, to doubt of my ſinceritie in that Religion, which I haue euer conſtantly profeſſed: the other is, that in ſome parts thereof I ſhould ſeeme to nouriſh in my minde, a vindictiue reſolution againſt England, or at the leaſt, ſome principals there, for the Queene my mothers quarrell.

The firſt calumnie (moſt grieuous indeed) is grounded vpon the ſharpe and bitter words, that therein are vſed in the deſcription of the humors of Puritanes, and raſh-headie Preachers, that thinke it their honour to contend with Kings, and perturbe whole kingdomes. The other point is onely grounded vpon the ſtrait charge I giue my Sonne, not to heare nor ſuffer any vnreuerent ſpeeches or bookes againſt any of his parents or progenitors: wherein I doe alledge my owne experience anent the Queene my mother; affirming, that I neuer found any that were of perfit aage the time of her reigne here, ſo ſtedfaſtly trew to me in all my troubles, as theſe that conſtantly kept their allegiance to her in her time. But if the charitable Reader will aduiſedly conſider, both the methode and matter of my Treatiſe, he will eaſily iudge what wrong I haue ſuſtained by the carping at both: For my Booke, ſuppoſe very ſmall, being diuided in three ſeuerall parts; the firſt part thereof onely treats of a Kings duety towards God in Religion, wherein I haue ſo clearely made profeſſion of my Religion, calling it the Religion wherein I was brought vp, and euer made profeſſion of, and wiſhing him euer to continue in the ſame, as the onely trew forme of Gods worſhip; that I would haue thought my ſincere plainneſſe in that firſt part vpon that ſubiect, ſhould haue ditted the mouth of the moſt enuious Momus, that euer

hell

hell did hatch, from barking at any other part of my booke vpon that ground, except they would alledge me to be contrarie to my ſelfe, which in ſo ſmall a volume would ſmell of too great weakeneſſe, and ſliprineſſe of memory. And the ſecond part of my booke, teaches my Sonne how to vſe his Office, in the adminiſtration of Iuſtice and Politicke Gouernment: The third onely containing a Kings outward behauiour in indifferent things; what agreeance and conformitie hee ought to keepe betwixt his outward behauiour in theſe things, and the vertuous qualities of his minde; and how they ſhould ſerue for trunſh-men, to interprete the inward diſpoſition of the minde, to the eyes of them that cannot ſee farther within him, and therefore muſt onely iudge of him by the outward appearance: So as if there were no more to be looked into, but the very methode and order of the booke, it will ſufficiently cleare me of that firſt and grieuouſeſt imputation, in the point of Religion: ſince in the firſt part where Religion is onely treated of, I ſpeake ſo plainely. And what in other parts I ſpeake of Puritanes, it is onely of their morall faults, in that part where I ſpeake of Policie: declaring when they contemne the Law and ſouereigne authoritie, what exemplare puniſhment they deſerue for the ſame. And now as to the matter it ſelfe whereupon this ſcandall is taken, that I may ſufficiently ſatisfie all honeſt men, and by a iuſt Apologie raiſe vp a braſen wall or bulwarke againſt all the darts of the enuious, I will the more narrowly rip vp the words, whereat they ſeeme to be ſomewhat ſtomacked.

Firſt then, as to the name of Puritanes, I am not ignorant that the ſtyle thereof doeth properly belong onely to that vile ſect amongſt the Anabaptiſts, called the Family of loue; becauſe they thinke themſelues onely pure, and in a maner without ſinne, the onely trwe Church, and onely worthy to be participant of the Sacraments, and all the reſt of the world to be but abomination in the ſight of God. Of this ſpeciall ſect I principally meane, when I ſpeake of Puritans; diuers of them, as Browne, Penry *and others, hauing at ſundrie times come into Scotland, to ſow their popple amongſt vs (and from my heart I wiſh, that they had left no ſchollers behinde them, who by their fruits will in the owne time be manifeſted) and partly indeede, I giue this ſtyle to ſuch brain-ſicke and headie Preachers their diſciples and followers, as refuſing to be called of that ſect, yet participate too much with their humours, in maintaining the aboue-mentioned errours; not onely agreeing with the generall rule of all Anabaptiſts, in the contempt of the ciuill Magiſtrate, and in leaning to their owne dreams and reuelations; but particularly with this ſect, in accounting all men profane that ſweare not to all their fantaſies, in making for euery particular queſtion of the policie of the Church, as great commotion, as if the article of the Trinitie were called in controuerſie, in making the ſcriptures to be ruled by their conſcience, and not their conſcience by the Scripture; and he that denies the leaſt iote of their grounds,* ſit tibi tanquam ethnicus & publicanus, *not worthy to enioy the benefite of breathing, much leſſe to participate with them of the Sacraments: and before that any of their grounds be impugned, let King, people, Law and all be trode vnder foote: Such holy warres are to be preferred to an vngodly peace: no, in ſuch caſes Chriſtian Princes are not onely to be reſiſted vnto, but not to be prayed for, for prayer muſt come of Faith; and it is reuealed to their conſciences, that GOD will heare no prayer for ſuch a Prince. Iudge then, Chriſtian Reader, if I wrong this ſort of people, in giuing them the ſtile of that ſect, whoſe errours they imitate: and ſince they are contented*

to weare their liuerie, let them not be aſhamed to borrow alſo their name. It is onely of this kinde of men that in this booke I write ſo ſharply; and whom I wiſh my Sonne to puniſh, in-caſe they refuſe to obey the Law, and will not ceaſe to ſturre vp a rebellion: Whom againſt I haue written the more bitterly, in reſpect of diuers famous libels, and iniurious ſpeaches ſpred by ſome of them, not onely diſhonourably inuectiue againſt all Chriſtian Princes, but euen reprochfull to our profeſſion and Religion, in reſpect they are come out vnder coulour thereof: and yet were neuer anſwered but by Papiſts, who generally medle aſwell againſt them, as the religion it ſelfe; whereby the ſkandale was rather doubled, then taken away. But on the other part, I proteſt vpon mine honour, I meane it not generally of all Preachers, or others, that like better of the ſingle forme of policie in our Church, then of the many Ceremonies in the Church of England; that are perſwaded, that their Biſhops ſmell of a Papall ſupremacie, that the Surpliſe, the cornerd cap, and ſuch like, are the outward badges of Poiſh errours. No, I am ſo farre from being contentious in theſe things (which for my owne part I euer eſteemed as indifferent) as I doe equally loue and honour the learned and graue men of either of theſe opinions. It can no wayes become me to pronounce ſo lightly a ſentence, in ſo old a controuerſie. Wee all (God be praiſed) doe agree in the grounds; and the bitterneſſe of men vpon ſuch queſtions, doeth but trouble the peace of the Church; and giues aduantage and entry to the Papiſts by our diuiſion: But towards them, I onely vſe this prouiſion, that where the Law is otherwayes, they may content themſelues ſoberly and quietly with their owne opinions, not reſiſting to the authoritie, nor breaking the Law of the Countrey; neither aboue all, ſturring any rebellion or ſchiſme: but poſſeſſing their ſoules in peace, let them preaſſe by patience, and well grounded reaſons, either to perſwade all the reſt to like of their iudgements; or where they ſee better grounds on the other part, not to bee aſhamed peaceably to incline thereunto, laying aſide all præoccupied opinions.

And that this is the onely meaning of my Booke, and not any coldneſſe or cracke in Religion, that place doeth plainely witneſſe, where, after I haue ſpoken of the faults in our Eccleſiaſticall eſtate, I exhort my ſonne to be beneficiall vnto the good-men of the Miniſtrie; praiſing God there, that there is preſently a ſufficient number of good men of them in this kingdome: and yet are they all knowne to be againſt the forme of the Engliſh Church. Yea, ſo farre I am in that place from admitting corruption in Religion, as I wiſh him in promooving them, to vſe ſuch caution, as may preſerue their eſtate from creeping to corruption; euer vſing that forme through the whole Booke, where euer I ſpeake of bad Preachers, terming them ſome of the Miniſters, and not Miniſters or Miniſtrie in generall. And to conclude this point of Religion, what indifferencie of Religion can Momus call that in mee, where, ſpeaking of my ſonnes marriage (in caſe it pleaſed God before that time to cut the threed of my life) I plainly forewarne him of the inconuenients that were like to enſew, incaſe he ſhould marry any that be of a different profeſſion in Religion from him: notwithſtanding that the number of Princes profeſſing our Religion be ſo ſmall, as it is hard to foreſee, how he can be that way, meetly matched according to his ranke.

And as for the other point, that by ſome parts in this booke, it ſhould appeare, that I doe nouriſh in my minde, a vindictiue reſolution againſt England, or ſome principals there; it is ſurely more then wonderfull vnto me, vpon what grounds they can haue

haue gathered ſuch concluſions. For as vpon the one part, I neither by name nor deſcription poynt out England in that part of my diſcourſe; ſo vpon the other, I plainly bewray my meaning to be of Scottiſh-men, where I conclude that purpoſe in theſe termes: That the loue I beare to my Sonne, hath mooued me to be ſo plaine in this argument: for ſo that I diſcharge my conſcience to him in vttering the verity, I care not what any traitour or treaſon-allower doe thinke of it. And Engliſh-men could not thereby be meant, ſince they could be no traitours, where they ought no alleageance. I am not ignorant of a wiſe and princely apophthegme, which the ſame Queene of England vttered about the time of her owne Coronation. But the drift of that diſcourſe doth fully cleare my intention, being onely grounded vpon that precept to my Sonne, that he ſhould not permit any vnreuerent detracting of his prædeceſſours; bringing in that purpoſe of my mother onely for an example of my experience anent Scottiſh-men, without vſing any perſwaſion to him of reuenge. For a Kings giuing of any fault the dew ſtile, inferres no reduction of the faulters pardon. No, I am by a degree nearer of kinne vnto my mother then he is, neither thinke I my ſelfe, either that vnworthie, or that neere my end, that I neede to make ſuch a Dauidicall teſtament; ſince I haue euer thought it the dewtie of a worthie Prince, rather with a pike, then a penne, to write his iuſt reuenge: But in this matter I haue no delite to be large, wiſhing all men to iudge of my future proiects, according to my by-paſt actions.

Thus hauing as much inſiſted in the clearing of theſe two points, as will (I hope) giue ſufficient ſatisfaction to all honeſt men, and leauing the enuious to the foode of their owne venome; I will heartily pray thee, louing Reader, charitably to conceiue of my honeſt intention in this Booke. I know the greateſt part of the people of this whole Iſle, haue beene very curious for a ſight thereof: ſome for the loue they beare me, either being particularly acquainted with me, or by a good report that perhappes they haue heard of me; and therefore longed to ſee any thing, that proceeded from that authour whom they ſo loued and honoured; ſince bookes are viue Idees of the authours minde. Some onely for meere curioſitie, that thinke it their honour to know all new things, were curious to glut their eyes therewith, onely that they might vaunt them to haue ſeene it: and ſome fraughted with cauſleſſe enuie at the Authour, did greedily ſearch out the booke, thinking their ſtomacke fit ynough, for turning neuer ſo wholeſome foode into noyſome and infectiue humours: So as this their great concurrence in curioſitie (though proceeding from farre different complexions) hath enforced the vn-timous diuulgating of this Booke, farre contrarie to my intention, as I haue alreadie ſaid. To which Hydra of diuerſly-enclined ſpectatours, I haue no targe to oppone but plaineneſſe, patience, and ſinceritie: plaineneſſe, for reſoluing and ſatisfying of the firſt ſort; patience, for to beare with the ſhallowneſſe of the next; and ſinceritie, to defie the malice of the third with-all. Though I cannot pleaſe all men therein, I am contented, ſo that I onely pleaſe the vertuous ſort: and though they alſo finde not euery thing therein, ſo fully to anſwere their expectation, as the argument would ſeeme to require; although I would wiſh them modeſtly to remember, that God hes not beſtowed all his gifts vpon one, but parted them by a iuſtice diſtributiue; and that many eyes ſee more then one; and that the varietie of mens mindes is ſuch, that tot capita tot ſenſus; yea, and that euen the very faces, that God hath by nature brought foorth in the world, doe euery one in ſome of their particular lineaments, differ from

any other: yet in trewth it was not my intention in handling of this purpose (as it is easie to perceiue) fully to set downe heere all such grounds, as might out of the best writers haue beene alledged, and out of my owne inuention and experience added, for the perfite institution of a King: but onely to giue some such precepts to my owne Sonne, for the gouernement of this kingdome, as was meetest for him to be instructed in, and best became me to be the informer of.

If I in this Booke haue beene too particularly plaine, impute it to the necessitie of the subiect, not so much being ordained for the institution of a Prince in generall, as I haue said, as containing particular precepts to my Sonne in speciall: whereof he could haue made but a generall vse, if they had not contained the particular diseases of this kingdome, with the best remedies for the same, which it became me best as a King, hauing learned both the theoricke and practicke thereof, more plainely to expresse, then any simple schoole man, that onely knowes matters of kingdomes by contemplation.

But if in some places it seeme too obscure, impute it to the shortnesse thereof, being both for the respect of my selfe, and of my Sonne, constrained thereunto: my owne respect, for fault of leasure, being so continually occupied in the affaires of my office, as my great burthen, and restlesse fashery is more then knowen, to all that knowes or heares of me: for my Sonnes respect, because I know by my self, that a Prince so long as he is young, will be so caried away with some sort of delight or other, that he cannot patiently abide the reading of any large volume: and when he comes to a ful maturity of aage, he must be so busied in the actiue part of his charge, as he will not be permitted to bestow many houres vpon the cõtemplatiue part therof: So as it was neither fit for him, nor possible for me, to haue made this Treatise any more ample then it is. Indeed I am litle beholden to the curiositie of some, who thinking it too large alreadie (as appears) for lacke of leisure to copy it, drew some notes out of it, for speeds sake; putting in the one halfe of the purpose, and leauing out the other: not vnlike the man that alledged that part of the Psalme, non est Deus, but left out the præceeding words, Dixit insipiens in corde suo. And of these notes, making a little pamphlet (lacking both my methode and halfe of my matter) entituled it, forsooth, the Kings Testament, as if I had eiked a third Testament of my owne to the two that are in the holy Scriptures. It is trew that in a place thereof, for affirmation of the purpose I am speaking of to my Sonne, I bring my selfe in there, as speaking vpon my Testament: for in that sense, euery record in write of a mans opinion in any thing (in respect that papers out-liue their authours) is as it were a Testament of that mans will in that case: and in that sense it is, that in that place I call this Treatise a Testament. But from any particular sentence in a booke, to giue the booke it selfe a title, is as ridiculous, as to style the booke of the Psalmes, the booke of Dixit insipiens, because with these wordes one of them doeth begin.

Well, leauing these new baptizers and blockers of other mens books, to their owne follies, I returne to my purpose, anent the shortnesse of this booke, suspecting that all my excuses for the shortnesse thereof, shall not satisfie some, especially in our neighbour countrey: who thought, that as I haue so narrowly in this Treatise touched all the principall sicknesses in our kingdome, with ouertures for the remedies thereof, as I said before: so looked they to haue found something therein, that should haue touched the sicknesses of their state, in the like sort. But they will easily excuse me thereof, if they will

will consider the forme I haue vsed in this Treatise; wherein I onely teach my Son, out of my owne experience, what forme of gouernment is fittest for this kingdome: and in one part thereof speaking of the borders, I plainely there doe excuse my selfe, that I will speake nothing of the state of England, *as a matter wherein I neuer had experience. I know indeed, no kingdome lackes her owne diseases, and likewise what interest I haue in the prosperitie of that state: for although I would be silent, my blood and discent doeth sufficiently proclaime it. But notwithstanding, since there is a lawfull Queene there presently reigning, who hath so long with so great wisedome and felicitie gouerned her kingdomes, as (I must in trew sinceritie confesse) the like hath not beene read nor heard of, either in our time, or since the dayes of the Romane Emperour* Augustus; *it could no wayes become me, farre inferiour to her in knowledge and experience, to be a busie-body in other princes matters, and to fish in other folkes waters, as the prouerbe is: No, I hope by the contrary (with Gods grace) euer to keepe that Christian rule, To doe as I would be done to: and I doubt nothing, yea euen in her name I dare promise, by the bypast experience of her happy gouernment, as I haue already said, that no good subiect shall be more carefull to enforme her of any corruptions stollen in in her state, then shee shall be zealous for the discharge of her conscience and honour, to see the same purged, and restored to the ancient integritie; and further during her time, becomes me least of any to meddle in.*

And thus hauing resolued all the doubts, so farre as I can imagine, may be moued against this Treatise; it onely rests to pray thee (charitable Reader) to interprete fauourably this birth of mine, according to the integritie of the author, and not looking for perfection in the worke it selfe. As for my part, I onely glory thereof in this point, that I trust no sort of vertue is condemned, nor any degree of vice allowed in it: and that (though it be not perhaps so gorgeously decked, and richly attired as it ought to be) it is at the least rightly proportioned in all the members, without any monstrous deformitie in any of them: and specially that since it was first written in secret, and is now published, not of ambition, but of a kinde of necessitie; it must be taken of all men, for the trew image of my very minde, and forme of the rule, which I haue prescribed to my selfe and mine: Which as in all my actions I haue hitherto preassed to expresse, so farre as the nature of my charge, and the condition of time would permit me: so beareth it a discouery of that which may be looked for at my hand, and whereto euen in my secret thoughts, I haue engaged my selfe for the time to come. And thus in a firme trust, that it shall please God, who with my being and Crowne, gaue me this minde, to maintaine and augment the same in me and my posteritie, to the discharge of our conscience, the maintenance of our Honour, and weale of our people, I bid thee heartily farewell.

OF A KINGS CHRISTIAN DVETIE TOWARDS GOD.

The First Booke.

The trew ground of good gouernment.

AS he cannot be thought worthy to rule and command others, that cannot rule and dantone his owne proper affections and vnreasonable appetites, so can hee not be thought worthie to gouerne a Christian people, knowing and fearing God, that in his owne person and heart, feareth not and loueth not the Diuine Maiestie. Neither can any thing in his gouernment succeed well with him, (deuise and labour as he list) as comming from a filthie spring, if his person be vnsanctified: for (as that royal Prophet saith) *Except the Lord build the house, they labour in vaine that build it: except the Lord keepe the City, the keepers watch it in vaine*: in respect the blessing of God hath onely power to giue the successe thereunto: and as *Paul* saith, he *planteth, Apollos watereth; but it is God onely that giueth the increase*. Therefore (my Sonne) first of all things, learne to know and loue that God, whom-to ye haue a double obligation; first, for that he made you a man; and next, for that he made you a little GOD to sit on his Throne, and rule ouer other men. Remember, that as in dignitie hee hath erected you aboue others, so ought ye in thankfulnesse towards him, goe as farre beyond all others. A moate in anothers eye, is a beame into yours: a blemish in another, is a leprouse byle into you: and a veniall sinne (as the Papists call it) in another, is a great crime into you. Thinke not therefore, that the highnesse of your dignitie, diminisheth your faults (much lesse giueth you a licence to sinne) but by the contrary your fault shall be aggrauated, according to the height of your dignitie; any sinne that ye commit, not being a single sinne procuring but the fall of one; but being an exemplare sinne,

Psal. 127. 1.

1. Cor. 3. 6.

Double bond of a Prince to God.

The greatnesse of the fault of a Prince.

ſinne, and therefore drawing with it the whole multitude to be guiltie of the ſame. Remember then, that this gliſtering worldly glorie of Kings, is giuen them by God, to teach them to preaſſe ſo to gliſter and ſhine before their people, in all workes of ſanctification and righteouſneſſe, that their perſons as bright lampes of godlineſſe and vertue, may, going in and out before their people, giue light to all their ſteps. Remember alſo, that by the right knowledge, and feare of God (which is *the beginning of Wiſedome*, as *Salomon* ſaith) ye ſhall know all the things neceſſarie for the diſcharge of your duetie, both as a Chriſtian, and as a King; ſeeing in him, as in a mirrour, the courſe of all earthly things, whereof hee is the ſpring and onely moouer.

The trew glorie of Kings.

Prou 9.10.

Now, the onely way to bring you to this knowledge, is diligently to reade his word, and earneſtly to pray for the right vnderſtanding thereof. *Search the Scriptures*, ſayth Chriſt, *for they beare teſtimonie of me*: and, *the whole Scripture*, ſaith Paul, *is giuen by inſpiration of God, and is profitable to teach, to conuince, to correct, and to inſtruct in righteouſneſſe; that the man of God may be abſolute, being made perfite vnto all good workes*. And moſt properly of any other, belongeth the reading thereof vnto Kings, ſince in that part of Scripture, where the godly Kings are firſt made mention of, that were ordained to rule ouer the people of God, there is an expreſſe and moſt notable exhortation and commandement giuen them, to reade and meditate in the Law of God. I ioyne to this, the carefull hearing of the doctrine with attendance and reuerence: for, *faith commeth by hearing*, ſayth the ſame Apoſtle. But aboue all, beware ye wreſt not the word to your owne appetite, as ouer many doe, making it like a bell to ſound as ye pleaſe to interprete: but by the contrary, frame all your affections, to follow preciſely the rule there ſet downe.

The meanes to know God.

Iohn 5.39.

2. Tim. 3. 16. 17.

Deut. 17.

Rom. 10. 17.

The whole Scripture chiefly containeth two things: a command, and a prohibition, to doe ſuch things, and to abſtaine from the contrary. Obey in both; neither thinke it enough to abſtaine from euill, and do no good; nor thinke not that if yee doe many good things, it may ſerue you for a cloake to mixe euill turnes therewith. And as in theſe two points, the whole Scripture principally conſiſteth, ſo in two degrees ſtandeth the whole ſeruice of God by man: interiour, or vpward; exteriour, or downward: the firſt, by prayer in faith towards God; the next, by workes flowing therefra before the world: which is nothing elſe, but the exerciſe of Religion towards God, and of equitie towards your neighbour.

Wherein chiefely the whole Scripture conſiſteth.

Two degrees of the ſeruice of God.

As for the particular points of Religion, I need not to dilate them; I am no hypocrite, follow my footſteps, and your owne preſent education therein. I thanke God, I was neuer aſhamed to giue account of my profeſſion, howſoeuer the malicious lying tongues of ſome haue traduced me: and if my conſcience had not reſolued me, that all my Religion preſently profeſſed by me and my kingdome, was grounded vpon the plaine wordes of the Scripture, without the which all points of Religion are

A regardable paterne.

superfluous, as any thing contrary to the same is abomination, I had neuer outwardly auowed it, for pleasure or awe of any flesh.

And as for the points of equitie towards your neigbour (because that will fall in properly, vpon the second part concerning a Kings office) I leaue it to the owne roume.

Religion.

For the first part then of mans seruice to his God, which is Religion, that is, the worship of God according to his reuealed will, it is wholly grounded vpon the Scripture, as I haue alreadie said, quickened by faith, and conserued by conscience: For the Scripture, I haue now spoken of it in generall, but that yee may the more readily make choice of any part thereof, for your instruction or comfort, remember shortly this methode.

The methode of Scripture.

The whole Scripture is dyted by Gods Spirit, thereby, as by his liuely word, to instruct and rule the whole Church militant to the end of the world: It is composed of two parts, the Olde and New Testament: The ground of the former is the Lawe, which sheweth our sinne, and containeth iustice: the ground of the other is Christ, who pardoning sinne containeth grace. The summe of the Law is the tenne Commandements, more

Of the Law.

largely delated in the bookes of *Moses*, interpreted and applied by the Prophets; and by the histories, are the examples shewed of obedience or disobedience thereto, and what *præmium* or *pœna* was accordingly giuen by God: But because no man was able to keepe the Law, nor any part thereof, it pleased God of his infinite wisedome and goodnesse, to incarnate his only Sonne in our nature, for satisfaction of his iustice in his suffering for vs; that since we could not be saued by doing, we might at least, bee saued by beleeuing.

Of Grace.

The ground therefore of the word of grace, is contained in the foure histories of the birth, life, death, resurrection and ascention of Christ: The larger interpretation and vse thereof, is contained in the Epistles of the Apostles: and the practise in the faithfull or vnfaithfull, with the historie of the infancie and first progresse of the Church is contained in their Actes.

Vse of the Law.

Would ye then know your sinne by the Lawe? reade the bookes of *Moses* containing it. Would ye haue a commentarie thereupon? Reade the Prophets, and likewise the bookes of the *Prouerbes* and *Ecclesiastes*, written by that great patterne of wisedome *Salomon*, which will not only serue you for instruction, how to walke in the obedience of the Lawe of God, but is also so full of golden sentences, and morall precepts, in all things that can concerne your conuersation in the world, as among all the prophane Philosophers and Poets, ye shall not finde so rich a storehouse of precepts of naturall wisedome, agreeing with the will and diuine wisedome of God. Would ye see how good men are rewarded, and wicked punished? looke the historicall parts of these same bookes of *Moses*, together with the histories of *Ioshua*, the *Iudges*, *Ezra*, *Nehemiah*, *Esther*, and *Iob*: but especially the bookes of the *Kings* and *Chronicles*, wherewith ye ought to bee familiarly acquain-

acquainted: for there ſhall yee ſee your ſelfe, as in a myrrour, in the catalogue either of the good or the euill Kings.

Would yee know the doctrine, life, and death of our Sauiour Chriſt? reade the Euangeliſts. Would ye bee more particularly trained vp in his Schoole? meditate vpon the Epiſtles of the Apoſtles. And would ye be acquainted with the practiſes of that doctrine in the perſons of the primitiue Church? Caſt vp the Apoſtles Actes. And as to the Apocryphe bookes, I omit them, becauſe I am no Papiſt, as I ſaid before; and indeed ſome of them are no wayes like the dytement of the Spirit of God.

Vſe of the Goſpel.

But when ye reade the Scripture, reade it with a ſanctified and chaſte heart: admire reuerently ſuch obſcure places as ye vnderſtand not, blaming onely your owne capacitie: read with delight the plaine places, and ſtudie carefully to vnderſtand thoſe that are ſomewhat difficile: preaſſe to bee a good textuarie; for the Scripture is euer the beſt interpreter of it ſelfe; but preaſſe not curiouſly to ſeeke out farther then is contained therein; for that were ouer vnmannerly a preſumption, to ſtriue to bee further vpon Gods ſecrets, then he hath will ye be, for what hee thought needfull for vs to know, that hath he reuealed there: And delyte moſt in reading ſuch parts of the Scripture, as may beſt ſerue for your inſtruction in your calling; reiecting fooliſh curioſities vpon genealogies and contentions, *which are but vaine, and profite not*, as *Paul* ſaith.

How to reade the Scripture.

Tit. 3. 9.

Now, as to Faith, which is the nouriſher and quickner of Religion, as I haue alreadie ſaid, It is a ſure perſwaſion and apprehenſion of the promiſes of God, applying them to your ſoule: and therefore may it iuſtly be called, the golden chaine that linketh the faithfull ſoule to Chriſt: And becauſe it groweth not in our garden, but *is the free gift of God*, as the ſame Apoſtle ſaith, it muſt be nouriſhed by prayer, Which is nothing elſe, but a friendly talking with God.

Faith the nouriſher of Religion.

Philip. 1. 29.

As for teaching you the forme of your prayers, the Pſalmes of *Dauid* are the meeteſt ſchoole-maſter that ye can be acquainted with (next the prayer of our Sauiour, which is the onely rule of prayer) whereout of, as of moſt rich and pure fountaines, ye may learne all forme of prayer neceſſarie for your comfort at all occaſions: And ſo much the fitter are they for you, then for the common ſort, in reſpect the compoſer thereof was a King: and therefore beſt behoued to know a Kings wants, and what things were meeteſt to be required by a King at Gods hand for remedie thereof.

Prayer, and whence to learne the beſt forme therof.

Vſe often to pray when ye are quieteſt, eſpecially forget it not in your bed how oft ſoeuer ye doe it at other times: for publike prayer ſerueth as much for example, as for any particular comfort to the ſupplicant.

Seuerall exerciſe of prayer.

In your prayer, bee neither ouer ſtrange with God, like the ignorant common ſort, that prayeth nothing but out of bookes, nor yet ouer homely with him, like ſome of the vaine Phariſaicall puritanes, that thinke they rule him vpon their fingers: The former way will breede an vncouth coldneſſe in you towards him, the other will breede in you a contempt of him.

What rule or regard to be vſed in prayer.

him. But in your prayer to God ſpeake with all reuerence: for if a ſubiect will not ſpeake but reuerently to a King, much leſſe ſhould any fleſh preſume to talke with God as with his companion.

What to craue of God.

Craue in your prayer, not onely things ſpirituall, but alſo things temporall, ſometimes of greater, and ſometimes of leſſe conſequence; that yee may lay vp in ſtore his grant of theſe things, for confirmation of your faith, and to be an arles-peny vnto you of his loue. Pray, as yee finde your heart moueth you, *pro re nata*: but ſee that yee ſute no vnlawfull things, as reuenge, luſt, or ſuch like: for that prayer can not come of faith: *and whatſoeuer is done without faith, is ſinne*, as the Apoſtle ſaith.

Rom. 14.23.

How to interpret the iſſue of prayer.

When ye obtaine your prayer, thanke him ioyfully therefore: if otherwaies, beare patiently, preaſſing to winne him with importunitie, as the widow did the vnrighteous Iudge: and if notwithſtanding thereof yee be not heard, aſſure your ſelfe, God foreſeeth that which yee aske is not for your weale: and learne in time, ſo to interprete all the aduerſities that God ſhall ſend vnto you; ſo ſhall yee in the middeſt of them, not onely be armed with patience, but ioyfully lift vp your eyes from the preſent trouble, to the happie end that God will turne it to. And when ye finde it once ſo fall out by proofe, arme your ſelfe with the experience thereof againſt the next trouble, aſſuring your ſelfe, though yee cannot in time of the ſhowre ſee through the cloude, yet in the end ſhall ye find, God ſent it for your weale, as ye found in the former.

Conſcience the conſeruer of Religion.

And as for conſcience, which I called the conſeruer of Religion, It is nothing elſe, but the light of knowledge that God hath planted in man, which euer watching ouer all his actions, as it beareth him a ioyfull teſtimonie when he does right, ſo choppeth it him with a feeling that hee hath done wrong, when euer he committeth any ſinne. And ſurely, although this conſcience be a great torture to the wicked, yet is it as great a comfort to the godly, if we will conſider it rightly. For haue wee not a great aduantage, that haue within our ſelues while wee liue here, a Count-booke and Inuentarie of all the crimes that wee ſhall bee accuſed of, either at the houre of our death, or at the Great day of Iudgement; which when wee pleaſe (yea though we forget) will chop, and remember vs to looke vpon it; that while we haue leaſure and are here, we may remember to amend; and ſo at the day of our triall, compeare with *new and white garments waſhed in the blood of the Lambe*, as *S. Iohn* ſaith. Aboue all then, my Sonne, labour to keepe ſound this conſcience, which many prattle of, but ouer few feele: eſpecially be carefull to keepe it free from two diſeaſes, wherewith it vſeth oft to be infected; to wit, Leaproſie, and Superſtition: the former is the mother of Atheiſme, the other of Hereſies. By a leaprouſe conſcience, I meane *a cauterized conſcience*, as *Paul* calleth it, being become ſenſeleſſe of ſinne, through ſleeping in a careleſſe ſecuritie, as King *Dauids* was after his murther and adulterie, euer til he was wakened by the Prophet *Nathans* ſimilitude. And by ſuperſtition, I meane, when one reſtraines himſelfe to any other

The inuentarie of our life.

Reu 7.14.

The diſeaſes of conſcience.

1. Tim. 4.2.

other rule in the ſeruice of God, then is warranted by the word, the onely trew ſquare of Gods ſeruice.

As for a preſeruatiue againſt this Leaproſie, remember euer once in the foure and twentie houres, either in the night, or when yee are at greateſt quiet, to call your ſelfe to account of all your laſt dayes actions, either wherein ye haue committed things yee ſhould not, or omitted the things ye ſhould doe, either in your Chriſtian or Kingly calling: and in that account, let not your ſelfe be ſmoothed ouer with that flattering φιλαυτία, which is ouerkindly a ſickneſſe to all mankind: but cenſure your ſelfe as ſharply, as if ye were your owne enemie: *For if ye iudge your ſelfe, ye ſhall not be iudged*, as the Apoſtle ſaith: and then according to your cenſure, reforme your actions as farre as yee may, eſchewing euer wilfully and wittingly to contrare your conſcience: For a ſmall ſinne wilfully committed, with a deliberate reſolution to breake the bridle of conſcience therein, is farre more grieuous before God, then a greater ſinne committed in a ſuddaine paſſion, when conſcience is aſleepe. Remember therefore in all your actions, of the great account that yee are one day to make: in all the dayes of your life, euer learning to die, and liuing euery day as it were your laſt;

Omnem crede diem tibi diluxiſſe ſupremum.

And therefore, I would not haue you to pray with the Papiſts, to be preſerued from ſuddaine death, but that God would giue you grace ſo to liue, as ye may euery houre of your life be ready for death: ſo ſhall ye attaine to the vertue of trew fortitude, neuer being afraid for the horrour of death, come when he liſt: And eſpecially, beware to offend your conſcience with vſe of ſwearing or lying, ſuppoſe but in ieſt; for othes are but an vſe, and a ſinne cloathed with no delight nor gaine, and therefore the more inexcuſable euen in the ſight of men: and lying commeth alſo much of a vile vſe, which baniſheth ſhame: Therfore beware euen to deny the trewth, which is a ſort of lie, that may beſt be eſchewed by a perſon of your ranke. For if any thing be asked at you that yee thinke not meete to reueale, if yee ſay, that queſtion is not pertinent for them to aske, who dare examine you further? and vſing ſometimes this anſwere both in trew and falſe things that ſhall be asked at you, ſuch vnmanerly people will neuer be the wiſer thereof.

And for keeping your conſcience ſound from that ſickeneſſe of ſuperſtition, yee muſt neither lay the ſafetie of your conſcience vpon the credit of your owne conceits, nor yet of other mens humors, how great doctors of Diuinitie that euer they be; but yee muſt onely ground it vpon the expreſſe Scripture: for conſcience not grounded vpon ſure knowledge, is either an ignorant fantaſie, or an arrogant vanitie. Beware therefore in this caſe with two extremities: the one, to beleeue with the Papiſts, the Churches authority, better then your owne knowledge; the other, to leane with the Anabaptiſts, to your owne conceits and dreamed reuelations.

But learne wiſely to diſcerne betwixt points of ſaluation and indifferent things,

Preſeruatiue againſt leproſie of conſcience.

1. Cor. 11. 31.

Laſt account.

Horat. lib. 1. Epiſt.

Trew fortitude.

Fooliſh vſe of oathes.

Againſt ſuperſtition.

Difference of internall and externall things.

things, betwixt ſubſtance and ceremonies; and betwixt the expreſſe commandement and will of God in his word, and the inuention or ordinance of man; ſince all that is neceſſarie for ſaluation is contained in the Scripture: For in any thing that is expreſſely commanded or prohibited in the booke of God, ye cannot be ouer preciſe, euen in the leaſt thing; counting euery ſinne, not according to the light eſtimation and common vſe of it in the world, but as the booke of God counteth of it. But as for all other things not contained in the Scripture, ſpare not to vſe or alter them, as the neceſſitie of the time ſhall require. And when any of the ſpirituall office-bearers in the Church, ſpeake vnto you any thing that is well warranted by the word, reuerence and obey them as the heraulds of the moſt high God: but, if paſſing that bounds, they vrge you to embrace any of their fantaſies in the place of Gods word, or would colour their particulars with a pretended zeale, acknowledge them for no other then vaine men, exceeding the bounds of their calling; and according to your office, grauely and with authoritie redact them in order againe.

Account of things externall.

Concluſion.

To conclude then, both this purpoſe of conſcience, and the firſt part of this booke, keepe God more ſparingly in your mouth, but abundantly in your heart: be preciſe in effect, but ſociall in ſhew: kythe more by your deedes then by your wordes, the loue of vertue and hatred of vice: and delight more to be godly and vertuous indeed, then to be thought and called ſo; expecting more for your praiſe and reward in heauen, then heere: and apply to all your outward actions Chriſts command, to pray and giue your almes ſecretly: So ſhal ye on the one part be inwardly garniſhed with trew Chriſtian humilitie, not outwardly (with the proud Phariſie) glorying in your godlineſſe; but ſaying, as Chriſt commandeth vs all, when we haue done all that we can, *Inutiles ſerui ſumus*: And on the other part, yee ſhall eſchew outwardly before the world, the ſuſpition of filthie proude hypocriſie, and deceitfull diſſimulation.

Luke 10.17.

OF

OF A KINGS DVETIE IN HIS OFFICE.

THE SECOND BOOKE.

BVT as ye are clothed with two callings, ſo muſt ye be alike careful for the diſcharge of them both: that as yee are a good Chriſtian, ſo yee may be a good King, diſcharging your Office (as I ſhewed before) in the points of Iuſtice and Equitie: which in two ſundrie waies ye muſt doe: the one, in eſtabliſhing and executing, (which is the life of the Law) good Lawes among your people: the other, by your behauiour in your owne perſon, and with your ſeruants, to teach your people by your example: for people are naturally inclined to counterfaite (like apes) their Princes maners, according to the notable ſaying of *Plato*, expreſſed by the Poet ——

The Office of a King.

Plato in Polit.

Iſocr. in Sym.

Plato in Polit.

——— *Componitur orbis*
Regis ad exemplum, nec ſic inflectere ſenſus
Humanos edicta valent, quàm vita regentis.

Claudian. in 4. conſ. Hon.

For the part of making, and executing of Lawes, conſider firſt the trew difference betwixt a lawfull good King, and an vſurping Tyran, and yee ſhall the more eaſily vnderſtand your duetie herein: for *contraria iuxta ſe poſita magis eluceſcunt.* The one acknowledgeth himſelfe ordained for his people, hauing receiued from God a burthen of gouernment, whereof he muſt be countable: the other thinketh his people ordeined for him, a prey to his paſſions and inordinate appetites, as the fruites of his magnanimitie: And therefore, as their ends are directly contrarie, ſo are their whole actions, as meanes, whereby they preaſſe to attaine to their endes. A good King, thinking his higheſt honour to conſiſt in the due diſcharge of his calling, emploieth all his ſtudie and paines, to procure and maintaine, by the making and execution of good Lawes, the well-fare and peace of his people; and as their naturall father and kindly Maſter, thinketh his greateſt contentment ſtandeth in their proſperitie, and his greateſt ſuretie in hauing their hearts, ſubiecting his owne priuate affections and appetites to the weale and ſtanding of his Subiects, euer thinking the common intereſſe his chiefeſt particular: where by the contrarie, an vſurping Tyran, thinking

Difference of a King and a Tyran.

Plato in Polit.

Ariſt. 5. Polit.

Xen. 8. Cyr.

Cic. lib. 5. de Rep.

Ariſt.5.Polit. Tacit.4.hiſt.

thinking his greateſt honour and felicitie to conſiſt in attaining *per fas, vel nefas*, to his ambitious pretences, thinketh neuer himſelfe ſure, but by the diſſention and factions among his people, and counterfaiting the Saint while he once creepe in credite, will then (by inuerting all good Lawes to ſerue onely for his vnrulie priuate affections) frame the common-weale euer to aduance his particular: building his ſuretie vpon his peoples miſerie: and in the end (as a ſtep-father and an vncouth hireling) make vp his owne hand vpon the ruines of the Republicke. And according to their actions, ſo receiue they their reward: For a good King (after a happie and famous reigne) dieth in peace, lamented by his ſubiects, and admired by his neighbours; and leauing a reuerent renowne behinde him in earth, obtaineth the Crowne of eternall felicitie in heauen. And although ſome of them (which falleth out very rarelie) may be cut off by the treaſon of ſome vnnaturall ſubiects, yet liueth their fame after them, and ſome notable plague faileth neuer to ouertake the committers in this life, beſides their infamie to all poſterities hereafter: Where by the contrarie, a Tyrannes miſerable and infamous life, armeth in end his owne Subiects to become his burreaux: and although that rebellion be euer vnlawfull on their part, yet is the world ſo wearied of him, that his fall is little meaned by the reſt of his Subiects, and but ſmiled at by his neighbours. And beſides the infamous memorie he leaueth behind him here, and the endleſſe paine hee ſuſtaineth hereafter, it oft falleth out, that the committers not onely eſcape vnpuniſhed, but farther, the fact will remaine as allowed by the Law in diuers aages thereafter. It is eaſie then for you (my Sonne) to make a choiſe of one of theſe two ſorts of rulers, by following the way of vertue to eſtabliſh your ſtanding; yea, incaſe ye fell in the high way, yet ſhould it be with the honourable report, and iuſt regrate of all honeſt men.

The iſſue and rewards of a good King.

Cic.6.de Rep.

The iſſue of Tyrans, *Ariſt.5.Polit.*

Iſocr.in Sym.

And therefore to returne to my purpoſe anent the gouernement of your Subiects, by making and putting good Lawes to execution; I remit the making of them to your owne diſcretion, as ye ſhall finde the neceſſitie of new-riſing corruptions to require them: for, *ex malis moribus bonæ leges natæ ſunt*: beſides, that in this countrey, wee haue alreadie moe good Lawes then are well execute, and am onely to inſiſt in your forme of gouernment anent their execution. Onely remember, that as Parliaments haue bene ordained for making of Lawes, ſo ye abuſe not their inſtitution, in holding them for any mens particulars: For as a Parliament is the honourableſt and higheſt iudgement in the land (as being the Kings head Court) if it be well vſed, which is by making of good Lawes in it; ſo is it the in-iuſteſt Iudgement-ſeat that may be, being abuſed to mens particulars: irreuocable decreits againſt particular parties, being giuen therein vnder colour of generall Lawes, and oft-times th'Eſtates not knowing themſelues whom thereby they hurt. And therefore hold no Parliaments, but for neceſſitie of new Lawes, which would be but ſeldome: for few Lawes and well put in execution, are beſt in a well ruled common-weale. As for the

Anent the making of Lawes.

The authoritie and trew vſe of Parliaments.

L.12.Tab.

the matter of fore-faltures, which alſo are done in Parliament, it is not good tigging with theſe things; but my aduice is, ye fore-fault none but for ſuch odious crimes as may make them vnworthie euer to be reſtored againe: And for ſmaller offences, ye haue other penalties ſharpe enough to be vſed againſt them.

Cic. 3 de leg. pro D. ſ. & pro Seſt.

And as for the execution of good Lawes, whereat I left, remember that among the differences that I put betwixt the formes of the gouernment of a good King, and an vſurping Tyran; I ſhew how a Tyran would enter like a Saint while he found himſelfe faſt vnder-foot, and then would ſuffer his vnrulie affections to burſt foorth. Therefore be yee contrare at your firſt entrie to your Kingdome, to that *Quinquennium Neronis*, with his tender hearted wiſh, *Vellem neſcirem literas*, in giuing the Law full execution againſt all breakers thereof but exception. For ſince ye come not to your reigne *precariò*, nor by conqueſt, but by right and due diſcent; feare no vproares for doing of iuſtice, ſince ye may aſſure your ſelfe, the moſt part of your people will euer naturally fauour Iuſtice: prouiding alwaies, that ye doe it onely for loue to Iuſtice, and not for ſatisfying any particular paſſions of yours, vnder colour thereof: otherwiſe, how iuſtly that euer the offender deſerue it, ye are guiltie of murther before God: For ye muſt conſider, that God euer looketh to your inward intention in all your actions.

Anent the execution of Lawes.

A iuſt ſeueritie to be vſed at the firſt. *Sen. de cl. Ar. 7. pol.*

Plato 2. & 10 de Repub. Cic. ad Q. fr.

And when yee haue by the ſeueritie of Iuſtice once ſetled your countries, and made them know that ye can ſtrike, then may ye thereafter all the daies of your life mixe Iuſtice with Mercie, puniſhing or ſparing, as ye ſhall finde the crime to haue bene wilfully or raſhly committed, and according to the by-paſt behauiour of the committer. For if otherwiſe ye kyth your clemencie at the firſt, the offences would ſoone come to ſuch heapes, and the contempt of you grow ſo great, that when ye would fall to puniſh, the number of them to be puniſhed, would exceed the innocent; and yee would be troubled to reſolue whom-at to begin: and againſt your nature would be compelled then to wracke many, whom the chaſtiſement of few in the beginning might haue preſerued. But in this, my ouer-deare bought experience may ſerue you for a ſufficient leſſon: For I confeſſe, where I thought (by being gracious at the beginning) to win all mens hearts to a louing and willing obedience, I by the contrary found, the diſorder of the countrie, and the loſſe of my thankes to be all my reward.

A good mixture. *Plato in Pol. & 9. de L. Sal. orat. ad Cæſar.*

A deare preſident.

But as this ſeuere Iuſtice of yours vpon all offences would bee but for a time, (as I haue alreadie ſaid) ſo is there ſome horrible crimes that yee are bound in conſcience neuer to forgiue: ſuch as Witch-craft, wilfull murther, Inceſt, (eſpecially within the degrees of conſanguinitie) Sodomie, poiſoning, and falſe coine. As for offences againſt your owne perſon and authoritie, ſince the fault concerneth your ſelfe, I remit to your owne choiſe to puniſh or pardon therein, as your heart ſerueth you, and according to the circumſtances of the turne, and the qualitie of the committer.

Crimes vnpardonable.

Treaſon againſt the Prince his perſon, or authoritie.

Here would I alſo eike another crime to bee vnpardonable, if I ſhould

Stayning of the blood.

Exod.20.12.

Plat.4.de Legib.

not be thought partiall: but the fatherly loue I beare you, will make mee breake the bounds of ſhame in opening it vnto you. It is then, the falſe and vnreuerent writing or ſpeaking of malicious men againſt your Parents and Predeceſſors: ye know the command in Gods lawe, *Honour your Father and Mother*: and conſequently, ſen ye are the lawful magiſtrate, ſuffer not both your Princes and your Parents to be diſhonoured by any; eſpecially, ſith the example alſo toucheth your ſelfe, in leauing thereby to your ſucceſſors, the meaſure of that which they ſhal mete out againe to you in your like behalfe. I graunt wee haue all our faults, which, priuately betwixt you and God, ſhould ſerue you for examples to meditate vpon, and mend in your perſon; but ſhould not be a matter of diſcourſe to others whatſoeuer. And ſith ye are come of as honourable Predeceſſours as any Prince liuing, repreſſe the inſolence of ſuch, as vnder pretence to taxe a vice in the perſon, ſeeke craftily to ſtaine the race, and to ſteale the affection of the people from their poſteritie: For how can they loue you, that hated them whom-of ye are come? Wherefore deſtroy men innocent young ſucking Wolues and Foxes, but for the hatred they beare to their race? and why wil a coult of a Courſer of Naples, giue a greater price in a market, then an Aſſe-colt, but for loue of the race? It is therefore a thing monſtrous, to ſee a man loue the childe, and hate the Parents: as on the other part, the infaming and making odious of the parent, is the readieſt way to bring the ſonne in contempt. And for concluſion of this point, I may alſo alledge my owne experience: For beſides the iudgments of God, that with my eyes I haue ſeene fall vpon all them that were chiefe traitours to my parents, I may iuſtly affirme, I neuer found yet a conſtant biding by me in all my ſtraites, by any that were of perfite aage in my parents dayes, but onely by ſuch as conſtantly bode by them; I meane ſpecially by them that ſerued the Queene my mother: for ſo that I diſcharge my conſcience to you, my Sonne, in reuealing to you the trewth, I care not, what any traitour or treaſon-allower thinke of it.

Of oppreſſion.

Ariſt.5.polit. Iſocr. de reg. Cic. in Of. & ad Q. fr.

The trew glorie of Kings.

A memorable and worthie patterne.

Deut. 1.

And although the crime of oppreſſion be not in this ranke of vnpardonable crimes, yet the ouer-common vſe of it in this nation, as if it were a vertue, eſpecially by the greateſt ranke of ſubiects in the land, requireth the King to be a ſharpe cenſurer thereof. Be diligent therefore to trie, and awfull to beate downe the hornes of proud oppreſſours: embrace the quarrell of the poore and diſtreſſed, as your owne particular, thinking it your greateſt honour to repreſſe the oppreſſours: care for the pleaſure of none, neither ſpare ye anie paines in your owne perſon, to ſee their wrongs redreſſed: and remember of the honourable ſtile giuen to my grand-father of worthie memorie, in being called *the poore mans King*. And as the moſt part of a Kings office, ſtandeth in deciding that queſtion of *Meum* and *Tuum*, among his ſubiects; ſo remember when ye ſit in iudgement, that the Throne ye ſit on is Gods, as *Moyſes* ſaith, and ſway neither to the right hand nor to the left; either louing the rich, or pittying the poore. Iuſtice ſhould

bee

be blinde and friendleſſe: it is not there ye ſhould reward your friends, or ſeeke to croſſe your enemies.

Plat. in polit. Cic. ad Q. frat. Ariſt. 1. Ret. Plat. in If.

Here now ſpeaking of oppreſſours and of iuſtice, the purpoſe leadeth me to ſpeake of Hie-land and Border oppreſſions. As for the Hie-lands, I ſhortly comprehend them all in two ſorts of people: the one, that dwelleth in our maine land, that are barbarous for the moſt part, and yet mixed with ſome ſhewe of ciuilitie: the other, that dwelleth in the Iles, and are alluterly barbares, without any ſort or ſhew of ciuilitie. For the firſt ſort, put ſtraitly to execution the Lawes made alreadie by me againſt their Ouer-lords, and the chiefes of their Clannes, and it will be no difficultie to danton them. As for the other ſort, follow forth the courſe that I haue intended, in planting Colonies among them of anſwerable In-lands ſubiects, that within ſhort time may reforme and ciuilize the beſt inclined among them; rooting out or tranſporting the barbarous and ſtubborne ſort, and planting ciuilitie in their roomes.

Of the Hie-lands.

But as for the Borders, becauſe I know, if ye enioy not this whole Ile, according to Gods right and your lineall diſcent, yee will neuer get leaue to brooke this North and barrenneſt part thereof; no, not your owne head whereon the Crowne ſhould ſtand; I neede not in that caſe trouble you with them: for then they will be the middeſt of the Ile, and ſo as eaſily ruled as any part thereof.

Of the Borders.

And that yee may the readier with wiſedome and Iuſtice gouerne your ſubiects, by knowing what vices they are naturallie moſt inclined to, as a good Phyſician, who muſt firſt know what peccant humours his Patient naturallie is moſt ſubiect vnto, before he can begin his cure: I ſhall therefore ſhortly note vnto you, the principall faults that euery ranke of the people of this countrey is moſt affected vnto. And as for *England*, I will not ſpeake be-geſſe of them, neuer hauing been among them, although I hope in that God, who euer fauoureth the right, before I die, to be as well acquainted with their faſhions.

A neceſſarie point in a good gouernment. *Plato in polit.*

As the whole Subiects of our countrey (by the ancient and fundamentall policie of our Kingdome) are diuided into three eſtates, ſo is euerie eſtate hereof generally ſubiect to ſome ſpeciall vices; which in a maner by long habitude, are thought rather vertue then vice among them: not that euerie particular man in any of theſe rankes of men, is ſubiect vnto them, for there is good and euill of all ſorts; but that I meane, I haue found by experience, theſe vices to haue taken greateſt holde with theſe rankes of men.

A conſideration of the three eſtates.

And firſt, that I prejudge not the Church of her ancient priuiledges, reaſon would ſhee ſhould haue the firſt place for orders ſake, in this catalogue.

The naturall ſickeneſſe that hath euer troubled, and beene the decay of all the Churches, ſince the beginning of the world, changing the candleſticke from one to another, as *Iohn* ſaith, hath beene Pride, Ambition, and

The diſeaſes of the church.

Auarice: and now laſt, theſe ſame infirmities wrought the ouerthrow of the Popiſh Church, in this countrey and diuers others. But the reformation of Religion in *Scotland*, being extraordinarily wrought by God, wherin many things were inordinately done by a popular tumult and rebellion, of ſuch as blindly were doing the worke of God, but clogged with their owne paſſions and particular reſpects, as well appeared by the deſtruction of our policie, and not proceeding from the Princes order, as it did in our neighbour countrey of *England*, as likewiſe in *Denmarke*, and ſundry parts of *Germanie*; ſome fierie ſpirited men in the miniſterie, got ſuch a guiding of the people at that time of confuſion, as finding the guſt of gouernment ſweete, they begouth to fantaſie to themſelues a Democraticke forme of gouernment: and hauing (by the iniquitie of time) beene ouerwell baited vpon the wracke, firſt of my Grandmother, and next of mine owne mother, and after vſurping the libertie of the time in my long minoritie, ſetled themſelues ſo faſt vpon that imagined Democracie, as they fed themſelues with the hope to become *Tribuni plebis*: and ſo in a popular gouernment by leading the people by the noſe, to beare the ſway of all the rule. And for this cauſe, there neuer roſe faction in the time of my minoritie, nor trouble ſen-ſyne, but they that were vpon that factious part, were euer carefull to perſwade and allure theſe vnruly ſpirits among the miniſterie, to ſpouſe that quarrell as their owne: where-through I was oft-times calumniated in their populare Sermons, not for any euill or vice in me, but becauſe I was a King, which they thought the higheſt euill. And becauſe they were aſhamed to profeſſe this quarrel, they were buſie to look narrowly in all my actions; and I warrant you a mote in my eye, yea a falſe report, was matter enough for them to worke vpon: and yet for all their cunning, whereby they pretended to diſtinguiſh the lawfulneſſe of the office, from the vice of the perſon, ſome of them would ſometimes ſnapper out well groſſely with the trewth of their intentions, informing the people, that all Kings and Princes were naturally enemies to the libertie of the Church, and could neuer patiently beare the yoke of Chriſt: with ſuch ſound doctrine fed they their flockes. And becauſe the learned, graue, and honeſt men of the miniſterie, were euer aſhamed and offended with their temeritie and preſumption, preaſſing by all good meanes by their authoritie and example, to reduce them to a greater moderation; there could be no way found out ſo meete in their conceit, that were turbulent ſpirits among them, for maintaining their plots, as paritie in the Church: whereby the ignorants were emboldened (as bairdes) to crie the learned, godly, and modeſt out of it: paritie the mother of confuſion, and enemie to Vnitie, which is the mother of order: For if by the example thereof, once eſtabliſhed in the Eccleſiaſticall gouernment, the Politicke and ciuill eſtate ſhould be drawen to the like, the great confuſion that thereupon would ariſe, may eaſily be diſcerned. Take heede therefore (my Sonne) to ſuch Puritanes, verie peſtes in the Church and Common-weale, whom no deſerts

The occaſion of the Tribunat of ſome Puritanes.

Such were the Demagogi at Athens.

Their formes in the State.

Their razing the ground of the princely rule.

Their pretence of paritie.

ſerts can oblige, neither oathes or promiſes binde, breathing nothing but ſedition and calumnies, aſpiring without meaſure, railing without reaſon, and making their owne imaginations (without any warrant of the word) the ſquare of their conſcience. I proteſt before the great God, and ſince I am here as vpon my Teſtament, it is no place for me to lie in, that ye ſhall neuer finde with any Hie-land or Border-theeues greater ingratitude, and moe lies and vile periuries, then with theſe phanaticke ſpirits: And ſuffer not the principals of them to brooke your land, if ye like to ſit at reſt; except yee would keepe them for trying your patience, as *Socrates* did an euill wife.

An euill ſort of ſeed-men in the State.

Xantippe.

And for preſeruatiue againſt their poiſon, entertaine and aduance the godly, learned and modeſt men of the miniſterie, whom-of (God be praiſed) there lacketh not a ſufficient number: and by their prouiſion to Biſhoprickes and Benefices (annulling that vile acte of Annexation, if ye finde it not done to your hand) yee ſhall not onely baniſh their conceited paritie, whereof I haue ſpoken, and their other imaginarie grounds; which can neither ſtand with the order of the Church, nor the peace of a Commonweale and well ruled Monarchie: but ye ſhall alſo re-eſtabliſh the olde inſtitution of three Eſtates in Parliament, which can no otherwiſe be done. But in this I hope (if God ſpare me dayes) to make you a faire entrie, alwayes where I leaue, follow ye my ſteps.

Preſeruatiue againſt ſuch poiſon.

Parity incompatible with a Monarchie.

And to end my aduice anent the Church eſtate, cheriſh no man more then a good Paſtor, hate no man more then a proude Puritane; thinking it one of your faireſt ſtyles, to be called a louing nouriſh-father to the Church, ſeeing all the Churches within your dominions planted with good Paſtors, the Schooles (the ſeminarie of the Church) maintained, the doctrine and diſcipline preſerued in puritie, according to Gods word, a ſufficient prouiſion for their ſuſtentation, a comely order in their policie, pride puniſhed, humilitie aduanced, and they ſo to reuerence their ſuperiours, and their flockes them, as the flouriſhing of your Church in pietie, peace, and learning, may be one of the chiefe points of your earthly glory, being euer alike ware with both the extremities; as well as yee repreſſe the vaine Puritane, ſo not to ſuffer proude Papall Biſhops: but as ſome for their qualities will deſerue to bee preferred before others, ſo chaine them with ſuch bondes as may preſerue that eſtate from creeping to corruption.

Generall aduice in behalfe of the Church.

The next eſtate now that by order commeth in purpoſe, according to their rankes in Parliament, is the Nobilitie, although ſecond in ranke, yet ouer farre firſt in greatneſſe and power, either to doe good or euill, as they are inclined.

Of the Nobilitie and their formes.

The naturall ſickeneſſe that I haue perceiued this eſtate ſubiect to in my time, hath beene, a fectleſſe arrogant conceit of their greatnes and power; drinking in with their very nouriſh-milke, that their honor ſtood in committing three points of iniquitie: to thrall by oppreſſion, the meaner ſort

that dwelleth neere them, to their ſeruice and following, although they holde nothing of them: to maintaine their ſeruants and dependers in any wrong, although they be not anſwerable to the lawes (for any body will maintaine his man in a right cauſe) and for anie diſpleaſure, that they apprehend to be done vnto them by their neighbour, to take vp a plaine feide againſt him; and (without reſpect to God, King, or common-weale) to bang it out brauely, hee and all his kinne, againſt him and all his: yea they will thinke the King farre in their common, in-caſe they agree to grant an aſſurance to a ſhort day, for keeping of the peace: where, by their naturall dewtie, they are obliſhed to obey the lawe, and keepe the peace all the daies of their life, vpon the perill of their verie craigges.

Remedie of ſuch euils. *Ariſt. 5. Polit.*

For remeid to theſe euils in their eſtate, teach your Nobilitie to keepe your lawes as preciſely as the meaneſt: feare not their orping or beeing diſcontented, as long as yee rule well; for their pretended reformation of Princes taketh neuer effect, but where euill gouernement precedeth. Acquaint your ſelfe ſo with all the honeſt men of your Barrons and Gentlemen, and be in your giuing acceſſe ſo open and affable to euery ranke of honeſt perſons, as may make them peart without ſcarring at you, to make their owne ſuites to you themſelues, and not to employ the great Lordes their interceſſours; for interceſſion to Saints is Papiſtrie: ſo ſhall ye bring to a meaſure their monſtrous backes. And for their barbarous feides, put the lawes to due execution made by mee there-anent; beginning euer ratheſt at him that yee loue beſt, and is moſt obliſhed vnto you; to make him an example to the reſt. For yee ſhall make all your reformations to beginne at your elbow, and ſo by degrees to flow to the extremities of the land. And reſt not, vntill yee roote out theſe barbarous feides; that their effects may bee as well ſmoared downe, as their barbarous name is vnknowen to anie other nation: For if this Treatiſe were written either in French or Latine, I could not get them named vnto you but by circumlocution. And for your eaſier aboliſhing of them, put ſharpelie to execution my lawes made againſt Gunnes and traiterous Piſtolets; thinking in your heart, tearming in your ſpeech, and vſing by your puniſhments, all ſuch as weare and vſe them, as brigands and cut-throates.

Zeno in Cyr. Iſo. in Eu. Cic. ad Q. fra.

On the other part, eſchew the other extremitie, in lightlying and contemning your Nobilitie. Remember howe that errour brake the King my grand-fathers heart. But conſider that vertue followeth ofteſt noble blood: the worthineſſe of their anteceſſors craueth a reuerent regard to be had vnto them: honour them therfore that are obedient to the law among them, as Peeres and Fathers of your land: the more frequently that your Court can bee garniſhed with them; thinke it the more your honour; acquainting and employing them in all your greateſt affaires; ſen it is, they muſt be your armes and executers of your lawes: and ſo vſe your ſelfe louinglie to the obedient, and rigorouſly to the ſtubborne, as may make the greateſt of them to thinke, that the chiefeſt point of their honour, ſtan-

Plat. in 1. Al. in pol. & 5. de l. Ariſt. 2. œcon.

Zeno in Cyr.

deth

deth in ſtriuing with the meaneſt of the land in humilitie towards you, and obedience to your Lawes: beating euer in their eares, that one of the principall points of ſeruice that ye craue of them, is, in their perſons to practiſe, and by their power to procure due obedience to the Law, without the which, no ſeruice they can make, can be agreeable vnto you.

Of Shirefdomes and Regalities.

But the greateſt hinderance to the execution of our Lawes in this countrie, are theſe heritable Shirefdomes and Regalities, which being in the hands of the great men, do wracke the whole countrie: For which I know no preſent remedie, but by taking the ſharper account of them in their Offices; vſing all puniſhment againſt the ſlouthfull, that the Law will permit: and euer as they vaike, for any offences committed by them, diſpone them neuer heritably againe: preaſſing, with time, to draw it to the laudable cuſtome of England: which ye may the eaſilier doe, being King of both, as I hope in God ye ſhall.

Ar. 2. pol.

Laudable cuſtome of England.

The third eſtate.

And as to the third and laſt eſtate, which is our Burghes (for the ſmall Barrones are but an inferiour part of the Nobilitie and of their eſtate) they are compoſed of two ſorts of men; Merchants and Crafteſ-men: either of theſe ſorts being ſubiect to their owne infirmities.

The formes of Merchants.

The Merchants thinke the whole common-weale ordeined for making them vp; and accounting it their lawfull gaine and trade, to enrich themſelues vpon the loſſe of all the reſt of the people, they tranſport from vs things neceſſarie; bringing backe ſometimes vnneceſſary things, and at other times nothing at all. They buy for vs the worſt wares, and ſell them at the deareſt prices: and albeit the victuals fall or riſe of their prices, according to the aboundance or ſkantneſſe thereof; yet the prices of their wares euer riſe, but neuer fall: being as conſtant in that their euill cuſtome, as if it were a ſetled Law for them. They are alſo the ſpeciall cauſe of the corruption of the coyne, tranſporting all our owne, and bringing in forraine, vpon what price they pleaſe to ſet on it: For order putting to them, put the good Lawes in execution that are already made anent theſe abuſes; but eſpecially doe three things: Eſtabliſh honeſt, diligent, but few Searchers, for many hands make ſlight worke; and haue an honeſt and diligent Theſaurer to take count of them: Permit and allure forraine Merchants to trade here: ſo ſhall ye haue beſt and beſt cheape wares, not buying them at the third hand: And ſet euery yeere downe a certaine price of all things; conſidering firſt, how it is in other countries: and the price being ſet reaſonably downe, if the Merchants will not bring them home on the price, cry forrainers free to bring them.

Pl. 2. de Rep. 8. & 11. de leg.

A duice anent the coyne.

And becauſe I haue made mention here of the coyne, make your money of fine Gold and Siluer; cauſing the people be payed with ſubſtance, and not abuſed with number: ſo ſhall ye enrich the common-weale, and haue a great treaſure laid vp in ſtore, if ye fall in warres or in any ſtraites: For the making it baſer, will breed your commoditie; but it is not to bee vſed, but at a great neceſſitie.

And

Of craftſmen. *Plat. 11. de leg.*

A good policie of England.

Plat. 9. de leg.

A generall fault in the people.

Sal. in Iug.

Ariſt. 5. pol. Iſoc. in paneg.

Hor. de art. poet.

And the Craftes-men thinke, we ſhould be content with their worke, how bad and deare ſoeuer it be: and if they in any thing be controlled, vp goeth the blew-blanket: But for their part, take example by ENGLAND, how it hath flouriſhed both in wealth and policie, ſince the ſtrangers Craftes-men came in among them: Therefore not onely permit, but allure ſtrangers to come heere alſo; taking as ſtrait order for repreſſing the mutining of ours at them, as was done in ENGLAND, at their firſt in-bringing there.

But vnto one fault is all the common people of this Kingdome ſubiect, as well burgh as land; which is, to iudge and ſpeake raſhly of their Prince, ſetting the Common-weale vpon foure props, as wee call it; euer wearying of the preſent eſtate, and deſirous of nouelties. For remedie whereof (beſides the execution of Lawes that are to be vſed againſt vnreuerent ſpeakers) I know no better meane, then ſo to rule, as may iuſtly ſtop their mouthes from all ſuch idle and vnreuerent ſpeeches; and ſo to prop the weale of your people, with prouident care for their good gouernment, that iuſtly, *Momus* himſelfe may haue no ground to grudge at: and yet ſo to temper and mixe your ſeueritie with mildnes, that as the vniuſt railers may be reſtrained with a reuerent awe; ſo the good and louing Subiects, may not onely liue in ſuretie and wealth, but be ſtirred vp and inuited by your benigne courteſies, to open their mouthes in the iuſt praiſe of your ſo well moderated regiment. In reſpect whereof, and therewith alſo the more to allure them to a common amitie among themſelues, certaine dayes in the yeere would be appointed, for delighting the people with publicke ſpectacles of all honeſt games, and exerciſe of armes: as alſo for conueening of neighbours, for entertaining friendſhip and heartlineſſe, by honeſt feaſting and merrineſſe: For I cannot ſee what greater ſuperſtition can be in making playes and lawfull games in Maie, and good cheere at Chriſtmas, then in eating fiſh in Lent, and vpon Fridayes, the Papiſts as well vſing the one as the other: ſo that alwayes the Sabboths be kept holy, and no vnlawfull paſtime be vſed: And as this forme of contenting the peoples mindes, hath beene vſed in all well gouerned Republicks: ſo will it make you to performe in your gouernment that olde good ſentence,

Omne tulit punctum, qui miſcuit vtile dulci.

Ye ſee now (my Sonne) how for the zeale I beare to acquaint you with the plaine and ſingle veritie of all things, I haue not ſpared to be ſomething Satyricke, in touching well quickly the faults in all the eſtates of my kingdome: But I proteſt before God, I doe it with the fatherly loue that I owe to them all; onely hating their vices, whereof there is a good number of honeſt men free in euery eſtate.

And becauſe, for the better reformation of all theſe abuſes among your eſtates, it will be a great helpe vnto you, to be well acquainted with the nature and humours of all your Subiects, and to know particularly the eſtate

eſtate of euery part of your dominions; I would therefore counſell you, once in the yeere to viſite the principall parts of the countrey, ye ſhal be in for the time: and becauſe I hope ye ſhall be King of moe countries then this; once in the three yeeres to viſite all your Kingdomes; not lipening to Vice-royes, but hearing your ſelfe their complaints; and hauing ordinarie Councels and iuſtice-ſeates in euerie Kingdome, of their owne countriemen: and the principall matters euer to be decided by your ſelfe when ye come in thoſe parts.

Plat. in pol. & Min. Tacit. 7. an. Mart.

Ye haue alſo to conſider, that yee muſt not onely bee carefull to keepe your ſubiects, from receiuing anie wrong of others within; but alſo yee muſt be careful to keepe them from the wrong of any forraine Prince without: ſen the ſword is giuen you by God not onely to reuenge vpon your owne ſubiects, the wrongs committed amongſt themſelues; but further, to reuenge and free them of forraine iniuries done vnto them: And therefore warres vpon iuſt quarrels are lawful: but aboue all, let not the wrong cauſe be on your ſide.

Protection from forraine iniuries. *Xeno. 8. Cyr. Ariſt. 5 pol. Polib. 6. Dion. Hal. de Romul.*

Vſe all other Princes, as your brethren, honeſtly and kindely: Keepe preciſely your promiſe vnto them, although to your hurt. Striue with euerie one of them in courteſie and thankefulneſſe: and as with all men, ſo eſpecially with them, bee plaine and trewthfull; keeping euer that Chriſtian rule, *to doe as yee would be done to*: eſpecially in counting rebellion againſt any other Prince, a crime againſt your owne ſelfe, becauſe of the preparatiue. Supplie not therefore, nor truſt not other Princes rebels; but pittie and ſuccour all lawfull Princes in their troubles. But if any of them will not abſtaine, notwithſtanding what-ſoeuer your good deſerts, to wrong you or your ſubiects, craue redreſſe at leaſure; heare and doe all reaſon: and if no offer that is lawfull or honourable, can make him to abſtaine, nor repaire his wrong doing; then for laſt refuge, commit the iuſtneſſe of your cauſe to God, giuing firſt honeſtly vp with him, and in a publicke and honourable forme.

What formes to be vſed with other Princes. *Iſoc. in Plat. & Parag.*

Ariſt. ad A. Varr. 11. de V. P. R. Cic. 2. Of. Liu. lib. 4.

Liu. lib. 1. Cic. eod.

But omitting now to teach you the forme of making warres, becauſe that arte is largely treated of by many, and is better learned by practiſe then ſpeculation; I will onely ſet downe to you heere a few precepts therein. Let firſt the iuſtneſſe of your cauſe be your greateſt ſtrength; and then omitte not to vſe all lawfull meanes for backing of the ſame. Conſult therefore with no Necromancier nor falſe Prophet, vpon the ſucceſſe of your warres, remembring on king *Saules* miſerable end: but keepe your land cleane of all South-ſayers, according to the commaund in the Law of God, dilated by *Ieremie*. Neither commit your quarrell to bee tried by a Duell: for beſide that generally all Duell appeareth to bee vnlawful, committing the quarrell, as it were, to a lot; whereof there is no warrant in the Scripture, ſince the abrogating of the olde Lawe: it is ſpecially moſte vn-lawfull in the perſon of a King; who being a publicke perſon hath no power therefore to diſpoſe of himſelfe, in reſpect, that to his preſeruation

Of warre.

Prop. 4. Eleg. Lucan. 7. Varro 11. de V. P. R.

1. Sam. 31.

Deut. 18.

Plutar. in Sert. & Ant.

seruation or fall, the safetie or wracke of the whole common-weale is necessarily coupled, as the body is to the head.

Luke 14.

Before ye take on warre, play the wise Kings part described by Christ; fore-seeing how ye may beare it out with all necessarie prouision: especially remember, that money is *Neruus belli*. Choose old experimented Captaines, and yong able souldiers. Be extreamely strait and seuere in martiall Discipline, as well for keeping of order, which is as requisite as hardinesse in the warres, and punishing of slouth, which at a time may put the whole armie in hazard; as likewise for repressing of mutinies, which in warres are wonderfull dangerous. And looke to the *Spaniard*, whose great successe in all his warres, hath onely come through straitnesse of Discipline and order: for such errours may be committed in the warres, as cannot be gotten mended againe.

Thuc. 2. Sal in Iug. Cic. pro l. Man. Demost. olyn. 2. Liu. li. 30. Veget 1. Cæs. 1. & 3. de bel. ciuili. Prob. in Thras.

Be in your owne person walkrife, diligent and painefull; vsing the aduice of such as are skilfullest in the craft, as ye must also doe in all other. Be homely with your souldiers as your companions, for winning their hearts; and extreamly liberall, for then is no time of sparing. Be cold and foresee-ing in deuising, constant in your resolutions, and forward and quicke in your executions. Fortifie well your Campe, and assaile not rashly without an aduantage: neither feare not lightly your enemie. Be curious in deuising stratagems, but alwayes honestly: for of any thing they worke greatest effects in the warres, if secrecie be ioyned to inuention. And once or twise in your owne person hazard your selfe fairely; but, hauing acquired so the fame of courage and magnanimitie, make not a daily souldier of your selfe, exposing rashly your person to euery perill: but conserue your selfe thereafter for the weale of your people, for whose sake yee must more care for your selfe, then for your owne.

Cæs. 1. de bello ciu. Liu. l. 7. Xen. 1. & 5. Cyr. & de disc. mi. Xen. in Ages. Pol. l 5. Xen. 1. Cyr. Thuc. 5. Isoc. ad Phil. Pla 9. de leg. Liu. l. 22. & 31. Tac. 2. hist. Plut. de fort.

Of Peace.

And as I haue counselled you to be slow in taking on a warre, so aduise I you to be slow in peace-making. Before ye agree, looke that the ground of your warres be satisfied in your peace; and that ye see a good suretie for you and your people: otherwaies a honourable and iust warre is more tollerable, then a dishonourable and dis-aduantageous peace.

Isocr. in Arch. Polib. 3. Cic. 1. Of. & 7. Phil. Tac. 4. hist.

A Kings life must be exemplare.

But it is not enough to a good King, by the scepter of good Lawes well execute to gouerne, and by force of armes to protect his people; if he ioyne not therewith his vertuous life in his owne person, and in the person of his Court and company; by good example alluring his Subiects to the loue of vertue, and hatred of vice. And therefore (my Sonne) sith all people are naturally inclined to follow their Princes example (as I shewed you before) let it not be said, that ye command others to keepe the contrary course to that, which in your owne person ye practise, making so your wordes and deedes to fight together: but by the contrary, let your owne life be a law-booke and a mirrour to your people; that therein they may read the practise of their owne Lawes; and therein they may see, by your image, what life they should leade.

Pl. in pol. & 4. de leg.

And

And this example in your owne life and perſon, I likewiſe diuide in two parts: The firſt, in the gouernment of your Court and followers, in all godlineſſe and vertue: the next, in hauing your owne minde decked and enriched ſo with all vertuous qualities, that therewith yee may worthily rule your people: For it is not ynough that ye haue and retaine (as priſoners) within your ſelfe neuer ſo many good qualities and vertues, except ye employ them, and ſet them on worke, for the weale of them that are committed to your charge: *Virtutis enim laus omnis in actione conſiſtit.*

Plat. in Thea. & Euth.

Ariſt. 1. Eth. Cic. in Offic.

Of the Court.

Firſt then, as to the gouernment of your Court and followers, King *Dauid* ſets downe the beſt precepts, that any wiſe and Chriſtian King can practiſe in that point: For as yee ought to haue a great care for the ruling well of all your Subiects, ſo ought yee to haue a double care for the ruling well of your owne ſeruants; ſince vnto them yee are both a Politicke and Oeconomicke gouernour. And as euery one of the people will delite to follow the example of any of the Courteours, as well in euill as in good: ſo what crime ſo horrible can there be committed and ouer-ſeene in a Courteour, that will not be an exemplare excuſe for any other boldly to commit the like? And therfore in two points haue ye to take good heed anent your Court and houſhold: firſt, in chooſing them wiſely; next, in carefully ruling them whom ye haue choſen.

Pſal. 101.

Cic. ad Q. frat.

It is an olde and trew ſaying, That a kindly Auer will neuer become a good horſe: for albeit good education and company be great helpes to Nature, and education be therefore moſt iuſtly called *altera natura*, yet is it euill to get out of the fleſh, that is bred in the bone, as the olde prouerbe ſayth. Be very ware then in making choice of your ſeruants and companie; —— *Nam*

Plat. 5. de Leg.

Ariſt. 2. œcon.

Turpius eiicitur, quàm non admittitur hoſpes:

Ouid. 5. de Triſt.

and many reſpects may lawfully let an admiſſion, that will not be ſufficient cauſes of depriuation.

Of the choiſe of ſeruants.

All your ſeruants and Court muſt be compoſed partly of minors, ſuch as young Lords, to be brought vp in your company, or Pages and ſuch like; and partly of men of perfit aage, for ſeruing you in ſuch roumes, as ought to be filled with men of wiſedome and diſcretion. For the firſt ſort, ye can doe no more, but chooſe them within aage, that are come of a good and vertuous kinde, *In ſide parentum*, as Baptiſme is vſed: For though *anima non venit ex traduce*, but is immediatly created by God, and infuſed from aboue; yet it is moſt certaine, that vertue or vice will oftentimes, with the heritage, be transferred from the parents to the poſteritie, and runne on a blood (as the Prouerbe is) the ſickneſſe of the minde becomming as kindly to ſome races, as theſe ſickneſſes of the body, that infect in the ſeede: Eſpecially chooſe ſuch minors as are come of a trew and honeſt race, and haue not had the houſe whereof they are deſcended, infected with falſhood.

Ariſt. 1. & 5. polit.

Cic. ad Q. frat.

Witneſſe the experience of the late houſe of *Gowrie*.

Plat. 6. de Leg. Ariſt 2. œcon. & 1. pol.

And as for the other ſort of your companie and ſeruants, that ought to

Plat.6.de leg. Isocr. in pan. Arist 5. pol.

to be of perfit aage; first see that they be of a good fame and without blemish; otherwise, what can the people thinke, but that yee haue chosen a company vnto you, according to your owne humour, and so haue preferred these men, for the loue of their vices and crimes, that ye knew them to be guiltie of? For the people that see you not within, cannot iudge of you, but according to the outward appearance of your actions and companie, which onely is subiect to their sight: And next, see that they be indued with such honest qualities, as are meete for such offices, as ye ordaine them to serue in; that your iudgement may be knowen in imploying euery man according to his giftes: And shortly, follow good king *Dauids* counsell in the choise of your seruants, by setting your eyes vpon the faithfull and vpright of the land to dwell with you.

Dem.2. ph.

Plat.7. de Rep. 3. et 12. de Leg. Arist. 5. et 6. polit.

Psal.101.

A transmission of hereditarie kindnes.

But here I must not forget to remember, and according to my fatherly authoritie, to charge you to preferre specially to your seruice, so many as haue trewly serued me, and are able for it: the rest, honourably to reward them, preferring their posteritie before others, as kindliest: so shall ye not onely be best serued, (for if the haters of your parents cannot loue you, as I shewed before, it followeth of necessitie their louers must loue you) but further, ye shall kyth your thankefull memorie of your father, and procure the blessing of these olde seruants, in not missing their olde master in you; which otherwise would be turned in a prayer for me, and a curse for you. Vse them therefore when God shall call me, as the testimonies of your affection towards me; trusting and aduancing those fartherst, whom I found faithfullest: which ye must not discerne by their rewards at my hand (for rewards, as they are called *Bona fortunæ*, so are they subiect vnto fortune) but according to the trust I gaue them; hauing oft-times had better heart then hap to the rewarding of sundry: And on the other part, as I wish you to kyth your constant loue towards them that I loued, so desire I you to kyth in the same measure, your constant hatred to them that I hated: I meane, bring not home, nor restore not such, as ye finde standing banished or fore-faulted by me. The contrary would kyth in you ouer great a contempt of me, and lightnesse in your owne nature: for how can they be trew to the Sonne, that were false to the Father?

A domesticke and neere example.

But to returne to the purpose anent the choise of your seruants, yee shall by this wise forme of doing, eschew the inconuenients, that in my minoritie I fell in, anent the choise of my seruants: For by them that had the command where I was brought vp, were my seruants put vnto mee; not choosing them that were meetest to serue me, but whom they thought meetest to serue their turne about me, as kythed well in many of them at the first rebellion raised against mee, which compelled mee to make a great alteration among my seruants. And yet the example of that corruption made mee to be long troubled there-after with solliciters, recommending seruants vnto me, more for seruing in effect, their friends that put them in, then their master that admitted them. Let my example then

teach

teach you to follow the rules here set downe, choosing your seruants for your owne vse, and not for the vse of others: And since ye must bee *communis parens* to all your people, so choose your seruants indifferently out of all quarters; not respecting other mens appetites, but their owne qualities: For as ye must command all, so reason would, ye should be serued out of al, as ye please to make choice.

Arist. 2. pol.

But specially take good heed to the choice of your seruants, that ye preferre to the offices of the Crowne and estate: for in other offices yee haue onely to take heede to your owne weale; but these concerne likewise the weale of your people; for the which yee must bee answerable to God. Choose then for all these Offices, men of knowen wisedome, honestie, and good conscience; well practised in the points of the craft, that yee ordaine them for, and free of all factions and partialities; but specially free of that filthie vice of Flatterie, the pest of all Princes, and wracke of Republicks: For since in the first part of this Treatise, I fore-warned you to be at warre with your owne inward flatterer φιλαυτία, how much more should ye be at war with outward flatterers, who are nothing so sib to you, as your selfe is; by the selling of such counterfeit wares, onely preassing to ground their greatnesse vpon your ruines? And therefore bee carefull to preferre none, as yee will bee answerable to God, but onely for their worthinesse: But specially choose honest, diligent, meane, but responsall men, to bee your receiuers in money matters: meane I say, that ye may when yee please, take a sharpe account of their intromission, without perill of their breeding any trouble to your estate: for this ouersight hath beene the greatest cause of my mis-thriuing in money matters. Especially, put neuer a forrainer, in any principall office of estate: for that will neuer faile to stirre vp sedition and enuie in the countrey-mens hearts, both against you and him: But (as I saide before) if God prouide you with moe countries then this; choose the borne-men of euery countrey, to bee your chiefe counsellers therein.

Of the officers of the Crowne.
Plat. de rep. lib. Cic. ad Q. frat. Isoc. in Panath. ad Nic. & de pace. Thuc 6. Plutar. in pol.

Plat. in Phedr. & Menex. Arist. 5 pol. Isoc. in Sym. Tacit. 3. hist. Curt. 8.

Of publicke receiuers.

A speciall principle in policie.
Arist. 5. pol. Cic. ad Q. frat.

And for conclusion of my aduice anent the choice of your seruants, delight to be serued with men of the noblest blood that may bee had: for besides that their seruice shall breed you great good-will and least enuie, contrarie to that of start-vps; ye shall oft finde vertue follow noble races, as I haue said before speaking of the Nobilitie.

Plat. in 1. Al. in pol. & 5. de legib. Arist. 2. œcon.

Now, as to the other point, anent your gouerning of your seruants when yee haue chosen them; make your Court and companie to bee a patterne of godlinesse and all honest vertues, to all the rest of the people. Bee a daily watch-man ouer your seruants, that they obey your lawes precisely: For how can your lawes bee kept in the countrey, if they be broken at your eare? Punishing the breach thereof in a Courteour, more seuerely, then in the person of any other of your subiects: and aboue all, suffer none of them (by abusing their credite with you) to oppresse or wrong any of your subiects. Be homely or strange with them, as ye thinke

Gouernment of the Court.
Isocr. in Areop.

Idem in Panath.

Arist. 2. pol.

Tacit. 1. hiſt.

Val. lib. 2. Curt. 4.

Demoſt. 8 phil. Sal. in Cat. Liu. 22.

Tacit. eod. & 1. An.

The ground-ſtone of good gouernment.

Ar. 5. polit. Tacit. in Ag. Dion li. 52. Xeno. in Ageſ. Iſoc. in Sym. et ad Ph. Id. de permutat. Cic. ad Q. frat.

1. King. 10.

their behauiour deſerueth, and their nature may beare with. Thinke a quarrellous man a peſt in your companie. Bee carefull euer to preferre the gentileſt natured and truſtieſt, to the inwardeſt Offices about you, eſpecially in your chalmer. Suffer none about you to meddle in any mens particulars, but like the Turkes Ianiſares, let them know no father but you, nor particular but yours. And if any wil meddle in their kinne or friends quarrels, giue them their leaue: for ſince ye muſt be of no ſurname nor kinne, but equall to all honeſt men; it becommeth you not to bee followed with partiall or factious ſeruants. Teach obedience to your ſeruants, and not to thinke themſelues ouer-wiſe: and, as when any of them deſerueth it, ye muſt not ſpare to put them away, ſo, without a ſeene cauſe, change none of them. Pay them, as all others your ſubiects, with *præmium* or *pœna* as they deſerue, which is the very ground-ſtone of good gouernement. Employ euery man as ye thinke him qualified, but vſe not one in all things, leſt he waxe proude, and be enuied of his fellowes. Loue them beſt, that are plainneſt with you, and diſguiſe not the trewth for all their kinne: ſuffer none to be euill tongued, nor backbiters of them they hate: command a hartly and brotherly loue among all them that ſerue you. And ſhortly, maintaine peace in your Court, banniſh enuie, cheriſh modeſtie, banniſh deboſhed inſolence, foſter humilitie, and repreſſe pride: ſetting downe ſuch a comely and honourable order in all the points of your ſeruice; that when ſtrangers ſhall viſite your Court, they may with the Queene of *Sheba*, admire your wiſedome in the glorie of your houſe, and comely order among your ſeruants.

Of Mariage.

Gen. 2. 23.

But the principall bleſſing that yee can get of good companie, will ſtand in your marrying of a godly and vertuous wife: for ſhee muſt bee nearer vnto you, then any other companie, being *Fleſh of your fleſh, and bone of your bone*, as *Adam* ſaide of *Heuah*. And becauſe I know not but God may call mee, before ye be readie for Mariage; I will ſhortly ſet downe to you heere my aduice therein.

Preparation to mariage.

Firſt of all conſider, that Mariage is the greateſt earthly felicitie or miſerie, that can come to a man, according as it pleaſeth God to bleſſe or curſe the ſame. Since then without the bleſſing of GOD, yee cannot looke for a happie ſucceſſe in Mariage, yee muſt bee carefull both in your preparation for it, and in the choice and vſage of your wife, to procure the ſame. By your preparation, I meane, that yee muſt keepe your bodie cleane and vnpolluted, till yee giue it to your wife, whom-to onely it belongeth. For how can ye iuſtly craue to bee ioyned with a pure virgine, if your bodie be polluted? why ſhould the one halfe bee cleane, and the other defiled? And although I know, fornication is thought but a light and a veniall ſinne, by the moſt part of the world, yet remember well what I ſaid to you in my firſt Booke anent conſcience, and count euery ſinne and breach of Gods law, not according as the vaine world eſteemeth of it; but as God the Iudge and maker of the lawe accounteth of the ſame

Heare

Heare God commanding by the mouth of *Paul*, to *abstaine from fornication*, declaring that the *fornicator shall not inherite the Kingdome of heauen*: and by the mouth of *Iohn*, reckoning out fornication amongst other grieuous sinnes, that debarre the committers amongst *dogs and swine*, *from entry in that spirituall and heauenly Ierusalem*. And consider, if a man shall once take vpon him, to count that light, which God calleth heauie; and veniall that, which God calleth grieuous; beginning first to measure any one sinne by the rule of his lust and appetites, and not of his conscience; what shall let him to doe so with the next, that his affections shall stirre him to, the like reason seruing for all: and so to goe forward till he place his whole corrupted affections in Gods roome? And then what shall come of him; but, as a man giuen ouer to his owne filthy affections, shall perish into them? And becausе wee are all of that nature, that sibbest examples touch vs neerest, consider the difference of successe that God granted in the Mariages of the King my grand-father, and me your owne father: the reward of his incontinencie, (proceeding from his euill education) being the suddaine death at one time of two pleasant yong Princes; and a daughter onely borne to succeed to him, whom hee had neuer the hap, so much as once to see or blesse before his death: leauing a double curse behinde him to the land, both a Woman of sexe, and a new borne babe of aage to raigne ouer them. And as for the blessing God hath bestowed on mee, in granting me both a greater continencie, and the fruits following there-upon, your selfe, and sib folkes to you, are (praise be to God) sufficient witnesses: which, I hope the same God of his infinite mercie, shall continue and increase, without repentance to me and my posteritie. Be not ashamed then, to keepe cleane your body, which is the Temple of the holy Spirit, notwithstanding all vaine allurements to the contrary, discerning trewly and wisely of euery vertue and vice, according to the trew qualities therof, and not according to the vaine conceits of men.

1.Cor.6.10.

Reuel.22.15.

The dangerous effects of lust.

A domesticke example.

1.Cor.6.19.

As for your choise in Mariage, respect chiefly the three causes, wherefore Mariage was first ordeined by God; and then ioyne three accessories, so farre as they may be obtained, not derogating to the principalles.

The three causes it was ordeined for, are, for staying of lust, for procreation of children, and that man should by his Wife, get a helper like himselfe. Deferre not then to Marie till your aage: for it is ordeined for quenching the lust of your youth: Especially a King must tymouslie Marie for the weale of his people. Neither Marie yee, for any accessory cause or worldly respects, a woman vnable, either through aage, nature, or accident, for procreation of children: for in a King that were a double fault, aswell against his owne weale, as against the weale of his people. Neither also Marie one of knowne euill conditions, or vicious education: for the woman is ordeined to be a helper, and not a hinderer to man.

Mariage ordained for three causes. *Arist.7.pol.*

Id. eod.

The three accessories, which as I haue said, ought also to be respected, without derogating to the principall causes, are beautie, riches, and friend-

Accessory causes of mariage. *AEg.Ro.2.de reg.pr.*

ſhip by alliance, which are all bleſſings of God. For beautie increaſeth your loue to your Wife, contenting you the better with her, without caring for others: and riches and great alliance, doe both make her the abler to be a helper vnto you. But if ouer great reſpect being had to theſe acceſſories, the principall cauſes bee ouer-ſeene (which is ouer oft practiſed in the world) as of themſelues they are a bleſſing being well vſed; ſo the abuſe of them will turne them in a curſe. For what can all theſe worldly reſpects auaile, when a man ſhall finde himſelfe coupled with a diuel, to be one fleſh with him, and the halfe marrow in his bed? Then (though too late) ſhall he finde that beautie without bountie, wealth without wiſdome, and great friendſhip without grace and honeſtie; are but faire ſhewes, and the deceitfull maſques of infinite miſeries.

Matth. 13. A ſpecial caution in mariage.

But haue ye reſpect, my Sonne, to theſe three ſpeciall cauſes in your Mariage, which flow from the firſt inſtitution thereof, *& cætera omnia adjcientur vobis*. And therefore I would ratheſt haue you to Marie one that were fully of your owne Religion; her ranke and other qualities being agreeable to your eſtate. For although that to my great regrate, the number of any Princes of power and account, profeſſing our Religion, bee but very ſmall; and that therefore this aduice ſeemes to be the more ſtrait and difficile: yet ye haue deeply to weigh, and conſider vpon theſe doubts, how ye and your wife can bee of one fleſh, and keepe vnitie betwixt you, being members of two oppoſite Churches: diſagreement in Religion bringeth euer with it, diſagreement in maners; and the diſſention betwixt your Preachers and hers, wil breed and foſter a diſſention among your ſubiects, taking their example from your family; beſides the perill of the euill education of your children. Neither pride you that ye wil be able to frame and make her as ye pleaſe: that deceiued *Salomon* the wiſeſt King that euer was; the grace of Perſeuerance, not being a flowre that groweth in our garden.

For keeping the blood pure. *Pla. 5. de Rep. Cic. 2. de Diu. Ariſt. de gen. An. Lucr. 4.*

Remember alſo that Mariage is one of the greateſt actions that a man doeth in all his time, eſpecially in taking of his firſt Wife: and if hee Marie firſt baſely beneath his ranke, he will euer be the leſſe accounted of thereafter. And laſtly, remember to chooſe your Wife as I aduiſed you to chooſe your ſeruants: that ſhe be of a whole and cleane race, not ſubiect to the hereditary ſickneſſes, either of the ſoule or the body: For if a man wil be careful to breed horſes and dogs of good kinds, how much more careful ſhould he be, for the breed of his owne loines? So ſhal ye in your Mariage haue reſpect to your conſcience, honour, and naturall weale in your ſucceſſours.

Pl. 11. de leg. Iſ. in Sym.

When yee are Maried, keepe inuiolably your promiſe made to God in your Mariage; which ſtandeth all in doing of one thing, and abſtayning from another: to treat her in all things as your wife, and the halfe of your ſelfe; and to make your body (which then is no more yours, but properly hers) common with none other. I truſt I need not to inſiſt here to diſſwade you from the filthy vice of adulterie: remember onely what ſolemne promiſe yee make to God at your Mariage: and ſince it is onely by the

the force of that promiſe that your children ſucceed to you, which otherwayes they could not doe; æquitie and reaſon would, ye ſhould keepe your part thereof. God is euer a ſeuere auenger of all periuries; and it is no oath made in ieſt, that giueth power to children to ſucceed to great kingdomes. Haue the King my grand-fathers example before your eyes, who by his adulterie, bred the wracke of his lawfull daughter and heire; in begetting that baſtard, who vnnaturally rebelled, and procured the ruine of his owne Souerane and ſiſter. And what good her poſteritie hath gotten ſenſyne, of ſome of that vnlawfull generation, *Bothuell* his treacherous attempts can beare witneſſe. Keepe præciſely then your promiſe made at Mariage, as ye would wiſh to be partaker of the bleſſing therein.

Cic. 2. de leg.

And for your behauiour to your Wife, the Scripture can beſt giue you counſell therein: Treat her as your owne fleſh, command her as her Lord, cheriſh her as your helper, rule her as your pupill, and pleaſe her in all things reaſonable; but teach her not to be curious in things that belong her not: Ye are the head, ſhee is your body; It is your office to command, and hers to obey; but yet with ſuch a ſweet harmonie, as ſhee ſhould be as ready to obey, as ye to command; as willing to follow, as ye to go before; your loue being wholly knit vnto her, and all her affections louingly bent to follow your will.

Ariſt. 8. AEth. & 1 Pol. Xen. & Ariſt. in œco.

And to conclude, keepe ſpecially three rules with your Wife: firſt, ſuffer her neuer to meddle with the Politicke gouernment of the Commonweale, but holde her at the Oeconomicke rule of the houſe; and yet all to be ſubiect to your direction: keepe carefully good and chaſte company about her, for women are the fraileſt ſexe; and be neuer both angry at once, but when ye ſee her in paſſion, ye ſhould with reaſon danton yours: for both when yee are ſetled, ye are meeteſt to iudge of her errours; and when ſhe is come to her ſelfe, ſhe may be beſt made to apprehend her offence, and reuerence your rebuke.

Ariſt. 1 rhet. Plu. in Menon. AEgid. R. de reg. pr. Plu. 5. de Rep & 7. de leg.

If God ſend you ſucceſſion, be carefull for their vertuous education: loue them as ye ought, but let them know as much of it, as the gentleneſſe of their nature will deſerue; contayning them euer in a reuerent loue and feare of you. And in caſe it pleaſe God to prouide you to all theſe three Kingdomes, make your eldeſt ſonne *Iſaac*, leauing him all your kingdomes; and prouide the reſt with priuate poſſeſſions: Otherwayes by deuiding your kingdomes, yee ſhall leaue the ſeed of diuiſion and diſcord among your poſteritie; as befell to this Ile, by the diuiſion and aſſignement thereof, to the three ſonnes of *Brutus*, *Locrine*, *Albanact*, and *Camber*. But if God giue you not ſucceſſion, defraud neuer the neareſt by right, what-ſoeuer conceit yee haue of the perſon: For Kingdomes are euer at Gods diſpoſition, and in that caſe we are but liue-rentars, lying no more in the Kings, nor peoples hands to diſpoſſeſſe the righteous heire.

A Kings behauiour towards his children. *Plu. in Theſ. 4. & 5 de Rep. & 6. & 7. de l. Ariſt. 7. pol.*

A caution foreſhewing future diuiſion. *Polid. 1.*

Crownes come not in commerce.

And as your company ſhould be a paterne to the reſt of the people, ſo ſhould your perſon be a lampe and mirrour to your company: giuing light

Plu. in Pol. Cic. ad Q. frat.

to your ſeruants to walke in the path of vertue, and repreſenting vnto them ſuch worthie qualities, as they ſhould preaſſe to imitate.

The right vſe of temperance. *Ariſt. 5. pol. Pol. 6. Cic. 1. off. 2. de inuen. & in Par.*

I need not to trouble you with the particular diſcourſe of the foure Cardinall vertues, it is ſo troden a path: but I will ſhortly ſay vnto you, make one of them, which is Temperance, Queene of all the reſt within you. I meane not by the vulgar interpretation of Temperance, which onely conſiſts in *guſtu & tactu*, by the moderating of theſe two ſenſes: but, I meane of that wiſe moderation, that firſt commaunding your ſelfe, ſhall as a Queene, command all the affections and paſſions of your minde, and as a Phiſician, wiſely mixe all your actions according thereto. Therefore, not onely in all your affections and paſſions, but euen in your moſt vertuous actions, make euer moderation to be the chiefe ruler: For although holineſſe be the firſt and moſt requiſite qualitie of a Chriſtian, as proceeding from a feeling feare and trew knowledge of God: yet yee remember how in the concluſion of my firſt booke, I aduiſed you to moderate al your outward actions flowing there-fra. The like ſay I now of Iuſtice, which is the greateſt vertue that properly belongeth to a Kings office.

In holineſſe.

Iniuſtice. *Pla 4. de Leg. Ariſt. 1. mag. mor. Cic. 1. off. pro Rab. & ad Q. frat. Seneca de cl.*

Vſe Iuſtice, but with ſuch moderation, as it turne not in Tyrannie: otherwaies *ſummum Ius*, is *ſumma iniuria*. As for example: if a man of a knowen honeſt life, be inuaded by brigands or theeues for his purſe, and in his owne defence ſlay one of them, they beeing both moe in number, and alſo knowen to bee deboſhed and inſolent liuers; where by the contrarie, hee was ſingle alone, beeing a man of ſound reputation: yet becauſe they were not at the horne, or there was no eye-witneſſe preſent that could verifie their firſt inuading of him, ſhall hee therefore loſe his head? And likewiſe, by the law-burrowes in our lawes, men are prohibited vnder great pecuniall paines, from any wayes inuading or moleſting their neighbours perſon or bounds: if then his horſe breake the halter, and paſtour in his neighbours medow, ſhall he pay two or three thouſand pounds for the wantonneſſe of his horſe, or the weakneſſe of his halter? Surely no: for lawes are ordained as rules of vertuous and ſociall liuing, and not to bee ſnares to trap your good ſubiects: and therefore the lawe muſt be interpreted according to the meaning, and not to the literall ſenſe thereof: *Nam ratio eſt anima legis.*

Ariſt. 5. eth. & 1. rhet. Cicer. pro Cæc.

And as I ſaid of Iuſtice, ſo ſay I of Clemencie, Magnanimitie, Liberalitie, Conſtancie, Humilitie, and all other Princely vertues; *Nam in medio ſtat virtus*. And it is but the craft of the Diuell that falſly coloureth the two vices that are on either ſide thereof, with the borrowed titles of it, albeit in very deede they haue no affinitie therewith and the two extremities themſelues, although they ſeeme contrarie, yet growing to the height, runne euer both in one: For *in infinitis omnia concurrunt*; and what difference is betwixt extreame tyrannie, delighting to deſtroy all mankinde; and extreame ſlackeneſſe of puniſhment, permitting euery man to tyrannize ouer his companion? Or what differeth extreame prodiga-

The falſe ſemblance of extremities.

Their coincidence.

prodigalitie, by waſting of all to poſſeſſe nothing; from extreame niggardneſſe, by hoarding vp all to enioy nothing; like the Aſſe that carying victuall on her backe, is like to ſtarue for hunger, and will bee glad of thriſſels for her part? And what is betwixt the pride of a glorious *Nebuchadnezzar*, and the prepoſterous humilitie of one of the proud Puritanes, claiming to their Paritie, and crying, Wee are all but vile wormes, and yet will iudge and giue Law to their King, but will be iudged nor controlled by none? Surely there is more pride vnder ſuch a ones blacke bonnet, then vnder *Alexander* the great his Diademe, as was ſaid of *Diogenes* in the like caſe.

The right extention of a kings craft.

But aboue all vertues, ſtudy to know well your owne craft, which is to rule your people. And when I ſay this, I bid you know all crafts: For except ye know euery one, how can yee controll euery one, which is your proper office? Therefore beſides your education, it is neceſſarie yee delight in reading, and ſeeking the knowledge of all lawfull things; but with theſe two reſtrictions: firſt, that yee chooſe idle houres for it, not interrupting therewith the diſcharge of your office: and next, that yee ſtudie not for knowledge nakedly, but that your principall ende be, to make you able thereby to vſe your office; practiſing according to your knowledge in all the points of your calling: not like theſe vaine Aſtrologians, that ſtudie night and day on the courſe of the ſtarres, onely that they may, for ſatisfying their curioſitie, know their courſe. But ſince all Artes and ſciences are linked euery one with other, their greateſt principles agreeing in one (which mooued the Poets to faine the nine Muſes to be all ſiſters) ſtudie them, that out of their harmonie, ye may ſucke the knowledge of all faculties; and conſequently be on the counſell of all crafts, that yee may be able to containe them all in order, as I haue alreadie ſaid: For knowledge and learning is a light burthen, the weight whereof will neuer preſſe your ſhoulders.

Plat. in pol. 5. de Rep. & Epiſt. 7. Cic. ad Q. frat. & de or.

Id. 1. de fin.

Id. 1. Offic.

The Scripture. Deut. 17.

Firſt of all then, ſtudy to be well ſeene in the Scriptures, as I remembred you in the firſt booke; as well for the knowledge of your owne ſaluation, as that ye may be able to containe your Church in their calling, as *Cuſtos vtriuſque Tabulæ.* For the ruling them well, is no ſmall point of your office; taking ſpecially heede, that they vague not from their text in the Pulpit: and if euer ye would haue peace in your land, ſuffer them not to meddle in that place with the eſtate or policie; but puniſh ſeuerely the firſt that preſumeth to it. Doe nothing towards them without a good ground and warrant, but reaſon not much with them: for I haue ouermuch ſurfeited them with that, and it is not their faſhion to yeeld. And ſuffer no conuentions nor meetings among Church-men, but by your knowledge and permiſſion.

Of the Lawes municipall.

Next the Scriptures, ſtudie well your owne Lawes: for how can ye diſcerne by the thing yee know not? But preaſſe to draw all your Lawes and proceſſes, to be as ſhort and plaine as ye can: aſſure your ſelfe the long-

ſomneſſe

Plat. 4. de Rep. & 6. de Leg. Ariſt. 1. rhet.

Cic 1. de Orat. Sen in Lud. Reſort to the Seſſion.

Plat. in pol. Ariſt. 1. Rhet. Cic. ad Q. frat. Plut. in Iſ.

Xen. 1. Cyr.

But ſpecially to the ſecret Counſell.

Cic. ad Q. frat. Tac. 1. hiſt. Plut. in Demet.

Reading of hiſtories.

Plat. in Menon.

Ariſt. 1 Rhet. Polit. 1. Plut. in Timo. Cic. 2. de Or.

Eccleſ. 1.

Ezech. 1.

ſomneſſe both of rights and proceſſes, breedeth their vnſure looſeneſſe and obſcuritie, the ſhorteſt being euer both the ſureſt and plaineſt forme, and the longſomneſſe ſeruing onely for the enriching of the Aduocates and Clerkes, with the ſpoile of the whole countrey: And therefore delite to haunt your Seſſion, and ſpie carefully their proceedings; taking good heede, if any briberie may be tried among them, which cannot ouer ſeuerely be puniſhed. Spare not to goe there, for gracing that farre any that yee fauour, by your preſence to procure them expedition of Iuſtice; although that ſhould be ſpecially done, for the poore that cannot waite on, or are debarred by mightier parties. But when yee are there, remember the throne is Gods and not yours, that ye ſit in, and let no fauour, nor whatſoeuer reſpects mooue you from the right. Ye ſit not there, as I ſhewe before, for rewarding of friends or ſeruants, nor for croſſing of contemners, but onely for doing of Iuſtice. Learne alſo wiſely to diſcerne betwixt Iuſtice and equitie; and for pitie of the poore, rob not the rich, becauſe he may better ſpare it, but giue the little man the larger coat if it be his; eſchewing the errour of young *Cyrus* therein: For Iuſtice, by the Law, giueth euery man his owne; and equitie in things arbitrall, giueth euery one that which is meeteſt for him.

Be an ordinarie ſitter in your ſecret Counſell: that iudicature is onely ordained for matters of eſtate, and repreſſing of inſolent oppreſſions. Make that iudgement as compendious and plaine as ye can; and ſuffer no Aduocates to be heard there with their dilatours, but let euery partie tell his owne tale himſelfe: and wearie not to heare the complaints of the oppreſſed, *aut ne Rex ſis.* Remit euery thing to the ordinary iudicature, for eſchewing of confuſion: but let it be your owne craft, to take a ſharpe account of euery man in his office.

And next the Lawes, I would haue you to be well verſed in authentick hiſtories, and in the Chronicles of all nations, but ſpecially in our owne hiſtories (*Ne ſis peregrinus domi*) the example whereof moſt neerely concernes you: I meane not of ſuch infamous inuectiues, as *Buchanans* or *Knoxes* Chronicles: and if any of theſe infamous libels remaine vntill your dayes, vſe the Law vpon the keepers thereof: For in that point I would haue you a Pythagoriſt, to thinke that the very ſpirits of theſe archibellouſes of rebellion, haue made tranſition in them that hoardes their bookes, or maintaines their opinions; puniſhing them, euen as it were their authours riſen againe. But by reading of authenticke hiſtories and Chronicles, yee ſhall learne experience by Theoricke, applying the bypaſt things to the preſent eſtate, *quia nihil nouum ſub ſole*: ſuch is the continuall volubilitie of things earthly, according to the roundneſſe of the world, and reuolution of the heauenly circles: which is expreſſed by the wheeles in *Ezechiels* viſions, and counterfeited by the Poets *in rota Fortunæ.* And likewiſe by the knowledge of hiſtories, yee ſhall knowe how to behaue your ſelfe to all Embaſſadours and ſtrangers; being able

to

to discourse with them vpon the estate of their owne countrey. And among al prophane histories, I must not omit most specially to recommend vnto you, the Commentaries of *Cæsar*; both for the sweete flowing of the stile, as also for the worthinesse of the matter it selfe: For I haue euer beene of that opinion, that of all the Ethnick Emperors, or great Captaines that euer were, he hath farthest excelled, both in his practise, and in his precepts in martiall affaires.

As for the studie of other liberall artes and sciences, I would haue you reasonably versed in them, but not preassing to bee a passe-master in any of them: for that cannot but distract you from the points of your calling, as I shewed you before: and when, by the enemie winning the towne, yee shall bee interrupted in your demonstration, as *Archimedes* was; your people (I thinke) will looke very bluntly vpon it. I graunt it is meete yee haue some entrance, specially in the Mathematickes; for the knowledge of the arte militarie, in situation of Campes, ordering of battels, making Fortifications, placing of batteries, or such like. And let not this your knowledge be dead without fruites, as Saint *Iames* speaketh of Faith: but let it appeare in your daily conuersation, and in all the actions of your life.

Of the arts liberall. *Sen. ep. 84.*

Liu. l. 24. Plut. in Marc.

Of Mathematickes. *Pl. 7. de leg. Arist. 2. Meta.* Iam. 2. 17.

Embrace trew magnanimitie, not in beeing vindictiue, which the corrupted iudgements of the world thinke to be trew Magnanimitie; but by the contrarie, in thinking your offendour not worthie of your wrath, empyring ouer your owne passion, and triumphing in the commaunding your selfe to forgiue: husbanding the effects of your courage and wrath, to be rightly employed vpon repelling of iniuries within, by reuenge taking vpon the oppressours; and in reuenging iniuries without, by iust warres vpon forraine enemies. And so, where ye finde a notable iniurie, spare not to giue course to the torrents of your wrath. *The wrath of a King, is like to the roaring of a Lyon.*

Of magnanimitie. *Arist. 4. eth. Sen. de cl.*

Cic. 1. off. Virg. 6. Æn.

Prou. 20.

Foster trew Humilitie, in banishing pride, not onely towards God (considering yee differ not in stuffe, but in vse, and that onely by his ordinance, from the basest of your people) but also towards your Parents. And if it fall out that my Wife shall out-liue me, as euer ye thinke to purchase my blessing, honour your mother: set *Beersheba* in a throne on your right hand: offend her for nothing, much lesse wrong her: remember her

Of humilitie.

Plat. 4. de Leg. Xen. 2. de dict. & fact. Soc.

Quæ longa decem tulerit fastidia menses;

and that your flesh and blood is made of hers: and beginne not, like the young lordes and lairdes, your first warres vpon your Mother; but preasse earnestly to deserue her blessing. Neither deceiue your selfe with many that say, they care not for their Parents curse, so they deserue it not. O inuert not the order of nature, by iudging your superiours, chiefly in your owne particular! But assure your selfe, the blessing or curse of the Parents, hath almost euer a Propheticke power ioyned with it: and if there were no more, honour your Parents, for the lengthning of your owne dayes,

Exod. 20.

Exod.20. Xen.1.& 3. Cyr.

dayes, as GOD in his Law promiseth. Honour also them that are *in loco Parentum* vnto you, such as your gouernours, vp-bringers, and Præceptours: be thankefull vnto them and reward them, which is your dewtie and honour.

Cic.ad Q.frat.

But on the other part, let not this trew humilitie stay your high indignation to appeare, when any great oppressours shall præsume to come in your presence; then frowne as ye ought: And in-case they vse a colour of Law in oppressing their poore ones, as ouer-many doe; that which ye cannot mend by Law, mend by the withdrawing of your countenance from them: and once in the yeere crosse them, when their erands come in your way, recompencing the oppressour, according to Christs parable of the two debtours.

Arist. 5. pol.

Matth.18.

Of Constancie. Arist.4.etb. Thuc.3.6. Cic.1.Of.& ad Q.f. Brut.ad Cic.

Keepe trew Constancie, not onely in your kindenesse towards honest men; but being also *inuicti animi* against all aduersities: not with that Stoicke insensible stupiditie, wherewith many in our dayes, preassing to winne honour, in imitating that ancient sect, by their inconstant behauiour in their owne liues, belie their profession. But although ye are not a stocke, not to feele calamities; yet let not the feeling of them, so ouer-rule and doazen your reason, as may stay you from taking and vsing the best resolution for remedie, that can be found out.

Of Liberalitie. Cic.1.& 2.Of. Sal.in Iug. Sen.4.de ben.

Vse trew Liberalitie in rewarding the good, and bestowing frankly for your honour and weale: but with that proportionall discretion, that euery man may be serued according to his measure, wherein respect must be had to his ranke, deserts, and necessitie: And prouide how to haue, but cast not away without cause. In speciall, empaire not by your Liberalitie the ordinarie rents of your crowne; whereby the estate Royall of you, and your successours, must be maintained, *ne exhaurias fontem liberalitatis*: for that would euer be kept *sacrosanctum & extra commercium*: otherwaies, your Liberalitie would decline to Prodigalitie, in helping others with your, and your successours hurt. And aboue all, enrich not your selfe with exactions vpon your subiects; but thinke the riches of your people your best treasure, by the sinnes of offenders, where no præuention can auaile, making iustly your commoditie. And in-case necessitie of warres, or other extraordinaries compell you to lift Subsidies, doe it as rarely as ye can: employing it onely to the vse it was ordained for; and vsing your selfe in that case, as *fidus depositarius* to your people.

Isoc.epist.7. Xen.8.Cyr. Plut.Com.10.

Arist.5.pol.

Anent reporters. Isocr.ad Ph.in Panath.& de per. Cic.ad Q.fr. Plut.de curios.

And principally, exercise trew Wisedome; in discerning wisely betwixt trew and false reports: First, considering the nature of the person reporter; Next, what entresse he can haue in the weale or euill of him, of whom hee maketh the report; Thirdly, the likely-hood of the purpose it selfe; And last, the nature and by-past life of the dilated person: and where yee finde a tratler, away with him. And although it bee true, that a Prince can neuer without secrecie doe great things, yet it is better oft-times to try reports, then by credulitie to foster suspicion vpon an honest man.

man. For ſince ſuſpition is the Tyrants ſickeneſſe, as the fruites of an euill Conſcience, *potiùs in alteram partem peccato* : I meane, in not miſtruſting one, whom-to no ſuch vnhoneſtie was knowne before. But as for ſuch as haue ſlipped before, former experience may iuſtly breed præuention by fore-ſight. *Iſoc. de pac. Cic.3.Of.*

And to conclude my aduice anent your behauiour in your perſon; conſider that GOD is the authour of all vertue, hauing imprinted in mens mindes by the very light of nature, the loue of all morall vertues; as was ſeene by the vertuous liues of the old *Romanes*: and preaſſe then to ſhine as farre before your people, in all vertue and honeſtie; as in greatneſſe of ranke: that the vſe therof in all your actions, may turne, with time, to a naturall habitude in you; and as by their hearing of your Lawes, ſo by their ſight of your perſon, both their eyes and their eares, may leade and allure them to the loue of vertue, and hatred of vice. *Cicer.3.Tuſc.*

OF

OF A KINGS BEHAVIOVR IN INDIFFERENT THINGS.

THE THIRD BOOKE.

C.ph.8.3. de leg.Ouid.ad Lin. Quin.4.decl.

IT is a trew old saying, That a King is as one set on a stage, whose smallest actions and gestures, all the people gazingly doe behold: and therefore although a King be neuer so præcise in the discharging of his Office, the people, who seeth but the outward part, will euer iudge of the substance, by the circumstances; and according to the outward appearance, if his behauiour bee light or dissolute, will conceiue præ-occupied conceits of the Kings inward intention: which although with time, (the trier of all trewth,) it will euanish, by the euidence of the contrary effects, yet *interim patitur iustus*; and præiudged conceits will, in the meane time, breed contempt, the mother of rebellion and disorder. And besides that, it is certaine, that all the indifferent actions and behauiour of a man, haue a certaine holding and dependance, either vpon vertue or vice, according as they are vsed or ruled: for there is not a middes betwixt them, no more then betwixt their rewards, heauen and hell.

Arist.5.pol. Indifferent actions and their dependancie. *Plato in Phil. & 9.de leg.*

Be carefull then, my Sonne, so to frame all your indifferent actions and outward behauiour, as they may serue for the furtherance and forth-setting of your inward vertuous disposition.

Two sorts of them.

The whole indifferent actions of a man, I deuide in two sorts: in his behauiour in things necessary, as food, sleeping, raiment, speaking, writing, and gesture; and in things not necessary, though conuenient and lawfull, as pastimes or exercises, and vsing of company for recreation.

First sort, and how they be indifferent.

As to the indifferent things necessary, although that of themselues they cannot bee wanted, and so in that case are not indifferent; as likewise incase they bee not vsed with moderation, declining so to the extremitie, which is vice; yet the qualitie and forme of vsing them, may smell of vertue or vice, and be great furtherers to any of them.

To beginne then at the things necessarie; one of the publickest indifferent actions of a King, and that manifest, especially strangers, will narrowly

rowly take heed to; is his maner of refection at his Table, and his behauiour thereat. Therefore, as Kings vse oft to eate publickly, it is meete and honourable that ye also doe so, as well to eschew the opinion that yee loue not to haunt companie, which is one of the markes of a Tyrant; as likewise, that your delight to eate priuatlie, be not thought to be for priuate satisfying of your gluttonie; which ye would be ashamed should bee publicklie seene. Let your Table bee honourably serued; but serue your appetite with few dishes, as yong *Cyrus* did: which both is holesommest, and freest from the vice of delicacie, which is a degree of gluttonie. And vse most to eate of reasonablie-groffe, and common-meates; aswell for making your bodie strong and durable for trauell at all occasions, either in peace or in warre: as that yee may bee the heartlier receiued by your meane Subiects in their houses, when their cheare may suffice you: which otherwayes would be imputed to you for pride and daintinesse, and breed coldnesse and disdaine in them. Let all your food bee simple, without composition or sauces; which are more like medecines then meate. The vsing of them was counted amongst the ancient *Romanes* a filthie vice of delicacie; becausse they serue onely for pleasing of the taste, and not for satisfying of the necessitie of nature; abhorring *Apicius* their owne citizen, for his vice of delicacie and monsterous gluttonie. Like as both the *Grecians* and *Romanes* had in detestation the very name of *Philoxenus*, for his filthie wish of a Crane-craig. And therefore was that sentence vsed amongst them, against these artificiall false appetites, *optimum condimentum fames.* But beware with vsing excesse of meat and drinke; and chiefly, beware of drunkennesse, which is a beastlie vice, namely in a King: but specially beware with it, becausse it is one of those vices that increaseth with aage. In the forme of your meate-eating, bee neither vnciuill, like a grosse Cynicke; nor affectatlie mignarde, like a daintie dame; but eate in a manlie, round, and honest fashion. It is no wayes comely to dispatch affaires, or to be pensiue at meate: but keepe then an open and cheerefull countenance, causing to reade pleasant histories vnto you, that profite may be mixed with pleasure: and when ye are not disposed, entertaine pleasant, quicke, but honest discourses.

Formes at the Table. *Xen. in Cyr.*

Xen. 1. Cyr.

Plut. in Apoth.

Sen. ep. 96.

Sen. de consol. ad Alb. Iuuen. sat. 2.

Arist. 4 eth.

Xen. de dict. & fact. Socr.
Laert. in Socr.
Cic. 5. Tusc.
Plat. 6. de Leg.
Plin. l. 14.

Cic. 1. Off.

And becausse meat prouoketh sleeping, be also moderate in your sleepe; for it goeth much by vse: and remember that if your whole life were deuided in foure parts, three of them would be found to be consumed on meat, drinke, sleepe, and vnnecessarie occupations.

Of sleepe. *Pla. 7. de leg.*

But albeit ordinarie times would commonly bee kept in meate and sleepe; yet vse your selfe some-times so, that any time in the foure and twentie houres may bee alike to you for any of them; that thereby your diet may be accommodate to your affaires, and not your affaires to your diet: not therefore vsing your selfe to ouer great softnesse and delicacie in your sleepe, more then in your meate; and specially in-case yee haue adoe with the warres.

Best forme of diet. *Pla. 6. de leg.*

Formes in the Chalmer.

Let not your Chalmer be throng and common in the time of your reſt, aſwell for comelineſſe as for eſchewing of carrying reports out of the ſame. Let them that haue the credite to ſerue in your Chalmer, be truſtie and ſecret; for a King will haue need to vſe ſecrecie in many things: but yet behaue your ſelfe ſo in your greateſt ſecrets, as yee neede not bee aſhamed, ſuppoſe they were all proclaimed at the mercate croſſe: But ſpecially ſee that thoſe of your Chalmer be of a ſound fame, and without blemiſh.

Val. 2. Cur. 4.

Pla. 6. de leg.

Dreames not to be taken heede to.

Take no heede to any of your dreames, for all prophecies, viſions, and propheticke dreames are accompliſhed and ceaſed in Chriſt: And therefore take no heede to freets either in dreames, or any other things; for that errour proceedeth of ignorance, and is vnworthy of a Chriſtian, who ſhould be aſſured, *Omnia eſſe pura puris*, as *Paul* ſayth; all dayes and meates being alike to Chriſtians.

Rom. 14. Titus 1.

Of apparell.

Iſocr. de reg.

Next followeth to ſpeake of raiment, the on-putting whereof is the ordinarie action that followeth next to ſleepe. Be alſo moderate in your raiment, neither ouer ſuperfluous, like a deboſhed waſter; nor yet ouer baſe, like a miſerable wretch; not artificially trimmed and decked, like a Courtizane, nor yet ouer ſluggiſhly clothed, like a countrey clowne; not ouer lightly like a Candie ſouldier, or a vaine young Courtier; nor yet ouer grauely, like a Miniſter: but in your garments be proper, cleanely, comely and honeſt, wearing your clothes in a careleſſe, yet comely forme: keeping in them a middeforme, *inter Togatos & Paludatos*, betwixt the grauitie of the one, and lightneſſe of the other: thereby to ſignifie, that by your calling yee are mixed of both the profeſſions; *Togatus*, as a Iudge making and pronouncing the Law; *Paludatus*, by the power of the ſword: as your office is likewiſe mixed, betwixt the Eccleſiaſticall and ciuill eſtate: For a King is not *merè laicus*, as both the Papiſts and Anabaptiſts would haue him, to the which error alſo the Puritanes incline ouer farre. But to returne to the purpoſe of garments, they ought to be vſed according to their firſt inſtitution by God, which was for three cauſes: firſt to hide our nakedneſſe and ſhame; next and conſequently, to make vs more comely; and thirdly, to preſerue vs from the iniuries of heate and colde. If to hide our nakedneſſe and ſhamefull parts, then theſe naturall parts ordained to be hid, ſhould not be repreſented by any vndecent formes in the cloathes: and if they ſhould helpe our comelineſſe, they ſhould not then by their painted preened faſhion, ſerue for baites to filthie lecherie, as falſe haire and fairding does amongſt vnchaſt women: and if they ſhould preſerue vs from the iniuries of heat and colde, men ſhould not, like ſenſeleſſe ſtones, contemne God, in lightlying the ſeaſons, glorying to conquere honour on heate and colde. And although it be praiſe-worthy and neceſſarie in a Prince, to be *patiens algoris & æſtus*, when he ſhall haue adoe with warres vpon the fields; yet I thinke it meeter that ye goe both cloathed and armed, then naked to the battell, except you would make you light for away-running: and yet for cowards, *metus addit alas*. And ſhortly,

Cic. 1. Offic.

Plat. de rege.

in

in your cloathes keepe a proportion, aſwell with the ſeaſons of the yeere, as of your aage: in the faſhions of them being careleſſe, vſing them according to the common forme of the time, ſome-times richlier, ſome-times meanlier cloathed, as occaſion ſerueth, without keeping any preciſe rule therein: For if your mind be found occupied vpon them, it wil be thought idle otherwaies, and ye ſhall bee accounted in the number of one of theſe *compti iuuenes*; which wil make your ſpirit and iudgment to be leſſe thought of. But ſpecially eſchew to be effeminate in your cloathes, in perfuming, preening, or ſuch like: and faile neuer in time of warres to bee galliardeſt and braueſt, both in cloathes and countenance. And make not a foole of your ſelfe in diſguiſing or wearing long haire or nailes, which are but excrements of nature, and bewray ſuch miſuſers of them, to bee either of a vindictiue, or a vaine light naturall. Eſpecially, make no vowes in ſuch vaine and outward things, as concerne either meate or cloathes.

Cic. 1. Off.

Ar. ad Alex.

Let your ſelfe and all your Court weare no ordinarie armour with your cloathes, but ſuch as is knightly and honourable; I meane rapier-ſwordes, and daggers: For tuilyeſome weapons in the Court, betokens confuſion in the countrey. And therefore banniſh not onely from your Court, all traiterous offenſiue weapons, forbidden by the Lawes, as guns and ſuch like (whereof I ſpake alreadie) but alſo all traiterous defenſiue armes, as ſecrets, plate-ſleeues, and ſuch like vnſeene armour: For, beſides that the wearers thereof, may be preſuppoſed to haue a ſecret euill intention, they want both the vſes that defenſiue armour is ordained for; which is, to be able to holde out violence, and by their outward glaunſing in their enemies eyes, to ſtrike a terrour in their hearts: Where by the contrary, they can ſerue for neither, being not onely vnable to reſiſt, but dangerous for ſhots, and giuing no outward ſhowe againſt the enemie; beeing onely ordained, for betraying vnder truſt, whereof honeſt men ſhould be aſhamed to beare the outward badge, not reſembling the thing they are not. And for anſwere againſt theſe arguments, I know none but the olde Scots faſhion; which if it be wrong, is no more to be allowed for ancientneſſe, then the olde Maſſe is, which alſo our forefathers vſed.

What ordinarie armour to be worne at Court.

The next thing that yee haue to take heed to, is your ſpeaking and language; whereunto I ioyne your geſture, ſince action is one of the chiefeſt qualities, that is required in an oratour: for as the tongue ſpeaketh to the eares, ſo doeth the geſture ſpeake to the eyes of the auditour. In both your ſpeaking and your geſture, vſe a naturall and plaine forme, not fairded with artifice: for (as the French-men ſay) *Rien contre-faict fin*: but eſchew all affectate formes in both.

Of language and geſture.
Ariſt. 3. ad Theod.
Cic. in orat. ad Q. frat. & ad Bren.
Cic. 1. Offic.

In your language be plaine, honeſt, naturall, comely, cleane, ſhort, and ſententious, eſchewing both the extremities, aſwell in not vſing any ruſticall corrupt leide, as booke-language, and pen and inke-horne termes:

Id. ibid.

and leaſt of all mignard and effœminate tearmes. But let the greateſt part of your eloquence conſiſt in a naturall, cleare, and ſenſible forme of the deliuerie of your minde, builded euer vpon certaine and good grounds; tempering it with grauitie, quickeneſſe, or merineſſe, according to the ſubiect, and occaſion of the time; not taunting in Theologie, nor alleadging and prophaning the Scripture in drinking purpoſes, as ouer many doe.

Cic. ad Q. frat. & ad Brut.

Idem. 1. Off.

Vſe alſo the like forme in your geſture; neither looking ſillily, like a ſtupide pedant; nor vnſetledly, with an vncouth morgue, like a new-come-ouer Cavalier: but let your behauiour be naturall, graue, and according to the faſhion of the countrey. Be not ouer-ſparing in your courteſies, for that will be imputed to inciuilitie and arrogancie: nor yet ouer prodigall in iowking or nodding at euery ſtep: for that forme of being popular, becommeth better aſpiring *Abſalons*, then lawfull Kings: framing euer your geſture according to your preſent actions: looking grauely and with a maieſtie when yee ſit in iudgement, or giue audience to Embaſſadours, homely, when ye are in priuate with your owne ſeruants; merily, when ye are at any paſtime or merrie diſcourſe; and let your countenance ſmell of courage and magnanimitie when ye are at the warres. And remember (I ſay ouer againe) to be plaine and ſenſible in your language: for beſides that it is the tongues office, to be the meſſenger of the mind, it may be thought a point of imbecillitie of ſpirit in a King, to ſpeake obſcurely, much more vntrewly; as if he ſtood in awe of any in vttering his thoughts.

Phil. ad Alex. Cic. 2. Off.

Ariſt. 4. æth. Cic. ad At.

Iſoc. de reg. & in Enagr.

Cic. 3. Off.

Id. 1. Off.

Formes in reaſoning.

Remember alſo, to put a difference betwixt your forme of language in reaſoning, and your pronouncing of ſentences, or declaratour of your wil in iudgement, or any other waies in the points of your office: For in the former caſe, yee muſt reaſon pleaſantly and patiently, not like a king, but like a priuate man and a ſcholer; otherwaies, your impatience of contradiction will be interpreted to be for lacke of reaſon on your part. Where in the points of your office, ye ſhould ripely aduiſe indeede, before yee giue foorth your ſentence: but fra it be giuen foorth, the ſuffering of any contradiction diminiſheth the maieſtie of your authoritie, and maketh the proceſſes endleſſe. The like forme would alſo bee obſerued by all your inferiour Iudges and Magiſtrates.

In iudgment. *Iſoc. ad Nic. Cic. ad Q. frat.*

Of writing, and what ſtile fitteth a Prince.

Now as to your writing, which is nothing elſe, but a forme of en-regiſtrate ſpeech; vſe a plaine, ſhort, but ſtately ſtile, both in your Proclamations and miſſiues, eſpecially to forraine Princes. And if your engine ſpur you to write any workes, either in verſe or in proſe, I cannot but allow you to practiſe it: but take no longſome workes in hand, for diſtracting you from your calling.

Cic. 1. Off.

Flatter not your ſelfe in your labours, but before they bee ſet foorth, let them firſt bee priuily cenſured by ſome of the beſt skilled men in that craft, that in theſe workes yee meddle with. And becauſe your writes will remaine as true pictures of your minde, to all poſterities; let them bee free of

of all vncomelineſſe and vn-honeſtie: and according to *Horace* his counſell

——— *Nonumq; premantur in annum.*

De arte Poetica.

I meane both your verſe and your proſe; letting firſt that furie and heate, wherewith they were written, coole at leaſure; and then as an vncouth iudge and cenſour, reuiſing them ouer againe, before they bee publiſhed,

——*quia neſcit vox miſſa reuerti.*

Idem eod.

If yee would write worthily, chooſe ſubiects worthie of you, that bee not full of vanitie, but of vertue; eſchewing obſcuritie, and delighting euer to bee plaine and ſenſible. And if yee write in verſe, remember that it is not the principall part of a Poeme to rime right, and flowe well with many pretie wordes: but the chiefe commendation of a Poeme is, that when the verſe ſhall bee ſhaken ſundrie in proſe, it ſhall bee found ſo rich in quicke inuentions, and poeticke flowers, and in faire and pertinent compariſons; as it ſhall retaine the luſtre of a Poeme, although in proſe. And I would alſo aduiſe you to write in your owne language: for there is nothing left to be ſaide in Greeke and Latine alreadie; and ynew of poore ſchollers would match you in theſe languages; and beſides that, it beſt becommeth a King to purifie and make famous his owne tongue; wherein he may goe before all his ſubiects; as it ſetteth him well to doe in all honeſt and lawfull things.

Ar. de art. Poet.

And amongſt all vnneceſſarie things that are lawfull and expedient, I thinke exerciſes of the bodie moſt commendable to be vſed by a young Prince, in ſuch honeſt games or paſtimes, as may further abilitie and maintaine health: For albeit I graunt it to be moſt requiſite for a King to exerciſe his engine, which ſurely with idleneſſe will ruſte and become blunt; yet certainely bodily exerciſes and games are very commendable; as well for banniſhing of idleneſſe (the mother of all vice) as for making his bodie able and durable for trauell, which is very neceſſarie for a King. But from this count I debarre all rough and violent exerciſes, as the foote-ball; meeter for laming, then making able the vſers thereof: as likewiſe ſuch tumbling trickes as only ſerue for Comœdians and Balladines, to win their bread with. But the exerciſes that I would haue you to vſe (although but moderately, not making a craft of them) are running, leaping, wraſtling, fencing, dancing, and playing at the caitch or tenniſe, archerie, palle maillé, and ſuch like other faire and pleaſant field-games. And the honourableſt and moſt commendable games that yee can vſe, are on horſe-backe: for it becommeth a Prince beſt of any man, to be a faire and good horſe-man. Vſe therefore to ride and danton great and couragious horſes; that I may ſay of you, as *Philip* ſaid of great *Alexander* his ſonne, Μακεδονία σε χαιρεῖ. And ſpecially vſe ſuch games on horſe-backe, as may teach you to handle your armes thereon; ſuch as the tilt, the ring, and low-riding for handling of your ſword.

Of the exerciſe of the bodie.
Xen. 1. Cyr.

Plat. 6. de leg. Ar. 7. & 8. pol. Cic. 1. Off.

Pl. eod.

Xen. in Cyr. Iſ. de iug.

Plut. in Alex.

I cannot omit heere the hunting, namely with running hounds; which is the moſt honourable and nobleſt ſorte thereof: for it is a theeuiſh forme

Of hunting.

of hunting to ſhoote with gunnes and bowes; and greyhound hunting is not ſo martiall a game: But becauſe I would not be thought a partiall praiſer of this ſport, I remit you to *Xenophon*, an olde and famous writer, who had no minde of flattering you or me in this purpoſe: and who alſo ſetteth downe a faire paterne, for the education of a yong king, vnder the ſuppoſed name of *Cyrus*.

In Cyn. 1. Cyr. & de rep. Lac. Cic. 1. Offic.

Cyropædia.

As for hawking I condemne it not, but I muſt praiſe it more ſparingly, becauſe it neither reſembleth the warres ſo neere as hunting doeth, in making a man hardie, and skilfully ridden in all grounds, and is more vncertaine and ſubiect to miſchances; and (which is worſt of all) is therethrough an extreme ſtirrer vp of paſſions: But in vſing either of theſe games, obſerue that moderation, that ye ſlip not therewith the houres appointed for your affaires, which ye ought euer preciſely to keepe; remembring that theſe games are but ordained for you, in enabling you for your office, for the which ye are ordained.

Of hawking.

Ariſt. 10. Eth.

And as for ſitting houſe-paſtimes, wherewith men by driuing time, ſpurre a free and faſt ynough running horſe (as the prouerbe is) although they are not profitable for the exerciſe either of minde or body, yet can I not vtterly condemne them; ſince they may at times ſupply the roome, which being emptie, would be patent to pernicious idleneſſe, *quia nihil poteſt eſſe vacuum.* I will not therefore agree with the curioſitie of ſome learned men in our aage, in forbidding cardes, dice, and other ſuch like games of hazard; although otherwayes ſurely I reuerence them as notable and godly men: For they are deceiued therein, in founding their argument vpon a miſtaken ground, which is, that the playing at ſuch games, is a kind of caſting of lot, and therefore vnlawfull; wherein they deceiue themſelues: For the caſting of lot was vſed for triall of the trewth in any obſcure thing, that otherwayes could not be gotten cleared; and therefore was a ſort of prophecie: where by the contrary, no man goeth to any of theſe playes, to cleare any obſcure trewth, but onely to gage ſo much of his owne money, as hee pleaſeth, vpon the hazard of the running of the cardes or dice, aſwell as he would doe vpon the ſpeede of a horſe or a dog, or any ſuch like gaigeour: And ſo, if they be vnlawfull, all gaigeours vpon vncertainties muſt likewayes be condemned: Not that thereby I take the defence of vaine carders and dicers, that waſte their moyen, and their time (whereof fewe conſider the pretiouſneſſe) vpon prodigall and continuall playing: no, I would rather allow it to be diſcharged, where ſuch corruption cannot be eſchewed. But only I cannot condemne you at ſome times, when ye haue no other thing adoe (as a good King will be ſeldome) and are wearie of reading, or euill diſpoſed in your perſon, and when it is foule and ſtormie weather; then, I ſay, may ye lawfully play at the cardes or tables: For as to dicing, I thinke it becommeth beſt deboſhed ſouldiers to play at, on the head of their drums, being onely ruled by hazard, and ſubiect to knauiſh cogging. And as for the cheſſe, I thinke it ouer fond, becauſe

Of houſe-games.

Ariſt. 8. pol.

Dan. de luſ. al.

Cic. 1. Offic.

becauſe it is ouer-wiſe and Philoſophicke a folly: For where all ſuch light playes, are ordained to free mens heades for a time, from the faſhious thoughts on their affaires; it by the contrarie filleth and troubleth mens heades, with as many faſhious toyes of the play, as before it was filled with thoughts on his affaires.

Rules in playing.

But in your playing, I would haue you to keepe three rules: firſt, or ye play, conſider yee doe it onely for your recreation, and reſolue to hazard the loſſe of all that ye play: and next, for that cauſe play no more then yee care to caſt among Pages: and laſt, play alwaies faire play preciſely, that ye come not in vſe of tricking and lying in ieaſt: otherwiſe, if yee cannot keepe theſe rules, my counſell is that yee allutterly abſtaine from theſe playes: For neither a madde paſſion for loſſe, nor falſhood vſed for deſire of gaine, can be called a play.

What choiſe of companie.

Iſoc. de reg. Cic. 1. Off.

Now, it is not onely lawfull, but neceſſarie, that yee haue companie meete for euery thing yee take on hand, aſwell in your games and exerciſes, as in your graue and earneſt affaires: But learne to diſtinguiſh time according to the occaſion, chooſing your companie accordingly. Conferre not with hunters at your counſell, nor in your counſell affaires: nor diſpatch not affaires at hunting or other games. And haue the like reſpect to the ſeaſons of your aage, vſing your ſortes of recreation and companie therefore, agreeing thereunto: For it becommeth beſt, as kindlieſt, euery aage to ſmell of their owne qualitie, inſolence and vnlawful things beeing alwaies eſchewed: and not that a colt ſhould draw the plough, and an olde horſe run away with the harrowes. But take heede ſpecially, that your companie for recreation, be choſen of honeſt perſons, not defamed or vicious, mixing filthie talke with merrineſſe,

Corrumpunt bonos mores colloquia praua. *Ar. 2. ad Theod.*

Men.

And chiefly abſtaine from haunting before your mariage, the idle companie of dames, which are nothing elſe, but *irritamenta libidinis*. Bee warre likewaies to abuſe your ſelfe, in making your ſporters your counſellers: and delight not to keepe ordinarily in your companie, Comœdians or Balladines: for the Tyrans delighted moſt in them, glorying to bee both authors and actors of Comœdies and Tragedies themſelues: Wherupon the anſwere that the poet *Philoxenus* diſdainefully gaue to the Tyran of *Syracuſe* there-anent, is now come in a prouerbe, *reduc me in latomias*. And all the ruſe that *Nero* made of himſelfe when he died, was *Qualis artifex pereo?* meaning of his skill in menſtrally, and playing of Tragœdies: as indeede his whole life and death, was all but one Tragœdie.

Pl. 3. de rep. Ar. 7. & 8. pol. Sen. 1. ep. Dyon. Suidas. Suet. in Ner.

Delight not alſo to bee in your owne perſon a player vpon inſtruments; eſpecially on ſuch as commonly men winne their liuing with: nor yet to be fine of any mechanicke craft: *Leur eſprit s'en fuit au bout des doigts*, ſaith *Du Bartas*: whoſe workes, as they are all moſt worthie to bee read by any Prince, or other good Chriſtian; ſo would I eſpecially wiſh you to bee well verſed in them. But ſpare not ſome-times by merie company, to

1. Sep.

to be free from importunitie; for ye ſhould be euer mooued with reaſon, which is the onely qualitie whereby men differ from beaſts; and not with importunitie: For the which cauſe (as alſo for augmenting your Maieſtie) ye ſhall not be ſo facile of acceſſe-giuing at all times, as I haue beene; and yet not altogether retired or locked vp, like the Kings of *Perſia*: appointing alſo certaine houres for publicke audience.

Curt.8.

Liu.35. Xen.in Ageſ. Cic. ad Q. frat.

A ſpeciall good rule in gouernment.

And ſince my truſt is, that God hath ordained you for moe Kingdomes then this (as I haue oft alreadie ſaid) preaſſe by the outward behauiour as well of your owne perſon, as of your court, in all indifferent things, to allure piece and piece, the reſt of your kingdomes, to follow the fathions of that kingdome of yours, that yee finde moſt ciuill, eaſieſt to be ruled, and moſt obedient to the Lawes: for theſe outward and indifferent things will ſerue greatly for allurements to the people, to embrace and follow vertue. But beware of thrawing or conſtraining them thereto; letting it bee brought on with time, and at leiſure; ſpecially by ſo mixing through alliance and daily conuerſation, the inhabitants of euery kingdom with other, as may with time make them to grow and welde all in one: Which may eaſily be done betwixt theſe two nations, being both but one Ile of *Britaine*, and alreadie ioyned in vnitie of Religion and language. So that euen as in the times of our anceſtours, the long warres and many bloodie battels betwixt theſe two countreys, bred a naturall and hereditarie hatred in euery of them, againſt the other: the vniting and welding of them hereafter in one, by all ſort of friendſhip, commerce, and alliance, will by the contrary produce and maintaine a naturall and inſeparable vnitie of loue amongſt them. As we haue already (praiſe be to God) a great experience of the good beginning hereof, and of the quenching of the olde hate in the hearts of both the people; procured by the meanes of this long and happy amitie, betweene the Queene my deareſt ſiſter and me; which during the whole time of both our Reignes, hath euer beene inuiolably obſerued.

The fruitfull effects of the vnion.

Alreadie kything in the happy amitie.

Concluſion in forme of abridge of the whole Treatiſe.

And for concluſion of this my whole Treatiſe, remember my Sonne, by your trew and conſtant depending vpon God, to looke for a bleſſing to all your actions in your office: by the outward vſing thereof, to teſtifie the inward vprightneſſe of your heart; and by your behauiour in all indifferent things, to ſet foorth the viue image of your vertuous diſpoſition; and in reſpect of the greatneſſe and weight of your burthen, to be patient in hearing, keeping your heart free from præoccupation, ripe in concluding, and conſtant in your reſolution: For better it is to bide at your reſolution, although there were ſome defect in it, then by daily changing, to effectuate nothing: taking the paterne thereof from the microcoſme of your owne body; wherein ye haue two eyes, ſignifying great foreſight and prouidence, with a narrow looking in all things; and alſo two eares, ſignifying patient hearing, and that of both the parties: but ye haue but one tongue, for pronouncing a plaine, ſenſible, and vniforme ſentence; and but one head, and one heart, for keeping a conſtant & vniforme reſolution, according

Thuc.6. Dion.52.

according to your apprehenſion: hauing two hands and two feete, with many fingers and toes for quicke execution, in employing all inſtruments meet for effectuating your deliberations.

But forget not to digeſt euer your paſſion, before ye determine vpon any thing, ſince *Ira furor breuis eſt*: vttering onely your anger according to the Apoſtles rule, *Iraſcimini, ſed ne peccetis*: taking pleaſure, not only to reward, but to aduance the good, which is a chiefe point of a Kings glory (but make none ouer-great, but according as the power of the countrey may beare) and puniſhing the euill; but euery man according to his owne offence: not puniſhing nor blaming the father for the ſonne, nor the brother for the brother; much leſſe generally to hate a whole race for the fault of one: for *noxa caput ſequitur*.

Hor. lib. 1. epiſt.
Epheſ. 4.
Ariſt. 5. pol. Dion. 5 2.
Plat. 9. de leg.

And aboue all, let the meaſure of your loue to euery one, be according to the meaſure of his vertue; letting your fauour to be no longer tyed to any, then the continuance of his vertuous diſpoſition ſhall deſerue: not admitting the excuſe vpon a iuſt reuenge, to procure ouerſight to an iniurie: For the firſt iniurie is committed againſt the partie; but the parties reuenging thereof at his owne hand, is a wrong committed againſt you, in vſurping your office, whom to onely the ſword belongeth, for reuenging of all the iniuries committed againſt any of your people.

Thus hoping in the goodnes of God, that your naturall inclination ſhall haue a happy ſympathie with theſe precepts, making the wiſe-mans ſchole-maſter, which is the example of others, to bee your teacher, according to that old verſe, *Fœlix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum*; eſchewing ſo the ouer-late repentance by your owne experience, which is the ſchoole-maſter of fooles; I wil for end of all, require you my Sonne, as euer ye thinke to deſerue my fatherly bleſſing, to keepe continually before the eyes of your minde, the greatneſſe of your charge: making the faithfull and due diſcharge thereof, the principal butt ye ſhoot at in all your actions: counting it euer the principall, and all your other actions but as acceſſories, to be emploied as middeſſes for the furthering of that principall. And being content to let others excell in other things, let it be your chiefeſt earthly glory, to excell in your owne craft: according to the worthy counſel and charge of *Anchiſes* to his poſteritie, in that ſublime and heroicall Poet, wherein alſo my dicton is included;

Plat. in pol. Cic. 5. de rep.

Excudent alij ſpirantia mollius æra,
Credo equidem, & viuos ducent de marmore vultus,
Orabunt cauſas melius, cœlique meatus
Deſcribent radio, & ſurgentia ſydera dicent.
Tu, regere imperio populos, Romane, memento
(Hæ tibi erunt artes) pacique imponere morem,
" Parcere ſubiectis, & debellare ſuperbos.

Virg. 6. AEn.

THE TREW LAW OF FREE MONARCHIES:

OR

THE RECIPROCK AND MVTVALL DVETIE BETWIXT A FREE KING, AND HIS naturall Subiects.

AN ADVERTISEMENT TO THE READER.

Accept, I pray you (my deare countreymen) as thankefully this Pamphlet that I offer vnto you, as louingly it is written for your weale. I would be loath both to be faſchious, and fectleſſe: And therefore, if it be not ſententious, at leaſt it is ſhort. It may be yee miſſe many things that yee looke for in it: But for excuſe thereof, conſider rightly that I onely lay downe herein the trew grounds, to teach you the right-way, without waſting time vpon refuting the aduerſaries. And yet I truſt, if ye will take narrow tent, ye ſhall finde moſt of their great gunnes payed home againe, either with contrary concluſions, or tacite obiections, ſuppoſe in a dairned forme, and indirectly: For my intention

tention is to inſtruct, and not irritat, if I may eſchew it. The profite I would wiſh you to make of it, is, as well ſo to frame all your actions according to theſe grounds, as may confirme you in the courſe of honeſt and obedient Subiects to your King in all times comming, as alſo, when ye ſhall fall in purpoſe with any that ſhall praiſe or excuſe the by-paſt rebellions that brake foorth either in this countrey, or in any other, ye ſhall herewith bee armed againſt their Sirene ſongs, laying their particular examples to the ſquare of theſe grounds. Whereby yee ſhall ſoundly keepe the courſe of righteous Iudgement, decerning wiſely of euery action onely according to the qualitie thereof, and not according to your preiudged conceits of the committers: So ſhall ye, by reaping profit to your ſelues, turne my paine into pleaſure. But leaſt the whole Pamphlet runne out at the gaping mouth of this Preface, if it were any more enlarged; I end, with committing you to God, and me to your charitable cenſures.

C. Φιλόπατρις.

THE

THE TREW LAW OF FREE MONARCHIES:

OR

The Reciprock and mutuall duetie betwixt a free King and his naturall Subiects.

AS there is not a thing ſo neceſſarie to be knowne by the people of any land, next the knowledge of their God, as the right knowledge of their allea-geance, according to the forme of gouernement eſtabliſhed among them, eſpecially in a *Monarchie* (which forme of gouernment, as reſembling the Diuinitie, approcheth neareſt to perfection, as all the learned and wiſe men from the beginning haue agreed vpon; Vnitie being the perfection of all things,) So hath the ignorance, and (which is worſe) the ſeduced opi-nion of the multitude blinded by them, who thinke themſelues able to teach and inſtruct the ignorants, procured the wracke and ouerthrow of ſundry flouriſhing Common-wealths; and heaped heauy calamities, threat-ning vtter deſtruction vpon others. And the ſmiling ſucceſſe, that vnlaw-full rebellions haue oftentimes had againſt Princes in aages paſt (ſuch hath bene the miſery, and iniquitie of the time) hath by way of practiſe ſtrength-ned many in their errour: albeit there cannot be a more deceiueable argu-ment; then to iudge ay the iuſtneſſe of the cauſe by the euent thereof; as hereafter ſhalbe proued more at length. And among others, no Common-wealth, that euer hath bene ſince the beginning, hath had greater need of the trew knowledge of this ground, then this our ſo long diſordered, and diſtracted Common-wealth hath: the misknowledge hereof being the onely ſpring, from whence haue flowed ſo many endleſſe calamities, miſe-ries, and confuſions, as is better felt by many, then the cauſe thereof well knowne, and deepely conſidered. The naturall zeale therefore, that I beare to this my natiue countrie, with the great pittie I haue to ſee the ſo-long di-ſturbance thereof for lacke of the trew knowledge of this ground (as I haue ſaid before) hath compelled me at laſt to breake ſilence, to diſcharge my

conſcience to you my deare country men herein, that knowing the ground from whence theſe your many endleſſe troubles haue proceeded, as well as ye haue already too-long taſted the bitter fruites thereof, ye may by knowledge, and eſchewing of the cauſe eſcape, and diuert the lamentable effects that euer neceſſarily follow thereupon. I haue choſen then onely to ſet downe in this ſhort Treatiſe, the trew grounds of the mutuall duetie, and alleageance betwixt a free and abſolute *Monarche*, and his people; not to trouble your patience with anſwering the contrary propoſitions, which ſome haue not bene aſhamed to ſet downe in writ, to the poyſoning of infinite number of ſimple ſoules, and their owne perpetuall, and well deſerued infamie: For by anſwering them, I could not haue eſchewed whiles to pick, and byte wel ſaltly their perſons; which would rather haue bred contentiouſneſſe among the readers (as they had liked or miſliked) then ſound inſtruction of the trewth: Which I proteſt to him that is the ſearcher of all hearts, is the onely marke that I ſhoot at herein.

Firſt then, I will ſet downe the trew grounds, whereupon I am to build, out of the Scriptures, ſince *Monarchie* is the trew paterne of Diuinitie, as I haue already ſaid: next, from the fundamental Lawes of our owne Kingdome, which neareſt muſt concerne vs: thirdly, from the law of Nature, by diuers ſimilitudes drawne out of the ſame: and will conclude ſyne by anſwering the moſt waighty and appearing incommodities that can be obiected.

The Princes duetie to his Subiects is ſo clearely ſet downe in many places of the Scriptures, and ſo openly confeſſed by all the good Princes, according to their oath in their Coronation, as not needing to be long therein, I ſhall as ſhortly as I can runne through it.

Pſal. 82. 6. Kings are called Gods by the propheticall King *Dauid*, becauſe they ſit vpon GOD his Throne in the earth, and haue the count of their adminiſtration to giue vnto him. Their office is, *To miniſter Iuſtice and Iudgement to the people*, as the ſame *Dauid* ſaith: *To aduance the good, and puniſh the euill*, as he likewiſe ſaith: *To eſtabliſh good Lawes to his people, and procure obedience to the ſame*, as diuers good Kings of *Iudah* did: *To procure the peace of the people*, as the ſame *Dauid* ſaith: *To decide all controuerſies that can ariſe among them*, as *Salomon* did: *To be the Miniſter of God for the weale of them that doe well, and as the miniſter of God, to take vengeance vpon them that doe euill*, as S. *Paul* ſaith. And finally, *As a good Paſtour, to goe out and in before his people* as is ſaid in the firſt of *Samuel*: *That through the Princes proſperitie, the peoples peace may be procured*, as *Ieremie* ſaith.

Pſal. 101.
Pſal. 101.
2. King. 18.
2. Chron. 29.
2. King. 22. and 23. 2. chro. 34. & 35.
Pſal. 72.
1. King 3.
Rom. 13.
1. Sam. 8.
Ierem. 29.

And therefore in the Coronation of our owne Kings, as well as of euery Chriſtian *Monarche* they giue their Oath, firſt to maintaine the Religion preſently profeſſed within their countrie, according to their lawes, whereby it is eſtabliſhed, and to puniſh all thoſe that ſhould preſſe to alter, or diſturbe the profeſſion thereof; And next to maintaine all the lowable and good Lawes made by their predeceſſours: to ſee them put in execution, and

and the breakers and violaters thereof, to be punished, according to the tenour of the same: And lastly, to maintaine the whole countrey, and euery state therein, in all their ancient Priuiledges and Liberties, as well against all forreine enemies, as among themselues: And shortly to procure the weale and flourishing of his people, not onely in maintaining and putting to execution the olde lowable lawes of the countrey, and by establishing of new (as necessitie and euill maners will require) but by all other meanes possible to fore-see and preuent all dangers; that are likely to fall vpon them, and to maintaine concord, wealth, and ciuilitie among them, as a louing Father, and careful watchman, caring for them more then for himselfe, knowing himselfe to be ordained for them, and they not for him; and therefore countable to that great God, who placed him as his lieutenant ouer them, vpon the perill of his soule to procure the weale of both soules and bodies, as farre as in him lieth, of all them that are committed to his charge. And this oath in the Coronation is the cleerest, ciuill, and fundamentall Law, whereby the Kings office is properly defined.

By the Law of Nature the King becomes a naturall Father to all his Lieges at his Coronation: And as the Father of his fatherly duty is bound to care for the nourishing, education, and vertuous gouernment of his children; euen so is the king bound to care for all his subiects. As all the toile and paine that the father can take for his children, will be thought light and well bestowed by him, so that the effect thereof redound to their profite and weale; so ought the Prince to doe towards his people. As the kindly father ought to foresee all inconuenients and dangers that may arise towards his children, and though with the hazard of his owne person presse to preuent the same; so ought the King towards his people. As the fathers wrath and correction vpon any of his children that offendeth, ought to be by a fatherly chastisement seasoned with pitie, as long as there is any hope of amendment in them; so ought the King towards any of his Lieges that offend in that measure. And shortly, as the Fathers chiefe ioy ought to be in procuring his childrens welfare, reioycing at their weale, sorrowing and pitying at their euill, to hazard for their safetie, trauell for their rest, wake for their sleepe; and in a word, to thinke that his earthly felicitie and life standeth and liueth more in them, nor in himselfe; so ought a good Prince thinke of his people.

As to the other branch of this mutuall and reciprock band, is the duety and alleageance that the Lieges owe to their King: the ground whereof, I take out of the words of *Samuel*, dited by Gods Spirit, when God had giuen him commandement to heare the peoples voice in chooſing and annointing them a King. And becauſe that place of Scripture being well vnderſtood, is ſo pertinent for our purpoſe, I haue inſert herein the very words of the Text.

9 NOw therefore hearken to their voice: howbeit yet testifie vnto them, and shew them the maner of the King, that shall raigne ouer them.

10 So Samuel tolde all the wordes of the Lord vnto the people that asked a King of him.

11 And he said, This shall be the maner of the King that shall raigne ouer you: he will take your sonnes, and appoint them to his Charets, and to be his horsemen, and some shall runne before his Charet.

12 Also, hee will make them his captaines ouer thousands, and captaines ouer fifties, and to eare his ground, and to reape his haruest, and to make instruments of warre, and the things that serue for his charets:

13 Hee will also take your daughters, and make them Apothicaries, and Cookes, and Bakers.

14 And hee will take your fields, and your vineyards, and your best Oliue trees, and giue them to his seruants.

15 And he will take the tenth of your seed, and of your Vineyards, and giue it to his Eunuches, and to his seruants.

16 And he will take your men-seruants, and your maid-seruants, and the chiefe of your yong men, and your asses, and put them to his worke.

17 He will take the tenth of your sheepe: and ye shall be his seruants.

18 And ye shall cry out at that day, because of your King, whom ye haue chosen you: and the Lord God will not heare you at that day.

19 But the people would not heare the voice of Samuel, but did say: Nay, but there shalbe a King ouer vs.

20 And we also will be like all other Nations, and our King shall iudge vs, and goe out before vs, and fight our battels.

That these words, and discourses of Samuel were dited by Gods Spirit, it needs no further probation, but that it is a place of Scripture; since the whole Scripture is dited by that inspiration, as *Paul* saith: which ground no good Christian will, or dare denie. Whereupon it must necessarily follow, that these speeches proceeded not from any ambition in *Samuel*, as one loath to quite the reines that he so long had ruled, and therefore desirous, by making odious the gouernment of a King, to dissuade the people from their farther importunate crauing of one: For, as the text proueth it plainly, he then conueened them to giue them a resolute grant of their demand, as God by his owne mouth commanded him, saying,

Hearken to the voice of the people.

And to presse to dissuade them frō that, which he then came to grant vnto them, were a thing very impertinent in a wise man; much more in the Prophet of the most high God. And likewise, it well appeared in all the course of his life after, that his so long refusing of their sute before came not of any ambition in him: which he well proued in praying, & as it were importuning God for the weale of *Saul*. Yea, after God had declared his reprobation vnto him, yet he desisted not, while God himselfe was wrath at his praying,

ing, and diſcharged his fathers ſuit in that errand. And that theſe words of *Samuel* were not vttered as a prophecie of *Saul* their firſt Kings defection, it well appeareth, as well becauſe we heare no mention made in the Scripture of any his tyrannie and oppreſſion, (which, if it had beene, would not haue been left vnpainted out therein, as well as his other faults were, as in a trew mirrour of all the Kings behauiours, whom it deſcribeth) as likewiſe in reſpect that *Saul* was choſen by God for his vertue, and meet qualities to gouerne his people: whereas his defection ſprung after-hand from the corruption of his owne nature, & not through any default in God, whom they that thinke ſo, would make as a ſtep-father to his people, in making wilfully a choiſe of the vnmeeteſt for gouerning them, ſince the election of that King lay abſolutely and immediatly in Gods hand. But by the contrary it is plaine, and euident, that this ſpeech of *Samuel* to the people, was to prepare their hearts before the hand to the due obedience of that King, which God was to giue vnto them; and therefore opened vp vnto them, what might be the intollerable qualities that might fall in ſome of their kings, thereby preparing them to patience, not to reſiſt to Gods ordinance: but as he would haue ſaid; Since God hath granted your importunate ſuit in giuing you a king, as yee haue elſe committed an errour in ſhaking off Gods yoke, and ouer-haſtie ſeeking of a King; ſo beware yee fall not into the next, in caſting off alſo raſhly that yoke, which God at your earneſt ſuite hath laid vpon you, how hard that euer it ſeeme to be: For as ye could not haue obtained one without the permiſſion and ordinance of God, ſo may yee no more, fro hee be once ſet ouer you, ſhake him off without the ſame warrant. And therefore in time arme your ſelues with patience and humilitie, ſince he that hath the only power to make him, hath the onely power to vnmake him, and ye onely to obey, bearing with theſe ſtraits that I now foreſhew you, as with the finger of God, which lieth not in you to take off.

And will ye conſider the very wordes of the text in order, as they are ſet downe, it ſhall plainely declare the obedience that the people owe to their King in all reſpects.

Firſt, God commandeth *Samuel* to doe two things: the one, to grant the people their ſuit in giuing them a king; the other, to forewarne them, what ſome kings will doe vnto them, that they may not thereafter in their grudging and murmuring ſay, when they ſhal feele the ſnares here fore-ſpoken; We would neuer haue had a king of God, in caſe when we craued him, hee had let vs know how wee would haue beene vſed by him, as now we finde but ouer-late. And this is meant by theſe words:

Now therefore hearken vnto their voice: howbeit yet teſtifie vnto them, and ſhew them the maner of the King that ſhall rule ouer them.

And next, *Samuel* in execution of this commandement of God, hee likewiſe doeth two things.

Firſt, hee declares vnto them, what points of iuſtice and equitie their king will breake in his behauiour vnto them: And next he putteth them

out of hope, that wearie as they will, they ſhall not haue leaue to ſhake off that yoke, which God through their importunitie hath laide vpon them. The points of equitie that the King ſhall breake vnto them, are expreſſed in theſe words:

11 *He will take your ſonnes, and appoint them to his Charets, and to be his horſemen, and ſome ſhall run before his Charet.*

12 *Alſo he will make them his captaines ouer thouſands, and captaines ouer fifties, and to eare his ground, and to reape his harueſt, and to make inſtruments of warre, and the things that ſerue for his charets.*

13 *He will alſo take your daughters, and make them Apothecaries, and Cookes, and Bakers.*

The points of Iuſtice, that hee ſhall breake vnto them, are expreſſed in theſe wordes:

14 *Hee will take your fields, and your vineyards, and your beſt Oliue trees, and giue them to his ſeruants.*

15 *And he will take the tenth of your ſeede, and of your vineyards, and giue it to his Eunuches and to his ſeruants: and alſo the tenth of your ſheepe.*

As if he would ſay; The beſt and nobleſt of your blood ſhall be compelled in lauiſh and ſeruile offices to ſerue him: And not content of his owne patrimonie, will make vp a rent to his owne vſe out of your beſt lands, vineyards, orchards, and ſtore of cattell: So as inuerting the Law of nature, and office of a King your perſons and the perſons of your poſteritie, together with your lands, and all that ye poſſeſſe ſhal ſerue his priuate vſe, and inordinate appetite.

And as vnto the next point (which is his fore-warning them, that, weary as they will, they ſhall not haue leaue to ſhake off the yoke, which God thorow their importunity hath laid vpon them) it is expreſſed in theſe words:

18 *And yee ſhall crie out at that day, becauſe of your King whom yee haue choſen you: and the Lord will not heare you at that day.*

As he would ſay; When ye ſhall finde theſe things in proofe that now I fore-warne you of, although you ſhall grudge and murmure, yet it ſhal not be lawful to you to caſt it off, in reſpect it is not only the ordinance of God, but alſo your ſelues haue choſen him vnto you, thereby renouncing for euer all priuiledges, by your willing conſent out of your hands, whereby in any time hereafter ye would claime, and call backe vnto your ſelues againe that power, which God ſhall not permit you to doe. And for further taking away of all excuſe, and retraction of this their contract, after their conſent to vnder-lie this yoke with all the burthens that hee hath declared vnto them, he craues their anſwere, and conſent to his propoſition: which appeareth by their anſwere, as it is expreſſed in theſe words:

19 *Nay, but there ſhalbe a King ouer vs.* 20 *And we alſo will be like all other nations: and our king ſhall iudge vs, and goe out before vs and fight our battels.*

As if they would haue ſaid; All your ſpeeches and hard conditions ſhall not skarre vs, but we will take the good and euill of it vpon vs, and we will

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be content to beare whatſoeuer burthen it ſhal pleaſe our King to lay vpon vs, aſwell as other nations doe. And for the good we will get of him in fighting our battels, we will more patiently beare any burthen that ſhall pleaſe him to lay on vs.

Now then, ſince the erection of this Kingdome and Monarchie among the Iewes, and the law thereof may, and ought to bee a paterne to all Chriſtian and well founded Monarchies, as beeing founded by God himſelfe, who by his Oracle, and out of his owne mouth gaue the law thereof: what liberty can broiling ſpirits, and rebellious minds claime iuſtly to againſt any Chriſtian Monarchie; ſince they can claime to no greater libertie on their part, nor the people of God might haue done, and no greater tyranny was euer executed by any Prince or tyrant, whom they can obiect, nor was here fore-warned to the people of God, (and yet all rebellion counterman-ded vnto them) if tyrannizing ouer mens perſons, ſonnes, daughters and ſeruants; redacting noble houſes, and men, and women of noble blood, to ſlauiſh and ſeruile offices; and extortion, and ſpoile of their lands and goods to the princes owne priuate vſe and commoditie, and of his courteours, and ſeruants, may be called a tyrannie?

And that this propoſition grounded vpon the Scripture, may the more clearely appeare to be trew by the practiſe oft prooued in the ſame booke, we neuer reade, that euer the Prophets perſwaded the people to rebell a-gainſt the Prince, how wicked ſoeuer he was.

When *Samuel* by Gods command pronounced to the ſame king *Saul*, that his kingdome was rent from him, and giuen to another (which in effect was a degrading of him) yet his next action following that, was peace-ably to turne home, and with floods of teares to pray to God to haue ſome compaſſion vpon him. 1. Sam. 15.

And *Dauid*, notwithſtanding hee was inaugurate in that ſame degraded Kings roome, not onely (when he was cruelly perſecuted, for no offence; but good ſeruice done vnto him) would not preſume, hauing him in his power, skantly, but with great reuerence, to touch the garment of the an-noynted of the Lord, and in his words bleſſed him: but likewiſe, when one came to him vanting himſelfe vntrewly to haue ſlaine *Saul*, hee, without forme of proces, or triall of his guilt, cauſed onely for guiltineſſe of his tongue, put him to ſodaine death. 1. Sam. 24. 2. Sam. 1.

And although there was neuer a more monſtrous perſecutor, and tyrant ~~nor~~ *Achab* was: yet all the rebellion, that *Elias* euer raiſed againſt him, was to flie to the wildernes: where for fault of ſuſtentation, he was fed with the Corbies. And I thinke no man will doubt but *Samuel*, *Dauid*, and *Elias*, had as great power to perſwade the people, if they had liked to haue employed their credite to vproares & rebellions againſt theſe wicked kings, as any of our ſeditious preachers in theſe daies of whatſoeuer religion, either in this countrey or in France, had, that buſied themſelues moſt to ſtir vp rebellion vnder cloake of religion. This farre the only loue of veritie, I proteſt, with-

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out hatred at their persons, haue mooued me to be somewhat satyricke.

And if any will leane to the extraordinarie examples of degrading or killing of kings in the Scriptures, thereby to cloake the peoples rebellion, as by the deed of *Iehu*, and such like extraordinaries: I answere, besides that they want the like warrant that they had, if extraordinarie examples of the Scripture shall bee drawne in daily practise; murther vnder traist as in the persons of *Ahud*, and *Iael*; theft, as in the persons of the *Israelites* comming out of *Egypt*; lying to their parents to the hurt of their brother, as in the person of *Iacob*, shall all be counted as lawfull and allowable vertues, as rebellion against Princes. And to conclude, the practise through the whole Scripture prooueth the peoples obedience giuen to that sentence in the law of God:

Thou shalt not rayle vpon the Iudges, neither speake euill of the ruler of thy people.

To end then the ground of my proposition taken out of the Scripture, let two speciall, and notable examples, one vnder the law, another vnder the Euangel, conclude this part of my alleageance. Vnder the lawe, *Ieremie* threatneth the people of God with vtter destruction for rebellion to *Nabuchadnezar* the king of Babel: who although he was an idolatrous persecuter, a forraine King, a Tyrant, and vsurper of their liberties; yet in respect they had once receiued and acknowledged him for their king, he not only commandeth them to obey him, but euen to pray for his prosperitie, adioyning the reason to it; because in his prosperitie stood their peace.

Ier. 27.

Iere. 29.

And vnder the Euangel, that king, whom *Paul* bids the *Romanes obey* and serue *for conscience sake*, was *Nero* that bloody tyrant, an infamie to his aage, and a monster to the world, being also an idolatrous persecuter, as the King of *Babel* was. If then Idolatrie and defection from God, tyranny ouer their people, and persecution of the Saints, for their profession sake, hindred not the Spirit of God to command his people vnder all highest paine to giue them all due and heartie obedience for conscience sake, giuing to *Cæsar* that which was *Cæsars*, and to God that which was Gods, as Christ saith; and that this practise throughout the booke of God agreeth with this lawe, which he made in the erection of that Monarchie (as is at length before deduced) what shameless presumption is it to any Christian people now adayes to claime to that vnlawfull libertie, which God refused to his owne peculiar and chosen people? Shortly then to take vp in two or three sentences, grounded vpon all these arguments, out of the lawe of God, the duetie, and alleageance of the people to their lawfull king, their obedience, I say, ought to be to him, as to Gods Lieutenant in earth, obeying his commands in all things, except directly against God, as the commands of Gods Minister, acknowledging him a Iudge set by GOD ouer them, hauing power to iudge them, but to be iudged onely by GOD, whom to onely hee must giue count of his iudgement; fearing him as their Iudge; louing him as their father; praying for him as their protectour; for his continuance, if

Iere. 13.

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he be good; for his amendement, if he be wicked; following and obeying his lawfull commaunds, eſchewing and flying his fury in his vnlawfull, without reſiſtance, but by ſobbes and teares to God, according to that ſentence vſed in the primitiue Church in the time of the perſecution.

Preces, & Lachrymæ ſunt arma Eccleſiæ.

Now, as for the deſcribing the alleageance, that the lieges owe to their natiue King, out of the fundamentall and ciuill Lawe, eſpecially of this countrey, as I promiſed, the ground muſt firſt be ſet downe of the firſt maner of eſtabliſhing the Lawes and forme of gouernement among vs; that the ground being firſt right laide, we may thereafter build rightly thereupon. Although it be trew (according to the affirmation of thoſe that pryde themſelues to be the ſcourges of Tyrants) that in the firſt beginning of Kings riſing among Gentiles, in the time of the firſt aage, diuers commonwealths and ſocieties of men chooſed out one among themſelues, who for his vertues and valour, being more eminent then the reſt, was choſen out by them, and ſet vp in that roome, to maintaine the weakeſt in their right, to throw downe oppreſſours, and to foſter and continue the ſocietie among men; which could not otherwiſe, but by vertue of that vnitie be wel done: yet theſe examples are nothing pertinent to vs; becauſe our Kingdome and diuers other Monarchies are not in that caſe, but had their beginning in a farre contrary faſhion.

For as our Chronicles beare witneſſe, this Ile, and eſpecially our part of it, being ſcantly inhabited, but by very few, and they as barbarous and ſcant of ciuilitie, as number, there comes our firſt King *Fergus*, with a great number with him, out of *Ireland*, which was long inhabited before vs, and making himſelfe maſter of the countrey, by his owne friendſhip, and force, as well of the *Ireland-men* that came with him, as of the countrey-men that willingly fell to him, hee made himſelfe King and Lord, as well of the whole landes, as of the whole inhabitants within the ſame. Thereafter he and his ſucceſſours, a long while after their being Kinges, made and eſtabliſhed their lawes from time to time, and as the occaſion required. So the trewth is directly contrarie in our ſtate to the falſe affirmation of ſuch ſeditious writers, as would perſwade vs, that the Lawes and ſtate of our countrey were eſtabliſhed before the admitting of a king: where by the contrarie ye ſee it plainely prooued, that a wiſe king comming in among barbares, firſt eſtabliſhed the eſtate and forme of gouernement, and thereafter made lawes by himſelfe, and his ſucceſſours according thereto.

The kings therefore in *Scotland* were before any eſtates or rankes of men within the ſame, before any Parliaments were holden, or lawes made: and by them was the land diſtributed (which at the firſt was whole theirs) ſtates erected and decerned, and formes of gouernement deuiſed and eſtabliſhed: And ſo it followes of neceſſitie, that the kings were the authors and makers of the Lawes, and not the Lawes of the kings. And to prooue this my aſſertion more clearly, it is euident by the rolles of our Chancellery (which

(which containe our eldeſt and fundamentall Lawes) that the King is *Dominus omnium bonorum*, and *Dominus directus totius Dominij*, the whole ſubiects being but his vaſſals, and from him holding all their lands as their ouer-lord, who according to good ſeruices done vnto him, chaungeth their holdings from tacke to few, from ward to blanch, erecteth new Baronies, and vniteth olde, without aduice or authoritie of either Parliament, or any other ſubalterin iudiciall ſeate: So as if wrong might bee admitted in play (albeit I grant wrong ſhould be wrong in all perſons) the King might haue a better colour for his pleaſure, without further reaſon, to take the land from his lieges, as ouer-lord of the whole, and doe with it as pleaſeth him, ſince all that they hold is of him, then, as fooliſh writers ſay, the people might vnmake the king, and put an other in his roome: But either of them as vnlawful, and againſt the ordinance of God, ought to be alike odious to be thought, much leſſe put in practiſe.

And according to theſe fundamentall Lawes already alledged, we daily ſee that in the Parliament (which is nothing elſe but the head Court of the king and his vaſſals) the lawes are but craued by his ſubiects, and onely made by him at their rogation, and with their aduice: For albeit the king make daily ſtatutes and ordinances, enioyning ſuch paines thereto as hee thinkes meet, without any aduice of Parliament or eſtates; yet it lies in the power of no Parliament, to make any kinde of Lawe or Statute, without his Scepter be to it, for giuing it the force of a Law: And although diuers changes haue beene in other countries of the blood Royall, and kingly houſe, the kingdome being reft by conqueſt from one to another, as in our neighbour countrey in *England*, (which was neuer in ours) yet the ſame ground of the kings right ouer all the land, and ſubiects thereof remaineth alike in all other free Monarchies, as well as in this: For when the Baſtard of *Normandie* came into *England*, and made himſelfe king, was it not by force, and with a mighty army? Where he gaue the Law, and tooke none, changed the Lawes, inuerted the order of gouernement, ſet downe the ſtrangers his followers in many of the old poſſeſſours roomes, as at this day well appeareth a great part of the Gentlemen in *England*, beeing come of the *Norman* blood, and their old Lawes, which to this day they are ruled by, are written in his language, and not in theirs: And yet his ſucceſſours haue with great happineſſe enioyed the Crowne to this day; Whereof the like was alſo done by all them that conqueſted them before.

And for concluſion of this point, that the king is ouer-lord ouer the whole lands, it is likewiſe daily proued by the Law of our hoordes, of want of Heires, and of Baſtardies: For if a hoord be found vnder the earth, becauſe it is no more in the keeping or vſe of any perſon, it of the law pertains to the king. If a perſon, inheritour of any lands or goods, dye without any ſort of heires, all his landes and goods returne to the king. And if a baſtard die vnrehabled without heires of his bodie (which rehabling onely lyes in the kings hands) all that hee hath likewiſe returnes to the king.

And

And as ye ſee it manifeſt, that the King is ouer-Lord of the whole land: ſo is he Maſter ouer euery perſon that inhabiteth the ſame, hauing power ouer the life and death of euery one of them: For although a iuſt Prince will not take the life of any of his ſubiects without a cleare law; yet the ſame lawes whereby he taketh them, are made by himſelfe, or his predeceſſours; and ſo the power flowes alwaies from him ſelfe; as by daily experience we ſee, good and iuſt Princes will from time to time make new lawes and ſtatutes, adioyning the penalties to the breakers thereof, which before the law was made, had beene no crime to the ſubiect to haue committed. Not that I deny the old definition of a King, and of a law; which makes the king to bee a ſpeaking law, and the Law a dumbe king: for certainely a king that gouernes not by his lawe, can neither be countable to God for his adminiſtration, nor haue a happy and eſtabliſhed raigne: For albeit it be trew that I haue at length prooued, that the King is aboue the law, as both the author and giuer of ſtrength thereto; yet a good king will not onely delight to rule his ſubiects by the lawe, but euen will conforme himſelfe in his owne actions thereuneto, alwaies keeping that ground, that the health of the common-wealth be his chiefe lawe. And where he ſees the lawe doubtſome or rigorous, hee may interpret or mitigate the ſame, leſt otherwiſe *Summum ius* bee *ſumma iniuria*: And therefore generall lawes, made publikely in Parliament, may vpon knowen reſpects to the King by his authoritie bee mitigated, and ſuſpended vpon cauſes onely knowen to him.

As likewiſe, although I haue ſaid, a good king will frame all his actions to be according to the Law; yet is hee not bound thereto but of his good will, and for good example-giuing to his ſubiects: For as in the law of abſtaining from eating of fleſh in *Lenton*, the king will, for examples ſake, make his owne houſe to obſerue the Law; yet no man will thinke he needs to take a licence to eate fleſh. And although by our Lawes, the bearing and wearing of hag-buts, and piſtolets be forbidden, yet no man can find any fault in the King, for cauſing his traine vſe them in any raide vpon the Borderers, or other malefactours or rebellious ſubiects. So as I haue alreadie ſaid, a good King, although hee be aboue the Law, will ſubiect and frame his actions thereto, for examples ſake to his ſubiects, and of his owne free-will, but not as ſubiect or bound thereto.

Since I haue ſo clearely prooued then out of the fundamentall lawes and practiſe of this country, what right & power a king hath ouer his land and ſubiects, it is eaſie to be vnderſtood, what allegeance & obedience his lieges owe vnto him; I meane alwaies of ſuch free Monarchies as our king is, and not of elective kings, and much leſſe of ſuch ſort of gouernors, as the dukes of *Venice* are, whoſe Ariſtocratick and limited gouernment, is nothing like to free Monarchies; although the malice of ſome writers hath not beene aſhamed to mis-know any difference to be betwixt them. And if it be not lawfull to any particular Lordes tenants or vaſſals, vpon whatſoeuer pretext,

pretext, to controll and diſplace their Maſter, and ouer-lord (as is clearer nor the Sunne by all Lawes of the world) how much leſſe may the ſubiects and vaſſals of the great ouer-lord the KING controll or diſplace him? And ſince in all inferiour iudgements in the land, the people may not vpon any reſpects diſplace their Magiſtrates, although but ſubaltern: for the people of a borough, cannot diſplace their Prouoſt before the time of their election: nor in Eccleſiaſticall policie the flocke can vpon any pretence diſplace the Paſtor, nor iudge of him: yea euen the poore Schoolemaſter cannot be diſplaced by his ſchollers: If theſe, I ſay (whereof ſome are but inferiour, ſubaltern, and temporall Magiſtrates, and none of them equall in any ſort to the dignitie of a King) cannot be diſplaced for any occaſion or pretext by them that are ruled by them: how much leſſe is it lawfull vpon any pretext to controll or diſplace the great Prouoſt, and great Schoole-maſter of the whole land: except by inuerting the order of all Law and reaſon, the commanded may be made to command their commander, the iudged to iudge their Iudge, and they that are gouerned, to gouerne their time about their Lord and gouernour.

And the agreement of the Law of nature in this our ground with the Lawes and conſtitutions of God, and man, already alledged, will by two ſimilitudes eaſily appeare. The King towards his people is rightly compared to a father of children, and to a head of a body compoſed of diuers members: For as fathers, the good Princes, and Magiſtrates of the people of God acknowledged themſelues to their ſubiects. And for all other well ruled Common-wealths, the ſtile of *Pater patriæ* was euer, and is commonly vſed to Kings. And the proper office of a King towards his Subiects, agrees very wel with the office of the head towards the body, and all members thereof: For from the head, being the ſeate of Iudgement, proceedeth the care and foreſight of guiding, and preuenting all euill that may come to the body or any part thereof. The head cares for the body, ſo doeth the King for his people. As the diſcourſe and direction flowes from the head, and the execution according thereunto belongs to the reſt of the members, euery one according to their office: ſo is it betwixt a wiſe Prince, and his people. As the iudgement comming from the head may not onely imploy the members, euery one in their owne office, as long as they are able for it; but likewiſe in caſe any of them be affected with any infirmitie muſt care and prouide for their remedy, in-caſe it be curable, and if otherwiſe, gar cut them off for feare of infecting of the reſt: euen ſo is it betwixt the Prince, and his people. And as there is euer hope of curing any diſeaſed member by the direction of the head, as long as it is whole; but by the contrary, if it be troubled, all the members are partakers of that paine, ſo is it betwixt the Prince and his people.

And now firſt for the fathers part (whoſe naturall loue to his children I deſcribed in the firſt part of this my diſcourſe, ſpeaking of the dutie that Kings owe to their Subiects) conſider, I pray you what duetie his children

owe

owe to him,& whether vpō any pretext whatſoeuer, it wil not be thought monſtrous and vnnaturall to his ſons,to riſe vp againſt him,to control him at their appetite, and when they thinke good to ſley him, or to cut him off, and adopt to themſelues any other they pleaſe in his roome: Or can any pretence of wickednes or rigor on his part be a iuſt excuſe for his children to put hand into him? And although wee ſee by the courſe of nature, that loue vſeth to deſcend more then to aſcend, in caſe it were trew, that the father hated and wronged the children neuer ſo much,will any man, endued with the leaſt ſponke of reaſon,thinke it lawfull for them to meet him with the line? Yea, ſuppoſe the father were furiouſly following his ſonnes with a drawen ſword, is it lawfull for them to turne and ſtrike againe, or make any reſiſtance but by flight? I thinke ſurely, if there were no more but the example of bruit beaſts & vnreaſonable creatures,it may ſerue well enough to qualifie and proue this my argnment. We reade often the pietie that the Storkes haue to their olde and decayed parents: And generally wee know, that there are many ſorts of beaſts and fowles,that with violence and many bloody ſtrokes will beat and baniſh their yong ones from them,how ſoone they perceiue them to be able to fend themſelues; but wee neuer read or heard of any reſiſtance on their part, except among the vipers; which prooues ſuch perſons,as ought to be reaſonable creatures, and yet vnnaturally follow this example, to be endued with their viperous nature.

And for the ſimilitude of the head and the body,it may very well fall out that the head will be forced to garre cut off ſome rotten member (as I haue already ſaid) to keepe the reſt of the body in integritie: but what ſtate the body can be in, if the head, for any infirmitie that can fall to it, be cut off, I leaue it to the readers iudgement.

So as (to conclude this part) if the children may vpon any pretext that can be imagined,lawfully riſe vp againſt their Father,cut him off,& chooſe any other whom they pleaſe in his roome; and if the body for the weale of it, may for any infirmitie that can be in the head, ſtrike it off, then I cannot deny that the people may rebell, controll,and diſplace, or cut off their king at their owne pleaſure, and vpon reſpects mooving them. And whether theſe ſimilitudes repreſent better the office of a King, or the offices of Maſters or Deacons of crafts, or Doctors in Phyſicke (which iolly compariſons are vſed by ſuch writers as maintaine the contrary propoſition) I leaue it alſo to the readers diſcretion.

And in caſe any doubts might ariſe in any part of this treatiſe, I wil (according to my promiſe) with the ſolution of foure principall and moſt weightie doubts, that the aduerſaries may obiect, conclude this diſcourſe. And firſt it is caſten vp by diuers, that employ their pennes vpon Apologies for rebellions and treaſons, that euery man is borne to carry ſuch a naturall zeale and duety to his common-wealth,as to his mother; that ſeeing it ſo rent and deadly wounded, as whiles it will be by wicked and tyrannous Kings, good Citizens will be forced, for the naturall zeale and duety

they owe to their owne natiue countrey, to put their hand to worke for freeing their common-wealth from ſuch a peſt.

Whereunto I giue two anſweres: Firſt, it is a ſure Axiome in *Theologie*, that euill ſhould not be done, that good may come of it: The wickedneſſe therefore of the King can neuer make them that are ordained to be iudged by him, to become his Iudges. And if it be not lawfull to a priuate man to reuenge his priuate iniury vpon his priuate aduerſary (ſince God hath onely giuen the ſword to the Magiſtrate) how much leſſe is it lawfull to the people, or any part of them (who all are but priuate men, the authoritie being alwayes with the Magiſtrate, as I haue already proued) to take vpon them the vſe of the ſword, whom to it belongs not, againſt the publicke Magiſtrate, whom to onely it belongeth.

Next, in place of relieuing the common-wealth out of diſtreſſe (which is their onely excuſe and colour) they ſhall heape double diſtreſſe and deſolation vpon it; and ſo their rebellion ſhall procure the contrary effects that they pretend it for: For a king cannot be imagined to be ſo vnruly and tyrannous, but the common-wealth will be kept in better order, notwithſtanding thereof, by him, then it can be by his way-taking. For firſt, all ſudden mutations are perillous in common-wealths, hope being thereby giuen to all bare men to ſet vp themſelues, and flie with other mens feathers, the reines being looſed to all the inſolencies that diſordered people can commit by hope of impunitie, becauſe of the looſeneſſe of all things.

And next, it is certaine that a king can neuer be ſo monſtrouſly vicious, but hee will generally fauour iuſtice, and maintaine ſome order, except in the particulars, wherein his inordinate luſtes and paſſions cary him away; where by the contrary, no King being, nothing is vnlawfull to none: And ſo the olde opinion of the Philoſophers prooues trew, That better it is to liue in a Common-wealth, where nothing is lawfull, then where all things are lawfull to all men; the Common-wealth at that time reſembling an vndanted young horſe that hath caſten his rider: For as the diuine Poet Dv Bartas ſayth, *Better it were to ſuffer ſome diſorder in the eſtate, and ſome ſpots in the Common-wealth, then in pretending to reforme, vtterly to ouerthrow the Republicke.*

The ſecond obiection they ground vpon the curſe that hangs ouer the common-wealth, where a wicked king reigneth: and, ſay they, there cannot be a more acceptable deed in the ſight of God, nor more dutiful to their common-weale, then to free the countrey of ſuch a curſe, and vindicate to them their libertie, which is naturall to all creatures to craue.

Whereunto for anſwere, I grant indeed, that a wicked king is ſent by God for a curſe to his people, and a plague for their ſinnes: but that it is lawfull to them to ſhake off that curſe at their owne hand, which God hath laid on them, that I deny, and may ſo do iuſtly. Will any deny that the king of *Babel* was a curſe to the people of God, as was plainly fore-ſpoken and threatned vnto them in the prophecie of their captiuitie? And what was *Nero* to the

the Christian Church in his time? And yet *Ieremy* and *Paul* (as yee haue elſe heard) commanded them not onely to obey them, but heartily to pray for their welfare.

It is certaine then (as I haue already by the Law of God ſufficiently proued) that patience, earneſt prayers to God, and amendment of their liues, are the onely lawful meanes to moue God to relieue them of that heauie curſe. As for vindicating to themſelues their owne libertie, what lawfull power haue they to reuoke to themſelues againe thoſe priuiledges, which by their owne conſent before were ſo fully put out of their hands? for if a Prince cannot iuſtly bring backe againe to himſelf the priuiledges once beſtowed by him or his predeceſſors vpon any ſtate or ranke of his ſubiects; how much leſſe may the ſubiects reaue out of the princes hand that ſuperioritie, which he and his Predeceſſors haue ſo long brooked ouer them?

But the vnhappy iniquitie of the time, which hath oft times giuen ouer good ſucceſſe to their treaſonable attempts, furniſheth them the ground of their third obiection: For, ſay they, the fortunate ſucceſſe that God hath ſo oft giuen to ſuch enterpriſes, prooueth plainely by the practiſe, that God fauoured the iuſtneſſe of their quarrell.

To the which I anſwere, that it is trew indeed, that all the ſucceſſe of battels, as well as other worldly things, lyeth onely in Gods hand: And therefore it is that in the Scripture he takes to himſelfe the ſtyle of God of Hoſts. But vpon that generall to conclude, that hee euer giues victory to the iuſt quarrell, would prooue the *Philiſtims*, and diuers other neighbour enemies of the people of God to haue oft times had the iuſt quarrel againſt the people of God, in reſpect of the many victories they obtained againſt them. And by that ſame argument they had alſo iuſt quarrell againſt the Arke of God: For they wan it in the field, and kept it long priſoner in their countrey. As likewiſe by all good Writers, as well Theologues, as other, the Duels and ſingular combats are diſallowed; which are onely made vpon pretence, that GOD will kith thereby the iuſtice of the quarrell: For wee muſt conſider that the innocent partie is not innocent before God: And therefore God will make oft times them that haue the wrong ſide reuenge iuſtly his quarrell; and when he hath done, caſt his ſcourge in the fire; as he oft times did to his owne people, ſtirring vp and ſtrengthening their enemies, while they were humbled in his ſight, and then deliuered them in their hands. So God, as the great Iudge may iuſtly puniſh his Deputie, and for his rebellion againſt him, ſtir vp his rebels to meet him with the like: And when it is done, the part of the inſtrument is no better then the diuels part is in tempting and torturing ſuch as God committeth to him as his hangman to doe: Therefore, as I ſaid in the beginning, it is oft times a very deceiueable argument, to iudge of the cauſe by the euent.

And the laſt obiection is grounded vpon the mutuall paction and adſtipulation (as they call it) betwixt the King and his people, at the time of his coronation: For there, ſay they, there is a mutuall paction, and contract

bound vp, and ſworne betwixt the king, and the people: Whereupon it followeth, that if the one part of the contract or the Indent bee broken vpon the Kings ſide, the people are no longer bound to keepe their part of it, but are thereby freed of their oath: For (ſay they) a contract betwixt two parties, of all Law frees the one partie, if the other breake vnto him.

As to this contract alledged made at the coronation of a King, although I deny any ſuch contract to bee made then, eſpecially containing ſuch a clauſe irritant as they alledge; yet I confeſſe, that a king at his coronation, or at the entry to his kingdome, willingly promiſeth to his people, to diſcharge honorably and trewly the office giuen him by God ouer them: But preſuming that thereafter he breake his promiſe vnto them neuer ſo inexcuſable; the queſtion is, who ſhould bee iudge of the breake, giuing vnto them, this contract were made vnto them neuer ſo ſicker, according to their alleageance. I thinke no man that hath but the ſmalleſt entrance into the ciuill Law, will doubt that of all Law, either ciuil or municipal of any nation, a contract cannot be thought broken by the one partie, and ſo the other likewiſe to be freed therefro, except that firſt a lawfull triall and cognition be had by the ordinary Iudge of the breakers thereof: Or elſe euery man may be both party and Iudge in his owne cauſe; which is abſurd once to be thought. Now in this contract (I ſay) betwixt the king and his people, God is doubtles the only Iudge, both becauſe to him onely the king muſt make count of his adminiſtration (as is oft ſaid before) as likewiſe by the oath in the coronation, God is made iudge and reuenger of the breakers: For in his preſence, as only iudge of oaths, all oaths ought to be made. Then ſince God is the onely Iudge betwixt the two parties contractors, the cognition and reuenge muſt onely appertaine to him: It followes therefore of neceſſitie, that God muſt firſt giue ſentence vpon the King that breaketh, before the people can thinke themſelues freed of their oath. What iuſtice then is it, that the partie ſhall be both iudge and partie, vſurping vpon himſelfe the office of God, may by this argument eaſily appeare: And ſhall it lie in the hands of headleſſe multitude, when they pleaſe to weary off ſubiection, to caſt off the yoake of gouernement that God hath laid vpon them, to iudge and puniſh him, whom-by they ſhould be iudged and puniſhed; and in that caſe, wherein by their violence they kythe themſelues to be moſt paſſionate parties, to vſe the office of an vngracious Iudge or Arbiter? Nay, to ſpeake trewly of that caſe, as it ſtands betwixt the king and his people, none of them ought to iudge of the others breake: For conſidering rightly the two parties at the time of their mutuall promiſe, the king is the one party, and the whole people in one body are the other party. And therfore ſince it is certaine, that a king, in caſe ſo it ſhould fal out, that his people in one body had rebelled againſt him, hee ſhould not in that caſe, as thinking himſelfe free of his promiſe and oath; become an vtter enemy, and practiſe the wreake of his whole people and natiue country: although he ought iuſtly to puniſh the principall authours and bellowes of that vniuerſall rebellion:

lion: how much leſſe then ought the people (that are alwaies ſubiect vnto him, and naked of all authoritie on their part) preſſe to iudge and ouerthrow him? otherwiſe the people, as the one partie contracters, ſhall no ſooner challenge the king as breaker, but hee aſſoone ſhall iudge them as breakers: ſo as the victors making the tyners the traitors (as our prouerbe is) the partie ſhall aye become both iudge and partie in his owne particular, as I haue alreadie ſaid.

And it is here likewiſe to be noted, that the duty and alleageance, which the people ſweareth to their prince, is not only bound to themſelues, but likewiſe to their lawfull heires and poſterity, the lineall ſucceſſiõ of crowns being begun among the people of God, and happily continued in diuers chriſtian common-wealths: So as no obiection either of hereſie, or whatſoeuer priuate ſtatute or law may free the people from their oath-giuing to their king, and his ſucceſſion, eſtabliſhed by the old fundamentall lawes of the kingdome: For, as hee is their heritable ouer-lord, and ſo by birth, not by any right in the coronation, commeth to his crowne; it is a like vnlawful (the crowne euer ſtanding full) to diſplace him that ſucceedeth thereto, as to eiect the former: For at the very moment of the expiring of the king reigning, the neareſt and lawful heire entreth in his place: And ſo to refuſe him, or intrude another, is not to holde out vncomming in, but to expell and put out their righteous King. And I truſt at this time whole *France* acknowledgeth the ſuperſtitious rebellion of the liguers, who vpon pretence of hereſie, by force of armes held ſo long out, to the great deſolation of their whole countrey, their natiue and righteous king from poſſeſſing of his owne crowne and naturall kingdome.

Not that by all this former diſcourſe of mine, and Apologie for kings, I meane that whatſoeuer errors and intollerable abominations a ſouereigne prince commit, hee ought to eſcape all puniſhment, as if thereby the world were only ordained for kings, & they without controlment to turne it vpſide down at their pleaſure: but by the contrary, by remitting them to God (who is their onely ordinary Iudge) I remit them to the ſoreſt and ſharpeſt ſchoolemaſter that can be deuiſed for them: for the further a king is preferred by God aboue all other ranks & degrees of men, and the higher that his ſeat is aboue theirs, the greater is his obligation to his maker. And therfore in caſe he forget himſelfe (his vnthankfulnes being in the ſame meaſure of height) the ſadder and ſharper will his correction be; and according to the greatnes of the height he is in, the weight of his fall wil recõpenſe the ſame: for the further that any perſon is obliged to God, his offence becomes and growes ſo much the greater, then it would be in any other. *Ioues* thunderclaps light oftner and ſorer vpon the high & ſtately oakes, then on the low and ſupple willow trees: and the higheſt bench is ſliddrieſt to ſit vpon. Neither is it euer heard that any king forgets himſelfe towards God, or in his vocation; but God with the greatneſſe of the plague reuengeth the greatnes of his ingratitude: Neither thinke I by the force and argument

of this my diſcourſe ſo to perſwade the people, that none will hereafter be raiſed vp, and rebell againſt wicked Princes. But remitting to the iuſtice and prouidence of God to ſtirre vp ſuch ſcourges as pleaſeth him, for puniſhment of wicked kings (who made the very vermine and filthy duſt of the earth to bridle the inſolencie of proud *Pharaoh*) my onely purpoſe and intention in this treatiſe is to perſwade, as farre as lieth in me, by theſe ſure and infallible grounds, all ſuch good Chriſtian readers, as beare not onely the naked name of a Chriſtian, but kith the fruites thereof in their daily forme of life, to keepe their hearts and hands free from ſuch monſtrous and vnnaturall rebellions, whenſoeuer the wickedneſſe of a Prince ſhall procure the ſame at Gods hands: that, when it ſhall pleaſe God to caſt ſuch ſcourges of princes, and inſtruments of his fury in the fire, ye may ſtand vp with cleane handes, and vnſpotted conſciences, hauing prooued your ſelues in all your actions trew Chriſtians toward God, and dutifull ſubiects towards your King, hauing remitted the iudgement and puniſhment of all his wrongs to him, whom to onely of right it appertaineth.

But crauing at God, and hoping that God ſhall continue his bleſſing with vs, in not ſending ſuch fearefull deſolation, I heartily wiſh our kings behauiour ſo to be, and continue among vs, as our God in earth, and louing Father, endued with ſuch properties as I deſcribed a King in the firſt part of this Treatiſe. And that ye (my deare countreymen, and charitable readers) may preſſe by all meanes to procure the proſperitie and welfare of your King; that as hee muſt on the one part thinke all his earthly felicitie and happineſſe grounded vpon your weale, caring more for himſelfe for your ſake then for his owne, thinking himſelfe onely ordained for your weale; ſuch holy and happy emulation may ariſe betwixt him and you, as his care for your quietnes, and your care for his honour and preſeruation, may in all your actions daily ſtriue together, that the Land may thinke themſelues bleſſed with ſuch a King, and the king may thinke himſelfe moſt happy in ruling ouer ſo louing and obedient ſubiects.

FINIS.

A COVN-

A COVNTERBLASTE TO *TOBACCO.*

TO THE READER.

Seuery humane body (deare Countrey men) how wholesome soeuer, is notwithstanding subiect, or at least naturally inclined to some sorts of diseases, or infirmities: so is there no Common-wealth, or Body-politicke, how well gouerned, or peaceable soeuer it be, that lackes the owne popular errors, and naturally inclined corruptions: and therefore is it no wonder, although this our Countrey and Common-wealth, though peaceable, though wealthy, though long flourishing in both, be amongst the rest, subiect to the owne naturall infirmities. We are of all Nations the people most louing, and most reuerently obedient to our Prince, yet are we (as time hath often borne witnesse) too easie to be seduced to make Rebellion vpon very slight grounds. Our fortunate and oft proued valour in warres abroad, our heartie and reuerent obedience to our Princes at home, hath bred vs a long, and a thrice happie peace: Our peace hath bred wealth: And peace and wealth hath brought forth a generall sluggishnesse, which makes vs wallow in all sorts of idle delights, and soft delicacies, the first seedes

ſeeds of the ſubuerſion of all great Monarchies. Our Cleargie are become negligent and lazie, Our Nobilitie and Gentrie prodigall, and ſold to their priuate delights, Our Lawyers couetous, Our Common people prodigall and curious; and generally all ſorts of people more carefull for their priuate ends, then for their mother the Common-wealth.

For remedie whereof, it is the Kings part (as the proper Phiſician of his Politicke-bodie) to purge it of all thoſe diſeaſes, by Medicines meete for the ſame: as by a certaine milde, and yet iuſt forme of gouernment, to maintaine the Publicke quietneſſe, and preuent all occaſions of Commotion: by the example of his owne Perſon and Court, to make vs all aſhamed of our ſluggiſh delicacie, and to ſtirre vs vp to the practiſe againe of all honeſt exerciſes, and Martiall ſhadowes of Warre; As likewiſe by his, and his Courts moderateneſſe in Apparell, to make vs aſhamed of our prodigalitie: By his quicke admonitions and carefull ouerſeeing of the Cleargie, to waken them vp againe, to be more diligent in their Offices: By the ſharpe triall, and ſeuere puniſhment of the partiall, couetous and bribing Lawyers, to reforme their corruptions: And generally by the example of his owne Perſon, and by the due execution of good Lawes, to reforme and aboliſh, piece and piece, theſe olde and euill grounded abuſes: For this will not be Opus vnius diei, *but as euery one of theſe diſeaſes, muſt from the King receiue the owne cure proper for it, ſo are there ſome ſorts of abuſes in Common-wealths, that though they bee of ſo baſe and contemptible a condition, as they are too low for the Law to looke on, and to meane for a King to interpone his authoritie, or bend his eye vpon; yet are they corruptions, aſwell as the greateſt of them. So is an Ant an* Animal, *aſwell as an Elephant: ſo is a Wrenne* Auis, *aſwell as a Swanne, and ſo is a ſmall dint of the Tooth-ake, a diſeaſe aſwell as the fearefull Plague is. But for theſe baſe ſorts of corruption in Common-wealths, not onely the King, or any inferiour Magiſtrate, but* Quilibet è populo *may ſerue to be a Phiſician, by diſcouering and impugning the error, and by perſwading reformation thereof.*

And

And ſurely in my opinion, there cannot bee a more baſe, and yet hurtfull, corruption in a Countrey, then is the vile vſe (or rather abuſe) of taking Tobacco *in this Kingdome, which hath mooued mee, ſhortly to diſcouer the abuſes thereof in this following little Pamphlet.*

If any thinke it a light Argument, ſo is it but a toy that is beſtowed vpon it. And ſince the Subiect is but of Smoke, I thinke the fume of an idle braine, may ſerue for a ſufficient batterie againſt ſo fumous and feeble an enemie. If my grounds bee found trew, it is all I looke for; but if they cary the force of perſwaſion with them, it is all I can wiſh, and more then I can expect. My onely care is, that you, my deare Countrey-men, may rightly conceiue euen by this ſmalleſt trifle, of the ſinceritie of my meaning in greater matters, neuer to ſpare any paine, that may tend to the procuring of your weale and proſperitie.

(·.·)

A COVN-

A COVNTERBLASTE TO TOBACCO.

THat the manifold abuſes of this vile cuſtome of *Tobacco* taking, may the better be eſpied, it is fit, that firſt you enter into conſideration both of the firſt originall thereof, and likewiſe of the reaſons of the firſt entry thereof into this Countrey. For certainely as ſuch cuſtomes, that haue their firſt inſtitution either from a godly, neceſſary, or honourable ground, and are firſt brought in, by the meanes of ſome worthy, vertuous, and great Perſonage, are euer, and moſt iuſtly, holden in great and reuerent eſtimation and account, by all wiſe, vertuous, and temperate ſpirits: So ſhould it by the contrary, iuſtly bring a great diſgrace into that ſort of cuſtomes, which hauing their originall from baſe corruption and barbaritie, doe in like ſort, make their firſt entry into a Countrey, by an inconſiderate and childiſh affectation of Noueltie, as is the trew caſe of the firſt inuention of *Tobacco* taking, and of the firſt entry thereof among vs. For *Tobacco* being a common herbe, which (though vnder diuers names) growes almoſt euery where, was firſt found out by ſome of the barbarous *Indians*, to be a Preſeruatiue or Antidote againſt the Pocks, a filthy diſeaſe, wherunto theſe barbarous people are (as all men know) very much ſubiect, what through the vncleanely and aduſt conſtitution of their bodies, and what through the intemperate heate of their Climate: ſo that as from them was firſt brought into Chriſtendome, that moſt deteſtable diſeaſe; ſo from them likewiſe was brought this vſe of *Tobacco*, as a ſtinking and vnſauourie Antidote, for ſo corrupted and execrable a maladie, the ſtinking ſuffumigation whereof they yet vſe againſt that diſeaſe, making ſo one canker or venime to eate out another.

And now good Countrey-men, let vs (I pray you) conſider, what honour or policy can mooue vs to imitate the barbarous and beaſtly maners of the wilde, godleſſe, and ſlauiſh *Indians*, eſpecially in ſo vile and ſtinking a cuſtome? Shall we that diſdaine to imitate the maners of our neighbour

France

France (hauing the ſtile of the firſt Chriſtian Kingdome) and that cannot endure the ſpirit of the *Spaniards* (their King being now comparable in largeneſſe of Dominions, to the great Emperour of *Turkie*) Shall wee, I ſay, that haue bene ſo long ciuill and wealthy in Peace, famous and inuincible in Warre, fortunate in both, we that haue bene euer able to aide any of our neighbours (but neuer deafed any of their eares with any of our ſupplications for aſſiſtance) ſhall wee, I ſay, without bluſhing abaſe our ſelues ſo farre, as to imitate theſe beaſtly *Indians*, ſlaues to the *Spaniards*, refuſe to the world, and as yet aliens from the holy Couenant of God ? Why doe we not as well imitate them in walking naked as they doe? in preferring glaſſes, feathers, and ſuch toyes, to gold and precious ſtones, as they doe? yea why doe we not denie God and adore the diuel, as they doe?

Now to the corrupted baſeneſſe of the firſt vſe of this *Tobacco*, doeth very well agree the fooliſh and groundleſſe firſt entry thereof into this Kingdome. It is not ſo long ſince the firſt entry of this abuſe amongſt vs here, as this preſent aage cannot yet very well remember, both the firſt Authour, and the forme of the firſt introduction of it amongſt vs. It was neither brought in by King, great Conquerour, nor learned doctour of Phiſicke.

With the report of a great diſcouery for a Conqueſt, ſome two or three Sauage men, were brought in, together with this Sauage cuſtome. But the pitie is, the poore wilde barbarous men died, but that vile barbarous cuſtome is yet aliue, yea in freſh vigor: ſo as it ſeemes a miracle to me, how a cuſtome ſpringing from ſo vile a ground, and brought in by a father ſo generally hated, ſhould be welcomed vpon ſo ſlender a warrant. For if they that firſt put it in practiſe here, had remembred for what reſpect it was vſed by them from whence it came, I am ſure they would haue bene loath, to haue taken ſo farre the imputation of that diſeaſe vpon them as they did, by vſing the cure thereof: For *Sanis non eſt opus medico*, and counterpoiſons are neuer vſed, but where poiſon is thought to precede.

But ſince it is trew, that diuers cuſtomes ſlightly grounded, and with no better warrant entred in a Common-wealth, may yet in the vſe of them thereafter, prooue both neceſſary and profitable; it is therefore next to bee examined, if there be not a full Sympathie and true Proportion, betweene the baſe ground and fooliſh entrie, and the loathſome and hurtfull vſe of this ſtinking Antidote.

I am now therefore heartily to pray you to conſider, firſt vpon what falſe and erroneous grounds you haue firſt built the generall good liking thereof; and next, what ſinnes towards God, and fooliſh vanities before the world you commit, in the deteſtable vſe of it.

As for theſe deceitfull grounds, that haue ſpecially moued you to take a good and great conceit thereof, I ſhall content my ſelfe to examine here onely foure of the principals of them; two founded vpon the Theoricke of a deceiueable apparance of reaſon, and two of them vpon the miſtaken practicke of generall experience.

Firſt,

Firſt, it is thought by you a ſure Aphoriſme in the Phyſickes, That the braines of all men, beeing naturally cold and wet, all drie and hote things ſhould be good for them; of which nature this ſtinking ſuffumigation is, and therefore of good vſe to them. Of this argument, both the propoſition and aſſumption are falſe, and ſo the concluſion cannot but be voyd of it ſelfe. For as to the Propoſition, That becauſe the braines are colde and moiſt, therefore things that are hote and dry are beſt for them, it is an inept conſequence: For man beeing compounded of the foure Complexions, (whoſe fathers are the foure Elements) although there be a mixture of them all in all the parts of his body, yet muſt the diuers parts of our *Microcoſme* or little world within our ſelues, be diuerſly more inclined, ſome to one, ſome to another complexion, according to the diuerſitie of their vſes, that of theſe diſcords a perfect harmonie may be made vp for the maintenance of the whole body.

The application then of a thing of a contrary nature, to any of theſe parts, is to interrupt them of their due function, and by conſequence hurtfull to the health of the whole bodie. As if a man, becauſe the Liuer is hote (as the fountaine of blood) and as it were an ouen to the ſtomacke, would therefore apply and weare cloſe vpon his Liuer and ſtomacke a cake of lead; he might within a very ſhort time (I hope) bee ſuſteined very good cheape at an Ordinarie, beſide the clearing of his conſcience from that deadly ſinne of gluttonie. And as if, becauſe the Heart is full of vitall ſpirits, and in perpetuall motion, a man would therefore lay a heauie pound ſtone on his breaſt, for ſtaying and holding downe that wanton palpitation, I doubt not but his breaſt would be more bruiſed with the weight therof, then the heart would be comforted with ſuch a diſagreeable and contrarious cure. And euen ſo is it with the braines: For if a man, becauſe the braines are cold and humide, would therefore vſe inwardly by ſmells, or outwardly by application, things of hot and dry qualitie, all the gaine that he could make thereof would onely be to put himſelfe in a great forwardnes for running mad, by ouerwatching himſelfe, the coldneſſe and moiſtneſſe of our braine being the onely ordinary meanes that procure our ſleepe and reſt. Indeed I doe not deny, but when it falls out that any of theſe, or any part of our bodie growes to be diſtempered, and to tend to an extremitie, beyond the compaſſe of Natures temperate mixture, that in that caſe cures of contrary qualities, to the intemperate inclination of that part, being wiſely prepared and diſcreetly miniſtred, may be both neceſſary and helpfull for ſtrengthning and aſſiſting Nature in the expulſion of her enemies: for this is the trew definition of all profitable Phiſicke.

But firſt theſe Cures ought not to be vſed, but where there is need of them, the contrary whereof, is daily practiſed in this generall vſe of *Tobacco* by all ſorts and complexions of people.

And next, I denie the Minor of this argument, as I haue already ſaid, in regard that this *Tobacco*, is not ſimply of a dry and hote qualitie; but rather hath

hath a certain venemous facultie ioyned with the heat therof, which makes it haue an Antipathy againſt nature, as by the hateful ſmel therof doth well appeare. For the noſe being the proper Organ and conuoy of the ſenſe of ſmelling to the braines, which are the only fountaine of that ſenſe, doth euer ſerue vs for an infallible witneſſe, whether that odour which we ſmell, be healthfull or hurtfull to the braine, (except when it fals out that the ſenſe it ſelfe is corrupted and abuſed through ſome infirmitie, and diſtemper in the braine.) And that the ſuffumigation thereof cannot haue a drying quality, it needs no further probation, then that it is a ſmoke, all ſmoke and vapour, being of it ſelfe humide, as drawing neere to the nature of the aire, and eaſie to be reſolued againe into water, whereof there needs no other proofe but the Meteors, which being bred of nothing elſe but of the vapors and exhalations ſucked vp by the Sun out of the earth, the ſea, and waters, yet are the ſame ſmoakie vapors turned and transformed into raines, ſnowes, deawes, hoare froſts, and ſuch like waterie Meteors, as by the contrary the rainie cloudes are often transformed and euaporated in bluſtering windes.

The ſecond Argument grounded on a ſhew of reaſon is, That this filthy ſmoake, aſwell through the heat and ſtrength thereof, as by a naturall force and quality, is able and fit to purge both the head and ſtomack of rhewmes and diſtillations, as experience teacheth, by the ſpitting & auoiding fleame, immediatly after the taking of it. But the fallacie of this Argument may eaſily appeare, by my late preceding deſcription of the Meteors: For euen as the ſmoakie vapours ſucked vp by the Sunne, and ſtayed in the loweſt and cold Region of the aire, are there contracted into clouds, and turned into raine and ſuch other watery Meteors: So this ſtinking ſmoake being ſucked vp by the noſe, & impriſoned in the cold and moyſt braines, is by their cold and wet facultie, turned and caſt forth againe in waterie diſtillations, and ſo are you made free and purged of nothing, but that wherewith you wilfully burdened your ſelues: and therefore are you no wiſer in taking *Tobacco* for purging you of diſtillations, then if for preuenting the Cholicke you would take all kind of windie meats and drinkes; and for preuenting of the Stone, you would take all kinde of meates and drinkes that would breed grauell in the kidneys, and then when you were forced to auoide much winde out of your ſtomacke, and much grauell in your Vrine, that you ſhould attribute the thanke therof to ſuch nouriſhments, as bred thoſe within you, that behooued either to be expelled by the force of Nature, or you to haue *burſt at the broad ſide*, as the Prouerbe is.

As for the other two reaſons founded vpon experience, the firſt of which is, That the whole people would not haue taken ſo generall a good liking thereof, if they had not by experience found it very ſoueraigne and good for them: For anſwere thereunto, how eaſily the mindes of any people, wherewith God hath repleniſhed this world may be drawen to the fooliſh affectation of any noueltie, I leaue it to the diſcreet iudgement of any man that is reaſonable.

Doe we not daily ſee, that a man can no ſooner bring ouer from beyond the ſeas any new forme of apparell, but that he cannot be thought a man of ſpirit, that would not preſently imitate the ſame? And ſo from hand to hand it ſpreads, till it be practiſed by all, not for any commodity that is in it, but only becauſe it is come to be the faſhion. For ſuch is the force of that naturall ſelfe-loue in euery one of vs, and ſuch is the corruption of enuy bred in the breſt of euery one, as we cannot be content vnleſſe wee imitate euery thing that our fellowes doe, and ſo prooue our ſelues capable of euery thing whereof they are capable, like Apes, counterfeiting the maners of others, to our owne deſtruction. For let one or two of the greateſt Maſters of Mathematicks in any of the two famous Vniuerſities, but conſtantly affirme any cleare day, that they ſee ſome ſtrange apparition in the skies; they wil I warrant you be ſeconded by the greateſt part of the ſtudents in that profeſſion: So loth will they be, to be thought inferior to their fellowes, either in depth of knowledge or ſharpnes of ſight: And therfore the generall good liking and imbracing of this fooliſh cuſtome, doth but only proceed from that affectation of noueltie, and popular errour, whereof I haue already ſpoken.

The other argument drawn from a miſtaken experience, is but the more particular probation of this generall, becauſe it is alledged to be found trew by proofe, that by the taking of *Tobacco* diuers and very many doe finde themſelues cured of diuers diſeaſes; as on the other part, no man euer receiued harme thereby. In this argument there is firſt a great miſtaking, and next a monſtrous abſurditie: For is it not a very great miſtaking, to take *non cauſam pro cauſa*, as they ſay in the Logickes? becauſe peraduenture when a ſicke man hath had his diſeaſe at the height, hee hath at that inſtant taken *Tobacco*, and afterward his diſeaſe taking the naturall courſe of declining, and conſequently the Patient of recouering his health, O then the *Tobacco* forſooth, was the worker of that miracle. Beſide that, it is a thing wel known to all Phyſicians, that the apprehenſion and conceit of the patient, hath by wakening and vniting the vitall ſpirits, and ſo ſtrengthening nature, a great power and vertue, to cure diuers diſeaſes. For an euident proofe of miſtaking in the like caſe, I pray you what fooliſh boy, what ſilly wench, what olde doting wife, or ignorant countrey clowne, is not a Phyſician for the toothach, for the cholicke, and diuers ſuch common diſeaſes? Yea, will not euery man you meet withall, teach you a ſundry cure for the ſame, & ſweare by that meane either himſelfe, or ſome of his neereſt kinſemen and friends was cured? And yet I hope no man is ſo fooliſh as to beleeue them. And all theſe toyes do only proceed fro the miſtaking *Non cauſam pro cauſa*, as I haue already ſaid, and ſo if a man chance to recouer one of any diſeaſe, after hee hath taken *Tobacco*, that muſt haue the thanks of all. But by the contrary, if a man ſmoke himſelfe to death with it (and many haue done) O then ſome other diſeaſe muſt beare the blame for that fault. So doe old harlots thanke their harlotrie for their many yeeres, that cuſtome being healthfull (ſay they) *ad purgandos Renes*, but neuer haue mind how many die of the Pockes

in

in the flower of their youth. And ſo doe olde drunkards thinke they prolong their dayes, by their ſwinelike diet, but neuer remember how many die drowned in drinke before they be halfe olde.

And what greater abſurditie can there be, then to ſay that one cure ſhall ſerue for diuers, nay, cõtrarious ſorts of diſeaſes? It is an vndoubted ground among all Phyſicians, that there is almoſt no ſort either of nouriſhment or medicine, that hath not ſome thing in it diſagreeable to ſome part of mans bodie, becauſe as I haue alreadie ſaid, the nature of the temperature of euery part, is ſo different from another, that according to the olde prouerbe, That which is good for the head, is euill for the necke and the ſhoulders: For euen as a ſtrong enemy, that inuades a town or fortreſſe, although in his ſiege thereof, he do belay and compaſſe it round about, yet he makes his breach and entry, at ſome one or fewe ſpeciall parts thereof, which hee hath tried and found to be weakeſt and leaſt able to reſiſt; ſo ſickenes doth make her particular aſſault, vpon ſuch part or parts of our body, as are weakeſt and eaſieſt to be ouercome by that ſort of diſeaſe, which then doth aſſaile vs, although all the reſt of the body by Sympathie feele it ſelfe to be as it were belayed, and beſieged by the affliction of that ſpeciall part, the griefe and ſmart thereof being by the ſenſe of feeling diſperſed through all the reſt of our members. And therefore the skilfull Phyſician preſſes by ſuch cures to purge and ſtrengthen that part which is afflicted, as are only fit for that ſort of diſeaſe, and doe beſt agree with the nature of that infirme part; which being abuſed to a diſeaſe of another nature, would proue as hurtfull for the one, as helpfull for the other. Yea, not onely will a skilfull and wary Phyſician be carefull to vſe no cure but that which is fit for that ſort of diſeaſe, but he will alſo conſider all other circumſtances, & make the remedies ſutable therunto; as the temperature of the clime where the Patient is, the conſtitution of the Planets, the time of the Moone, the ſeaſon of the yeere, the aage and complexion of the Patient, and the preſent ſtate of his body, in ſtrength or weaknes: For one cure muſt not euer be vſed for the ſelfeſame diſeaſe, but according to the varying of any of the foreſaid circumſtances, that ſort of remedy muſt be vſed which is fitteſt for the ſame. Where by the contrary in this caſe, ſuch is the miraculous omnipotencie of our ſtrong taſted *Tobacco*, as it cures al ſorts of diſeaſes (which neuer any drugge could do before) in all perſons, and at all times. It cures all maner of diſtillations, either in the head or ſtomacke (if you beleeue their Axiomes) although in very deed it doe both corrupt the braine, and by cauſing ouer quicke digeſtion, fill the ſtomacke full of crudities. It cures the gowt in the feet, and (which is miraculous) in that very inſtant when the ſmoke thereof, as light, flies vp into the head, the vertue therof, as heauy, runs down to the litle toe. It helps all ſorts of agues. It makes a man ſober that was drunk. It refreſhes a weary man, and yet makes a man hungry. Being taken when they goe to bed, it makes one ſleepe ſoundly, and yet being taken when a man is ſleepie and drowſie, it will, as they ſay, awake his braine, and quicken his vnder-

ſtanding. As for curing of the Pockes, it ſerues for that vſe but among the pockie Indian ſlaues. Here in *England* it is refined, and will not deigne to cure here any other then cleanly and gentlemanly diſeaſes. O omnipotent power of *Tobacco*! And if it could by the ſmoake thereof chaſe out deuils, as the ſmoake of *Tobias* fiſh did (which I am ſure could ſmell no ſtronglier) it would ſerue for a precious Relicke, both for the ſuperſtitious Prieſts, and the inſolent Puritanes, to caſt out deuils withall.

Admitting then, and not confeſſing, that the vſe thereof were healthful for ſome ſorts of diſeaſes; ſhould it be vſed for all ſickneſſes? ſhould it be vſed by all men? ſhould it be vſed at all times? yea ſhould it be vſed by able, yong, ſtrong, healthful men? Medicine hath that vertue, that it neuer leaues a man in that ſtate wherein it finds him: it makes a ſicke man whole, but a whole man ſicke: And as Medicine helps nature being taken at times of neceſſitie, ſo being euer and continually vſed, it doeth but weaken, weary, and weare nature. What ſpeake I of Medicine? Nay let a man euery houre of the day, or as oft as many in this countrey vſe to take *Tobacco*, let a man I ſay, but take as oft the beſt ſorts of nouriſhments in meate and drinke that can be deuiſed, he ſhall with the continuall vſe thereof weaken both his head and his ſtomacke: all his members ſhall become feeble, his ſpirits dull, and in the end, as a drowſie lazie belly-god, he ſhall euaniſh in a Lethargie.

And from this weakeneſſe it proceeds, that many in this kingdome haue had ſuch a continuall vſe of taking this vnſauorie ſmoake, as now they are not able to forbeare the ſame, no more then an old drunkard can abide to be long ſober, without falling into an incurable weakneſſe and euill conſtitution: for their continuall cuſtome hath made to them, *habitum, alteram naturam*: ſo to thoſe that from their birth haue beene continually nouriſhed vpon poiſon and things venemous, wholſome meats are only poiſonable.

Thus hauing, as I truſt, ſufficiently anſwered the moſt principall arguments that are vſed in defence of this vile cuſtome, it reſts only to informe you what ſinnes and vanities you commit in the filthy abuſe thereof. Firſt, are you not guiltie of ſinnefull and ſhamefull luſt? (for luſt may be as well in any of the ſenſes as in feeling) that although you be troubled with no diſeaſe, but in perfect health, yet can you neither be merry at an Ordinary, nor laſciuious in the Stewes, if you lacke *Tobacco* to prouoke your appetite to any of thoſe ſorts of recreation, luſting after it as the children of Iſrael did in the wilderneſſe after Quailes? Secondly it is, as you vſe or rather abuſe it, a branch of the ſinne of drunkennes, which is the root of all ſinnes: for as the only delight that drunkards take in wine is in the ſtrength of the taſte, and the force of the fume therof that mounts vp to the braine: for no drunkards loue any weake, or ſweet drinke: ſo are not thoſe (I meane the ſtrong heate and the fume) the onely qualities that make *Tobacco* ſo delectable to all the louers of it? And as no man likes ſtrong heady drinke the firſt day (becauſe *nemo repentè fit turpiſſimus*) but by cuſtome is piece and piece allured, while in the ende, a drunkard will haue as great a thirſt to be drunke, as a ſober

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man to quench his thirſt with a draught when he hath need of it: So is not this the very caſe of all the great takers of *Tobacco*? which therefore they themſelues doe attribute to a bewitching qualitie in it. Thirdly, is it not the greateſt ſinne of all, that you the people of all ſorts of this kingdome, who are created and ordeined by God, to beſtow both your perſons and goods, for the maintenance both of the honour and ſafety of your King and Common-wealth, ſhould diſable your ſelues in both? In your perſons hauing by this continuall vile cuſtome brought your ſelues to this ſhamefull imbecilitie, that you are not able to ride or walke the iourney of a Iewes Sabboth, but you muſt haue a reekie cole brought you from the next poore houſe to kindle your *Tobacco* with? whereas he cannot be thought able for any ſeruice in the warres, that cannot endure oftentimes the want of meat, drinke, and ſleepe, much more then muſt he endure the want of *Tobacco*. In the times of the many glorious and victorious battailes fought by this Nation, there was no word of *Tobacco*: but now if it were time of warres, and that you were to make ſome ſudden *Cauалcado* vpon your enemies, if any of you ſhould ſeeke leiſure to ſtay behinde his fellow for taking of *Tobacco*, for my part I ſhould neuer be ſory for any euill chance that might befall him. To take a cuſtome in any thing that cannot be left againe, is moſt harmeful to the people of any land. *Mollicies* and delicacie were the wracke and ouerthrow, firſt of the *Perſian*, and next of the *Romane* Empire. And this very cuſtome of taking *Tobacco* (whereof our preſent purpoſe is) is euen at this day accounted ſo effeminate among the *Indians* themſelues, as in the market they will offer no price for a ſlaue to be ſold, whom they find to be a great *Tobacco* taker.

Now how you are by this cuſtome diſabled in your goods, let the Gentry of this land beare witneſſe, ſome of them beſtowing three, ſome foure hundred pounds a yeere vpon this precious ſtinke, which I am ſure might be beſtowed vpon many farre better vſes. I read indeed of a knauiſh Courtier, who for abuſing the fauour of the Emperor *Alexander Seuerus* his maſter, by taking bribes to intercede, for ſundry perſons in his maſters eare, (for whō he neuer once opened his mouth) was iuſtly choked with ſmoke, with this doome, *Fumo pereat, qui fumum vendidit*: but of ſo many ſmoke-buyers, as are at this preſent in this kingdome, I neuer read nor heard.

And for the vanities committed in this filthy cuſtome, is it not both great vanitie and vncleanneſſe, that at the table, a place of reſpect, of cleanlineſſe, of modeſtie, men ſhould not be aſhamed, to ſit toſſing of *Tobacco pipes*, and puffing of the ſmoke of *Tobacco* one to another, making the filthy ſmoke and ſtinke thereof, to exhale athwart the diſhes, and infect the aire, when very often, men that abhorre it are at their repaſt? Surely ſmoke becomes a kitchin farre better then a dining chamber, and yet it makes a kitchin alſo oftentimes in the inward parts of men, ſoyling and infecting them, with an vnctuous and oily kind of ſoote, as hath bene found in ſome great *Tobacco* takers, that after their death were opened. And not onely

meat time, but no other time nor action is exempted from the publike vſe of this vnciuill tricke: ſo as if the wiues of *Diepe* liſt to conteſt with this Nation for good maners, their worſt maners would in all reaſon be found at leaſt not ſo diſhoneſt (as ours are) in this point. The publike vſe whereof, at all times, and in all places, hath now ſo farre preuailed, as diuers men very ſound both in iudgement and complexion, haue beene at laſt forced to take it alſo without deſire, partly becauſe they were aſhamed to ſeeme ſingular, (like the two Philoſophers that were forced to ducke themſelues in that raine water, and ſo become fooles as well as the reſt of the people) and partly to be as one that was content to eate Garlick (which he did not loue) that he might not be troubled with the ſmell of it, in the breath of his fellowes. And is it not a great vanitie, that a man cannot heartily welcome his friend now, but ſtraight they muſt be in hand with *Tobacco*: No it is become in place of a eure, a point of good fellowſhip, and hee that will refuſe to take a pipe of *Tobacco* among his fellowes, (though by his owne election hee would rather feele the ſauour of a Sinke) is accounted peeuiſh and no good company, euen as they doe with tipling in the colde Eaſterne countreys. Yea the Miſtreſſe cannot in a more manerly kind, entertaine her ſeruant, then by giuing him out of her faire hand a pipe of *Tobacco*. But herein is not only a great vanity, but a great contempt of Gods good giftes, that the ſweetneſſe of mans breath, being a good gift of God, ſhould be wilfully corrupted by this ſtinking ſmoke, wherin I muſt cõfeſſe, it hath too ſtrong a vertue; and ſo that which is an ornament of nature, & can neither by any artifice be at the firſt acquired, nor once loſt be recouered againe, ſhalbe filthily corrupted with an incurable ſtinke, which vile qualitie is as directly contrary to that wrong opinion which is holden of the wholeſomneſſe therof, as the venime of putrifaction is contrary to the vertue Preſeruatiue.

Moreouer, which is a great iniquitie, and againſt all humanitie, the huſband ſhal not be aſhamed, to reduce therby his delicate, wholſom, & cleane complexioned wife to that extremity, that either ſhe muſt alſo corrupt her ſweet breath therwith, or els reſolue to liue in a perpetual ſtinking torment.

Haue you not reaſon then to be aſhamed, and to forbeare this filthie noueltie, ſo baſely grounded, ſo fooliſhly receiued, and ſo groſſely miſtaken in the right vſe thereof? In your abuſe thereof ſinning againſt God, harming your ſelues both in perſons and goods, and raking alſo thereby the markes and notes of vanitie vpon you; by the cuſtome thereof making your ſelues to be wondered at by all forreine ciuill Nations, and by all ſtrangers that come among you, to be ſcorned and contemned: A cuſtome loathſome to the eye, hatefull to the noſe, harmefull to the braine, dangerous to the lungs, and in the blacke ſtinking fume thereof, neereſt reſembling the horrible Stigian ſmoake of the pit that is bottomleſſe.

A DISCOVRSE OF THE MANER OF THE DISCOVERIE OF THE POWDER-TREASON,

JOYNED WITH THE EXAMINATION OF SOME OF THE PRISONERS.

Here is a time when no man ought to keepe ſilence. For it hath euer bene held as a generall rule, and vndoubted Maxime, in all well gouerned Common-wealthes (whether Chriſtian, and ſo guided by the diuine light of Gods word, or Ethnicke, and ſo led by the glimmering twi-light of Nature) yet howſoeuer their profeſſion was, vpon this ground haue they all agreed, That when either their Religion, their King, or their countrey was in any extreme hazard, no good countreyman ought then to withhold either his tongue or his hand, according to his calling and facultie, from ayding to repell the iniurie, repreſſe the violence, and auenge the guilt vpon the authors thereof. But if euer any people had ſuch an occaſion miniſtred vnto them, It is ſurely this people now, nay this whole Iſle, and all the reſt belonging to this great and glorious Monarchie. For if in any heatheniſh republique, no priuate man could thinke his life more happily and gloriouſly beſtowed, then in the defence of any one of theſe three, That is, either *pro Aris, pro Focis*, or *pro Patre patriæ*; And that the endangering of any one of theſe, would at once ſtirre the whole body of the Common-wealth, not any more as diuided members, but as a ſolide and indiuiduall lumpe: How much more ought we the trewly Chriſtian people that inhabite this vnited and trewly happie

Inſula fortunata.

happy Iſle, vnder the wings of our gracious and religious Monarch? Nay, how infinitely greater cauſe haue we to feele and reſſent our ſelues of the ſmart of that wound, not onely intended and execrated (not conſecrated) for the vtter extinguiſhing of our trew Chriſtian profeſſion, nor ioyntly therwith onely for the cutting off of our Head and father Politike, *Sed vt nefas iſtud & ſacrilegioſum parricidium omnibus modis abſolutum reddi poſsit?* And that nothing might be wanting for making this ſacrilegious parricide a patterne of miſchiefe, and a crime (nay, a mother or ſtorehouſe of all crimes) without example, they ſhould haue ioyned the deſtruction of the bodie to the head, ſo as *Grex cum Rege, Aræ cum focis, Lares cum Penatibus*, ſhould all at one thunderclap haue beene ſent to heauen together: The King our head, the Queene our fertile mother, and thoſe young and hopefull Oliue plants, not theirs but ours: Our reuerend Clergie, our honourable Nobilitie, the faithfull Councellors, the graue Iudges, the greateſt part of the worthy Knights and Gentry, aſwell as of the wiſeſt Burgeſſes; The whole Clerkes of the Crowne, Counſaile, Signet, Seales, or of any other principall Iudgement ſeate. All the learned Lawyers, together with an infinite number of the Common people: Nay, their furious rage ſhould not onely haue lighted vpon reaſonable and ſenſible creatures without diſtinction either of degree, ſexe or aage; But euen the inſenſible ſtockes and ſtones ſhould not haue bin free of their fury. The hal of Iuſtice; The houſe of Parliament, The Church vſed for the Coronation of our Kings; The Monuments of our former Princes; The Crowne and other markes of Royaltie; Al the Records, aſwell of Parliament, as of euery particular mans right, with a great number of Charters and ſuch like, ſhould all haue bene comprehended vnder that fearefull *Chaos*. And ſo the earth as it were opened, ſhould haue ſent foorth of the bottome of the *Stygian* lake ſuch ſulphured ſmoke, furious flames, and fearefull thunder, as ſhould haue by their diabolicall *Domeſday* deſtroyed and defaced, in the twinkling of an eye, not onely our preſent liuing Princes and people, but euen our inſenſible Monuments reſerued for future aages. So as not only our ſelues that are mortall, but the immortall Monuments of our ancient Princes and Nobility, that haue beene ſo preciouſly preſerued from aage to aage, as the remaining *Trophees* of their eternal glory, and haue ſo long triumphed ouer enuious time, ſhould now haue beene all conſumed together; and ſo not onely we, but the memory of vs and ours, ſhould haue beene thus extinguiſhed in an inſtant. The trew horror therefore of this deteſtable deuice, hath ſtirred mee vp to bethinke my ſelfe, wherein I may beſt diſcharge my conſcience in a cauſe ſo generall and common, if it were to bring but one ſtone to the building, or rather with the Widow one mite to the common boxe. But ſince to ſo hatefull and vnheard-of inuention, there can be no greater enemy then the ſelfe, the ſimple trewth thereof being once publikely knowen; and that there needes no ſtronger argument to bring ſuch a plot in vniuerſal deteſtatiõ, then the certainty that ſo monſtrous a thing could once be deuiſed, nay cõcluded vpon,

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wrought in, in full readineſſe, and within twelue houres of the execution: My threefold zeale to thoſe bleſſings, whereof they would haue ſo violently made vs all widowes, hath made me reſolue to ſet downe here the trew Narration of that monſtrous and vnnaturall intended Tragedie, hauing better occaſion by the meanes of my ſeruice and continuall attendance in Court, to know the trewth thereof, then others that peraduenture haue it onely by relation at the third or fourth hand. So that whereas thoſe worſe then *Catilines*, thought to haue extirped vs and our memories; Their infamous memory ſhall by theſe meanes remaine to the end of the world, vpon the one part: and vpon the other, Gods great and merciful deliuerance of his Anoynted and vs all, ſhall remaine in neuer-dying Records. And God graunt that it may be in marble tables of Thankefulneſſe engrauen in our hearts.

WHile this Land and whole Monarchie flouriſhed in a moſt happie and plentifull PEACE, as well at home as abroad, ſuſtained and conducted by theſe two maine Pillars of all good Gouernement, PIETIE and IVSTICE, no forreine grudge, nor inward whiſpering of diſcontentment any way appearing; The King being vpon his returne from his hunting exerciſe at *Royſton*, vpon occaſion of the drawing neere of the Parliament time, which had beene twiſe prorogued already, partly in regard of the ſeaſon of the yeere, and partly of the Terme; As the winds are euer ſtilleſt immediatly before a ſtorme, and as the Sunne blenks often hotteſt to foretell a following ſhowre: So at that time of greateſt calme did this ſecretly-hatched thunder beginne to caſt foorth the firſt flaſhes, and flaming lightnings of the approching tempeſt. For the Saturday of the weeke immediatly preceding the Kings returne, which was vpon a Thurſday (being but tenne dayes before the Parliament) The Lord *Mountegle*, ſonne and heire to the Lord *Morley*, being in his owne lodging ready to goe to ſupper at ſeuen of the clocke at night, one of his foot-men (whom he had ſent of an errand ouer the ſtreet) was met by an vnknowen man of a reaſonable tall perſonage, who deliuered him a Letter, charging him to put it in my Lord his maſters hands: which my Lord no ſooner receiued, but that hauing broken it vp, and perceiuing the ſame to bee of an vnknowen and ſomewhat vnlegible hand, and without either date or ſubſcription; did call one of his men vnto him for helping him to reade it. But no ſooner did he conceiue the ſtrange contents thereof, although hee was ſomewhat perplexed what conſtruction to make of it (as whether of a matter of conſequence, as indeed it was, or whether ſome fooliſh deuiſed Paſquil by ſome of his enemies, to skarre him from his attendance at the Parliament) yet did he as a moſt dutifull and loyall Subiect, conclude not to conceale it, what euer might come of it. Whereupon, notwithſtauding the lateneſſe and darkneſſe of the night in that ſeaſon of the yeere, he preſently repaired to his Maieſties Pallace at *Whitehall*, and there deliuered the ſame to

A letter deliuered to the Lord *Mountegle*.

Reuealed to the Earle of *Salisbury.*

to the Earle of *Salisbury* his Maieſties principall Secretarie. Whereupon the ſaid Earle of *Salisbury* hauing read the Letter, and heard the maner of the comming of it to his hands, did greatly encourage and commend my Lord for his diſcretion, telling him plainly, that whatſoeuer the purpoſe of the Letter might proue hereafter, yet did this accident put him in mind of diuers aduertiſements he had receiued from beyond the Seas, wherewith he had acquainted aſwell the King himſelfe, as diuers of his Priuie Counſellors, concerning ſome buſineſſe the Papiſts were in, both at home and abroad, making preparations for ſome combination amongſt them againſt this Parliament time, for enabling them to deliuer at that time to the King ſome petition for toleration of Religion: which ſhould bee deliuered in ſome ſuch order and ſo well backed, as the King ſhould be loth to refuſe their requeſts; like the ſturdie beggars crauing almes with one open hand, but carying a ſtone in the other, in caſe of refuſall. And therefore did the Earle of *Salisbury* conclude with the Lord *Mountegle*, that he would in regard of the Kings abſence impart the ſame Letter to ſome more of his Maieſties Councell; whereof my L. *Mountegle* liked well: onely adding this requeſt by way of proteſtation, That whatſoeuer the euent hereof might proue, it ſhould not be imputed to him, as proceeding from too light and too ſuddaine an apprehenſion, that he deliuered this Letter, being onely mooued thereunto for demonſtration of his ready deuotion, and care for preſeruation of his Maieſtie and the State. And thus did the Earle of *Salisbury* preſently acquaint the Lord *Chamberlaine* with the ſaid letter: Whereupon they two in preſence of the Lord *Mountegle*, calling to mind the former intelligence already mentioned, which ſeemed to haue ſome relation with this Letter; The tender care which they euer caried to the preſeruation of his Maieſties perſon, made them apprehend, that ſome perillous attempt did thereby appeare to be intended againſt the ſame, which did the more neerly concerne the ſaid L. *Chamberlaine* to haue a care of, in regard that it doth belong to the charge of his Office to ouerſee as well all places of Aſſembly where his Maieſty is to repaire, as his Highneſſe owne priuate houſes. And therfore did the ſaid two Counſailors conclude, That they ſhould ioyne vnto themſelues three more of the Councell, to wit, the Lord *Admiral*, the Earles of *Worceſter* and *Northampton*, to be alſo particularly acquainted with this accident, who hauing all of them concurred together to the re-examination of the Contents of the ſaid Letter, they did conclude, That how ſlight a matter it might at the firſt appeare to bee, yet was it not abſolutely to be contemned, in reſpect of the care which it behooued them to haue of the preſeruation of his Maieſties perſon: But yet reſolued for two reaſons, firſt to acquaint the King himſelfe with the ſame before they proceeded to any further inquiſition in the matter, aſwell for the expectation and experience they had of his Maieſties fortunate Iudgement in clearing and ſoluing of obſcure riddles and doubtful myſteries; as alſo becauſe the more time would in the meane while be giuen for the Practiſe to ripen,

Purpoſe of the Papiſts for deliuering a petition to his Maieſtie, to craue toleration of Religion.

The Lord *Chamberlaine* made priuie to the Letter by the Earle of *Salisbury.*

Thought meet by the Councellors to acquaint the King with the Letter.

if

if any was, whereby the Diſcouery might be the more cleere and euident, and the ground of proceeding thereupon more ſafe, iuſt, and eaſie. And ſo according to their determination did the ſayd Earle of *Salisbury* repaire to the King in his Gallery vpon Friday, being *Athallow* day, in the afternoone, which was the day after his Maieſties arriuall, and none but himſelfe being preſent with his Highneſſe at that time, where without any other ſpeach or iudgement giuing of the Letter, but onely relating ſimply the forme of the deliuery thereof, he preſented it to his Maieſtie. The contents whereof follow.

Vpon Alhallow day the Earle of *Salisburie* ſhewed the Letter to the King.

MY Lord, Out of the loue I beare to ſome of your friends, I haue a care of your preſeruation. Therefore I would aduiſe you, as you tender your life, to deuiſe ſome excuſe to ſhift off your attendance at this Parliament. For God and man haue concurred to puniſh the wickedneſſe of this Time. And thinke not ſlightly of this Aduertiſement, but retire your ſelfe into your Countrey, where you may expect the euent in ſafety. For though there be no apparance of any ſtirre, yet I ſay, they ſhal receiue a terrible Blow this Parliament, and yet they ſhall not ſee who hurts them. This counſell is not to be contemned, becauſe it may doe you good, and can doe you no harme; for the danger is paſt ſo ſoone as you haue burnt the Letter. And I hope God will giue you the grace to make good vſe of it: To whoſe holy protection I commend you.

His Maieſties iudgement of the Letter.

The King no ſooner read the Letter, but after a little pauſe, and then reading it ouer againe, he deliuered his iudgement of it in ſuch ſort, as hee thought it was not to be contemned, for that the Style of it ſeemed to bee more quicke and pithie, then is vſuall to be in any Paſquil or libel (the ſuperfluities of idle braines:) But the Earle of *Salisbury* perceiuing the King to apprehend it deepelier then he looked for, knowing his nature, told him that he thought by one ſentence in it, that it was like to be written by ſome foole or madman, reading to him this ſentence in it, *For the danger is paſt as ſoone as you haue burnt the Letter*; which hee ſaid, was likely to bee the ſaying of a foole: for if the danger was paſt ſo ſoone as the Letter was burnt, then the warning behooued to bee of little auayle, when the burning of the Letter might make the danger to be eſchewed. But the King by the contrary conſidering the former ſentence in the Letter, *That they ſhould receiue a terrible Blow at this Parliament, and yet ſhould not ſee who hurt them*, ioyning it to the ſentence immediatly following, already alledged, did therupon coniecture, That the danger mentioned, ſhould bee ſome ſuddaine danger by blowing vp of Powder: For no other Inſurrection, Rebellion, or whatſoeuer other priuate and deſperate Attempt could bee committed or attempted in time of Parliament, and the Authours thereof vnſeene, except onely it were by a blowing vp of Powder, which might bee performed by one baſe knaue in a darke corner; whereupon he was moued to interprete and conſtrue the latter Sentence in the Letter (alledged by the Earle of *Salisburie*) againſt all ordinarie ſence and conſtruction in Grammar,

as

as if by theſe words, *For the danger is paſt as ſoone as you haue burned the Letter*, ſhould be cloſely vnderſtood the ſuddaintie and quickeneſſe of the danger, which ſhould be as quickly perfourmed and at an end, as that paper ſhould be of bleaſing vp in the fire; turning that word of *as ſoone*, to the ſenſe of, *as quickly*: And therefore wiſhed, that before his going to the Parliament, the vnder roumes of the Parliament houſe might be well and narrowly ſearched. But the Earle of *Salisbury* wondering at this his Maieſties Commentary, which he knew to be ſo farre contrary to his ordinary and naturall diſpoſition, who did rather euer ſinne vpon the other ſide, in not apprehending nor truſting due Aduertiſements of Practiſes and Perils when hee was trewly enformed of them, whereby hee had many times drawen himſelfe into many deſperate dangers: and interpreting rightly this extraordinary Caution at this time to proceede from the vigilant care hee had of the whole State, more then of his owne Perſon, which could not but haue all periſhed together, if this deſignement had ſucceeded: Hee thought good to diſſemble ſtill vnto the King, that there had beene any iuſt cauſe of ſuch apprehenſion: And ending the purpoſe with ſome merrie ieaſt vpon this Subiect, as his cuſtome is, tooke his leaue for that time.

His Maieſties opinion for ſearching of the vnder roumes of the Parliament houſe.

But though he ſeemed ſo to neglect it to his Maieſtie, yet his cuſtomable and watchfull care of the King and the State ſtill boyling within him, And hauing with the bleſſed Virgine *Marie* laid vp in his heart the Kings ſo ſtrange iudgement and conſtruction of it; He could not be at reſt til he acquainted the foreſaid Lords what had paſſed betweene the King and him in priuat: Wherupon they were all ſo earneſt to renew againe the memory of the ſame purpoſe to his Maieſtie, as it was agreed that he ſhould the next day, being Saturday, repaire to his Highneſſe: which hee did in the ſame priuie Gallery, and renewed the memory thereof, the L. *Chamberlaine* then being preſent with the King. At what time it was determined, that the ſaid Lord *Chamberlaine* ſhould, according to his cuſtome and Office, view all the Parliament Houſes, both aboue and below, and conſider what likelihood or appearance of any ſuch danger might poſſibly be gathered by the ſight of them: But yet, as well for ſtaying of idle rumours, as for beeing the more able to diſcerne any myſterie, the nearer that things were in readineſſe, his iourney thither was ordeined to bee deferred till the afternoone before the ſitting downe of the Parliament, which was vpon the Munday following. At what time hee (according to this concluſion) went to the Parliament houſe accompanied with my Lord *Mountegle*, beeing in zeale to the Kings ſeruice earneſt and curious to ſee the euent of that accident whereof hee had the fortune to be the firſt diſcouerer: where, hauing viewed all the lower roumes, hee found in the Vault vnder the vpper Houſe great ſtore and prouiſion of Billets, Faggots, and Coales: And enquiring of *Whyneard* Keeper of the Wardrobe, to what vſe hee had put thoſe lower roumes and cellars: he told him, That *Thomas Percie* had hi-

The determination to ſearch the Parliament houſe and the roumes vnder it.

Wood and Coale found by the Lord *Chamberlaine* in the Vault.

red

red both the Houſe, and part of the Cellar or Vault vnder the ſame, and that the Wood and Coale therein was the ſaid Gentlemans owne prouiſion: Whereupon the Lord *Chamberlaine*, caſting his eye aſide, perceiued a fellow ſtanding in a corner there, calling himſelf the ſaid *Percies* man, and keeper of that houſe for him, but indeed was *Guido Fawkes*, the owner of that hand which ſhould haue acted that monſtrous Tragedie.

Guido Fawkes bearing the name of *Percies* man.

The Lord *Chamberlaine* looking vpon all things with a heedfull indeed, yet in outward appearance with but a careleſſe and rackleſſe eye (as became ſo wiſe and diligent a miniſter) hee preſently addreſſed himſelfe to the King in the ſaid priuie Gallery, where in the preſence of the Lord *Treaſurer*, the Lord *Admirall*, the Earles of *Worceſter*, *Northampton*, and *Salisbury*, hee made his report, what hee had ſeene and obſerued there; noting that *Mountegle* had told him, That he no ſooner heard *Thomas Percy* named to be the poſſeſſour of that houſe, but conſidering both his backwardnes in Religion, and the old deareneſſe in friendſhip betweene himſelfe and the ſaid *Percy*, hee did greatly ſuſpect the matter, and that the Letter ſhould come from him. The ſaid Lord *Chamberlaine* alſo tolde, That he did not wonder a little at the extraordinary great prouiſion of wood and coale in that houſe, where *Thomas Percie* had ſo ſeldome occaſion to remaine; As likewiſe it gaue him in his minde that his man looked like a very tall and deſperate fellow.

The Lord *Chamberlaines* report and iudgement of what he had obſerued in the ſearch.

This could not but encreaſe the Kings former apprehenſion and iealouſie: whereupon hee inſiſted (as before) that the Houſe was narrowly to bee ſearched, and that thoſe Billets and Coales would be ſearched to the bottome, it beeing moſt ſuſpicious that they were layed there onely for couering of the powder. Of this ſame minde alſo were all the Counſailours then preſent: But vpon the faſhion of making of the ſearch was it long debated: For vpon the one ſide they were all ſo iealous of the Kings ſafety, that they all agreed, that there could not be too much caution vſed for preuenting his danger. And yet vpon the other part they were all extreme loath and daintie, that in caſe this Letter ſhould proue to bee nothing but the euaporation of an idle braine; then a curious ſearch beeing made, and nothing found, ſhould not onely turne to the generall ſcandall of the King and the State, as being ſo ſuſpicious of euery light and friuolous toy, but likewiſe lay an ill fauoured imputation vpon the Earle of *Northumberland* one of his Maieſties greateſt Subiects and Counſailors, this *Tho. Percie* being his kinſman, and moſt confident familiar. And the rather were they curious vpon this point, knowing how far the King deteſted to be thought ſuſpitious or iealous of any of his good Subiects, though of the meaneſt degree. And therefore though they all agreed vpon the maine ground, which was to prouide for the ſecuritie of the Kings Perſon, yet did they much differ in the circumſtances, by which this action might be beſt caried with leaſt dinne and occaſion of ſlaunder. But the King himſelfe ſtill perſiſting that there were diuers ſhrewd appearances, and that

Diſputation about the maner of the further ſearch.

a narrow ſearch of thoſe places could preiudge no man that was innocent, hee at laſt plainely reſolued them, That either muſt all the partes of thoſe roumes bee narrowly ſearched, and no poſſibilitie of danger left vnexamined, or elſe hee and they all muſt reſolue not to meddle in it at all, but plainly to goe the next day to the Parliament, and leaue the ſucceſſe to Fortune, which he beleeued they would be loth to take vpon their conſciences: for in ſuch a caſe as this, an halfe doing was worſe then no doing at all. Whereupon it was at laſt concluded, That nothing ſhould bee left vnſearched in thoſe Houſes: And yet for the better colour and ſtay of rumour, in caſe nothing were found, it was thought meet, that vpon a pretence of *Whyneards* miſſing ſome of the Kings ſtuffe or Hangings which he had in keeping, all thoſe roumes ſhould be narrowly ripped for them. And to this purpoſe was Sir *Thomas Kneuet* (a Gentleman of his Maieſties priuie Chamber) employed, being a Iuſtice of Peace in *Weſtminſter*, and one, of whoſe ancient fidelitie both the late Queene and our now Soueraigne haue had large proofe: who according to the truſt committed vnto him, went about the midnight next after, to the Parliament houſe, accompanied with ſuch a ſmall number as was fit for that errand. But before his entry in the houſe, finding *Thomas Percies* alleaged man ſtanding without the doores, his cloathes and bootes on at ſo dead a time of the night, he reſolued to apprehend him, as hee did, and thereafter went forward to the ſearching of the houſe, where after he had cauſed to be ouerturned ſome of the Billets and Coales, he firſt found one of the ſmall Barrels of Powder, and after all the reſt, to the number of thirty ſixe Barrels, great and ſmall: And thereafter ſearching the fellow, whom he had taken, found three matches, and all other inſtruments fit for blowing vp the Powder, readie vpon him, which made him inſtantly confeſſe his owne guiltineſſe, declaring alſo vnto him, That if hee had happened to be within the houſe when hee tooke him, as he was immediatly before (at the ending of his worke) hee would not haue failed to haue blowen him vp, houſe and all.

Agreed that the ſearch ſhould be vnder colour of ſeeking for Wardrobe ſtuffe miſſed by *Whynniard.*

Fawkes found at midnight without the houſe.

Thus after Sir *Thomas* had cauſed the wretch to bee ſurely bound, and well guarded by the company hee had brought with him, hee himſelfe returned backe to the Kings Palace, and gaue warning of his ſucceſſe to the Lord Chamberlaine, and Earle of Salisburie, who immediatly warning the reſt of the Councell that lay in the houſe, as ſoone as they could get themſelues ready, came, with their fellow Counſellers, to the Kings Bedchamber, being at that time neere foure of the clocke in the morning. And at the firſt entry of the Kings Chamber doore, the Lord Chamberlaine, being not any longer able to conceale his ioy for the preuenting of ſo great a danger, told the King in a confuſed haſte, that all was found and diſcouered, and the Traitor in hands and faſt bound.

Vpon Sir *Thomas Kneuets* returne the Councel warned.

Then, order beeing firſt taken for ſending for the reſt of the Councell that lay in the Towne, The priſoner himſelfe was brought into the houſe, where in reſpect of the ſtrangenes of the accident, no man was ſtayed from the

the ſight or ſpeaking with him. And within a while after, the Councel did examine him; Who ſeeming to put on a *Romane* reſolution, did both to the Councill, and to euery other perſon that ſpake with him that day, appeare ſo conſtant and ſetled vpon his grounds, as wee all thought wee had found ſome new *Mutius Scæuola* borne in England. For notwithſtanding the horrour of the fact, the guilt of his conſcience, his ſudden ſurpriſing, the terrour which ſhould haue bene ſtroken in him by comming into the preſence of ſo graue a Councill, and the reſtleſſe and confuſed queſtions that euery man all that day did vexe him with; Yet was his countenance ſo farre from being deiected, as he often ſmiled in ſcornefull maner, not onely auowing the Fact, but repenting onely, with the ſaid *Scæuola*, his failing in the execution thereof, whereof (he ſaid) the diuel and not God, was the diſcouerer: Anſwering quickly to euery mans obiection, ſcoffing at any idle queſtions which were propounded vnto him, and ieſting with ſuch as he thought had no authoritie to examine him. All that day could the Councill get nothing out of him touching his Complices, refuſing to anſwere to any ſuch queſtions which hee thought might diſcouer the plot, and laying all the blame vpon himſelfe; Whereunto he ſaid hee was mooued onely for Religion and conſcience ſake, denying the King to be his lawfull Soueraigne, or the Anoynted of God, in reſpect he was an hereticke, and giuing himſelfe no other name then *Iohn Iohnſon*, ſeruant to *Thomas Percie*. But the next morning being caried to the Tower, hee did not there remaine aboue two or three dayes, being twiſe or thriſe in that ſpace reexamined, and the Racke onely offered and ſhewed vnto him, when the maske of his Romane fortitude did viſibly beginne to weare and ſlide off his face; And then did hee beginne to confeſſe part of the trewth, and thereafter to open the whole matter, as doeth appeare by his depoſitions immediatly following.

THE TREW COPIE OF THE DECLARATION OF *GVIDO FAWKES*, TAKEN IN THE PRESENCE OF THE Counſellers, whoſe names are vnder written.

I Confeſſe, that a practiſe in generall was firſt broken vnto me, againſt his Maieſtie for reliefe of the Catholique cauſe, and not inuented or propounded by my ſelfe. And this was firſt propounded vnto mee about Eaſter laſt was twelue moneth beyond the Seas, in the Low-Countreys of the Archdukes obeiſance, by *Thomas Winter*, who came thereupon with mee

into England, and there wee imparted our purpoſe to three other Gentlemen more, namely, *Robert Catesby*, *Thomas Percie*, and *Iohn Wright*, who all fiue conſulting together of the meanes how to execute the ſame, and taking a vow among our ſelues for ſecrecie; *Catesby* propounded to haue it performed by Gunpowder, and by making a Myne vnder the vpper Houſe of Parliament: which place wee made choice of the rather, becauſe Religion hauing bene vniuſtly ſuppreſſed there, it was fitteſt that Iuſtice and puniſhment ſhould be executed there.

This being reſolued amongſt vs, *Thomas Percy* hired an houſe at Weſtminſter for that purpoſe, neere adioyning to the Parliament Houſe, and there we begun to make our Myne about the 11. of December 1604.

The fiue that firſt entred into the worke, were *Thomas Percy*, *Robert Catesby*, *Thomas Winter*, *Iohn Wright*, and my ſelfe: and ſoone after wee tooke another vnto vs, *Chriſtopher Wright*, hauing ſworne him alſo, and taken the Sacrament for ſecrecie.

When we came to the very foundation of the wall of the Houſe, which was about three yards thicke, and found it a matter of great difficultie, wee tooke vnto vs another Gentleman, *Robert Winter*, in like maner with oath and Sacrament as aforeſaid.

It was about Chriſtmas when we brought our Myne vnto the Wal, and about Candlemas we had wrought the Wall halfe through: And whileſt they were in working, I ſtood as Sentinell to deſcrie any man that came neere, whereof I gaue them warning, and ſo they ceaſed vntill I gaue notice againe to proceed.

All we ſeuen lay in the Houſe, and had ſhot and powder, being reſolued to die in that place before we ſhould yeeld or be taken.

As they were working vpon the wall, they heard a ruſhing in a cellar of remooving of coales, whereupon we feared wee had bene diſcouered: and they ſent mee to goe to the cellar, who finding that the coales were a ſelling, and that the cellar was to be let, viewing the commoditie thereof for our purpoſe, *Percy* went and hired the ſame for yeerely rent.

Wee had before this prouided and brought into the Houſe twentie barrels of powder, which we remooued into the cellar, and couered the ſame with billets and faggots, which were prouided for that purpoſe.

About Eaſter, the Parliament being prorogued till October next, wee diſperſed our ſelues, and I retired into the Low countreys by aduice and direction of the reſt, aſwell to acquaint *Owen* with the particulars of the plot, as alſo leſt by my longer ſtay I might haue growne ſuſpicious, and ſo haue come in queſtion.

In the meane time *Percy* hauing the key of the cellar, layd in more powder and wood into it. I returned about the beginning of September next, and then receiuing the key againe of *Percy*, wee brought in more powder and billets to couer the ſame againe, and ſo I went for a time into the countrey till the 30. of October.

It was

It was further reſolued amongſt vs, that the ſame day that this acte ſhould haue bene performed, ſome other of our confederates ſhould haue ſurpriſed the perſon of the Lady ELIZABETH the Kings eldeſt daughter, who was kept in Warwickſhire at the Lord *Haringtons* houſe, and preſently haue proclaimed her Queene, hauing a proiect of a Proclamation ready for that purpoſe, wherein wee made no mention of altering of Religion, nor would haue auowed the deed to be ours, vntill we ſhould haue had power ynough to make our partie good, and then wee would haue auowed both.

Concerning duke CHARLES the Kings ſecond ſonne, we had ſundry conſultations how to ſeize on his perſon: But becauſe wee found no meanes how to compaſſe it (the duke being kept neere London, where we had not forces ynough) wee reſolued to ſerue our turne with the Lady ELIZABETH.

THE NAMES OF OTHER PRINCIPALL PERSONS, THAT WERE MADE PRIVIE AFTERwards to this horrible conſpiracie.

Euerard Digby knight. *Ambroſe Rookwood.* *Francis Treſham.* *John Grant.* *Robert Keyes.*

Commiſſ.

Notingham. Worceſter. Suffolke. Deuonſhire. Northampton. Salisbury. Marre. Dunbar. Popham.

Edw. Cooke. *William Waad.*

AND in regard that before this diſcourſe could be ready to goe to the Preſſe, *Thomas Winter* being apprehended, and brought to the Tower, made a confeſſion in ſubſtance agreeing with this former of *Fawkes*, onely larger in ſome circumſtances: I haue thought good to inſert the ſame likewiſe in this place, for the further clearing of the matter, and greater benefit of the Reader.

THOMAS WINTERS CONFESSION, TAKEN THE XXIII. OF NOVEMBER 1605. IN THE PRESENCE OF the Counsellors, whose names are vnder-written.

My most Honourable Lords,

NOt out of hope to obtaine pardon: for, speaking of my temporall part, I may say, The fault is greater then can bee forgiuen; nor affecting hereby the title of a good Subiect: for I must redeeme my countrey from as great a danger, as I haue hazarded the bringing of her into, before I can purchase any such opinion, Onely at your Honours command I will briefly set downe mine owne accusation, and how farre I haue proceeded in this businesse; which I shall the faithfullier doe, since I see such courses are not pleasing to Almightie God, and that all, or the most materiall parts haue bene already confessed.

I remained with my brother in the countrey, from Alhallontyde vntill the beginning of Lent, in the yeere of our Lord 1603. the first yeere of the Kings reigne: about which time master *Catesby* sent thither, intreating me to come to London, where hee and other my friends would be glad to see me. I desired him to excuse me: for I found my selfe not very well disposed; and (which had happened neuer to mee before) returned the messenger without my company. Shortly I receiued another letter, in any wise to come. At the second summons I presently came vp, and found him with master *Iohn Wright* at Lambeth, where he brake with me, how necessary it was not to forsake our countrey (for he knew I had then a resolution to goe ouer) but to deliuer her from the seruitude in which shee remained, or at least to assist her with our vttermost endeuours. I answered, That I had often hazarded my life vpon farre lighter termes, and now would not refuse any good occasion, wherein I might doe seruice to the Catholicke cause; but for my selfe I knew no meane probable to succeed. He said that he had bethought him of a way at one instant to deliuer vs from all our bonds, and without any forraine helpe to replant againe the Catholicke Religion; and with all told mee in a word, It was to blow vp the Parliament house with Gunpowder; for, said he, in that place haue they done vs all the mischiefe, and perchance God hath desseigned that place for their punishment. I wondered at the strangenesse of the conceipt, and told him that trew it was, this strake at the root, and would breed a confusion fit to beget new alterations; But if it should not take effect (as most of this nature miscaried)

caried) the ſcandall would be ſo great which Catholicke Religion might hereby ſuſtaine, as not onely our enemies, but our friends alſo would with good reaſon condemne vs. He told me, The nature of the diſeaſe required ſo ſharpe a remedie, and asked me if I would giue my conſent. I told him, yes, in this or what els ſoeuer; if he reſolued vpon it, I would venture my life. But I propoſed many difficulties, As want of an houſe, and of one to cary the Myne, noyſe in the working, and ſuch like. His anſwere was, Let vs giue an attempt, and where it faileth, paſſe no further. But firſt, quoth hee, Becauſe wee will leaue no peaceable and quiet way vntryed, you ſhall goe ouer, and informe the Conſtable of the ſtate of the Catholickes here in England, intreating him to ſollicite his Maieſtie at his comming hither, that the penall Lawes may be recalled, and wee admitted into the rancke of his other Subiects; withall, you may bring ouer ſome confident Gentleman, ſuch as you ſhall vnderſtand beſt able for this buſineſſe, and named vnto mee maſter *Fawkes*. Shortly after, I paſſed the Sea, and found the Conſtable at *Bergen* neere *Dunkirke*, where, by helpe of maſter *Owen* I deliuered my meſſage; Whoſe anſwere was, that hee had ſtrict command from his Maſter, to doe all good Offices for the Catholickes, and for his owne part hee thought himſelfe bound in conſcience ſo to doe, and that no good occaſion ſhould be omitted, but ſpake to him nothing of this matter.

Returning to *Dunkirck* with maſter *Owen*, wee had ſpeach whether hee thought the Conſtable would faithfully helpe vs, or no. He ſaid he beleeued nothing leſſe, and that they ſought onely their owne ends, holding ſmall account of Catholicks. I told him that there were many Gentlemen in *England*, who would not forſake their countrey vntill they had tried the vttermoſt, & rather venture their liues, then forſake her in this miſerie. And to adde one more to our number, as a fit man both for counſel and execution of whatſoeuer we ſhould reſolue, wiſhed for maſter *Fawkes*, whom I had heard good commendations of: hee told mee the Gentleman deſerued no leſſe, but was at *Bruſſels*, and that if he came not, as happily he might, before my departure, he would ſend him ſhortly after into *England*. I went ſoone after to *Oſtend*, where ſir *William Stanley* as then was not, but came two daies after. I remained with him three or foure daies, in which time I asked him, if the Catholicks in *England* ſhould do any thing to helpe themſelues, whether he thought the Archduke would ſecond them? He anſwered, No, for all thoſe parts were ſo deſirous of peace with *England*, as they would endure no ſpeach of other enterpriſe: neither were it fit, ſaid hee, to ſet any proiect afoot, now the Peace is vpon concluding. I told him there was no ſuch reſolution, and ſo fell to diſcourſe of other matters, vntill I came to ſpeake of maſter *Fawkes*, whoſe company I wiſhed ouer into *England*. I asked of his ſufficiencie in the warres, and told him wee ſhould need ſuch as hee, if occaſion required; hee gaue very good commendations of him. And as wee were thus diſcourſing, and I ready to depart for *Newport*,

port, and taking my leaue of Sir *William*, Maſter *Fawkes* came into our companie, newly returned, and ſaluted vs. This is the Gentleman, ſaid Sir *William*, that you wiſhed for, and ſo we embraced againe. I told him ſome good friends of his wiſhed his companie in *England*, and that if hee pleaſed to come to *Dunkircke*, wee would haue further conference, whither I was then going: ſo taking my leaue of them both, I departed. About two dayes after came Maſter *Fawkes* to *Dunkirck*, where I told him that we were vpon a reſolution to doe ſomewhat in *England*, if the Peace with *Spaine* helped vs not, but had as yet reſolued vpon nothing; ſuch or the like talke wee paſſed at *Graueling*, where I lay for a winde, and when it ſerued came both in one Paſſage to *Greenwich*, neere which place wee tooke a paire of Oares, and ſo came vp to *London*, and came to Maſter *Catesby* whom wee found in his lodging; hee welcommed vs into *England*, and asked mee what newes from the Conſtable. I told him, good words, but I feared the deedes would not anſwere: This was the beginning of Eaſter Terme, and about the middeſt of the ſame Terme, (whether ſent for by Maſter *Catesby*, or vpon ſome buſineſſe of his owne) vp came Maſter *Thomas Percy*. The firſt word hee ſpake (after hee came into our company) was, Shall we alwayes (Gentlemen) talke, and neuer doe any thing? Maſter *Catesby* took him aſide, and had ſpeach about ſomewhat to be done, ſo as firſt we might all take an oath of ſecrecie, which wee reſolued within two or three dayes to doe: ſo as there we met behind *S. Clements*, Maſter *Catesby*, Maſter *Percy*, Maſter *Wright*, Maſter *Guy Fawkes*, and my ſelfe; and hauing vpon a Primer giuen each other the oath of ſecrecie, in a chamber where no other bodie was, wee went after into the next roome and heard Maſſe, and receiued the bleſſed Sacrament vpon the ſame. Then did Maſter *Catesby* diſcloſe to Maſter *Percy*, and I together with *Iacke Wright*, tell to Maſter *Fawkes* the buſineſſe for which wee tooke this oath, which they both approued. And then was M. *Percy* ſent to take the houſe, which M. *Catesby* in mine abſence, had learned did belong to one *Ferris*, which with ſome difficultie in the end he obtained, and became, as *Ferris* before was, Tenant to *Whynniard*. M. *Fawkes* vnderwent the name of M. *Percies* man, calling himſelfe *Iohnſon*, becauſe his face was the moſt vnknowen, and receiued the keyes of the houſe, vntill wee heard that the Parliament was adiourned to the ſeuenth of Februarie: At which time we all departed ſeuerall wayes into the countrey, to meete againe at the beginning of Michaelmas Terme. Before this time alſo it was thought conuenient to haue a houſe that might anſwere to M. *Percies*, where we might make prouiſion of powder and wood for the Mine, which beeing there made ready, ſhould in a night be conueyed by boate to the houſe by the Parliament, becauſe wee were loath to foile that with often going in and out. There was none that we could deuiſe ſo fit as *Lambeth*, where Maſter *Catesby* often lay, and to bee keeper thereof (by M. *Catesbies* choice) we receiued into the number, *Keyes*, as a truſtie honeſt man: this was about a moneth before Michaelmas.

Some

Some fortnight after towards the beginning of the Terme, M. *Fawkes* and I came to M. *Catesby* at *Morecroſts*, where we agreed that now was time to beginne and ſet things in order for the Mine. So as Maſter *Fawkes* went to *London*, and the next day ſent for me to come ouer to him: when I came, the cauſe was, for that the Scottiſh Lords were appointed to ſit in conference of the Vnion in Maſter *Percies* houſe. This hindered our beginning vntill a fortnight before Chriſtmas, by which time both Maſter *Percie* and Maſter *Wright* were come to *London*, and wee againſt their comming had prouided a good part of the powder: ſo as wee all fiue entred with tooles fit to beginne our worke, hauing prouided our ſelues of Baked-meates, the leſſe to need ſending abroad. We entred late in the night, and were neuer ſeene ſaue onely Maſter *Percies* man, vntill Chriſtmas Eue, In which time we wrought vnder a little Entry to the wall of the Parliament houſe, and vnderpropped it, as we went, with wood.

Whileſt we were together, we began to faſhion our buſineſſe, and diſcourſed what we ſhould doe after this deed was done. The firſt queſtion was how we might ſurprize the next heire, the Prince haply would bee at the Parliament with the King his Father, how ſhould wee then bee able to ſeaze on the Duke? This burthen Maſter *Percie* vndertooke, that by his acquaintance, hee, with another Gentleman would enter the Chamber without ſuſpition, and hauing ſome doozen others at ſeuerall doores to expect his comming, and two or three on horſebacke at the Court gate to receiue him, hee would vndertake (the blow beeing giuen, vntill which hee would attend in the Dukes Chamber) to carrie him ſafe away: for hee ſuppoſed moſt of the Court would bee abſent, and ſuch as were there not ſuſpecting, or vnprouided for any ſuch matter. For the Lady ELIZABETH, it were eaſie to ſurprize her in the Countrey, by drawing friends together at an hunting neere the Lord *Haringtons*, and Aſhbie, M. *Catesbies* houſe, being not farre off was a fit place for preparation.

The next was for money and horſes, which if wee could prouide in any reaſonable meaſure (hauing the Heire apparant) and the firſt knowledge by foure or fiue dayes, was oddes ſufficient.

Then what Lords we ſhould ſaue from the Parliament, which was firſt agreed in generall as many as we could that were Catholickes, or ſo diſpoſed: but after we deſcended to ſpeake of particulars.

Next, what forraine Princes wee ſhould acquaint with this before, or ioyne with after. For this point wee agreed, that firſt wee could not enioyne Princes to that ſecrecie, nor oblige them by oath, ſo to be ſecure of their promiſe: beſides, we knew not whether they will approue the proiect or diſlike it: And if they doe allow thereof, to prepare before, might beget ſuſpition; and not to prouide vntill the buſineſſe were acted, the ſame letter that caried newes of the thing done, might as well intreate their helpe and furtherance. *Spaine* is too ſlow in his preparations to hope any good from in the firſt extremities, and *France* too neere and too dangerous,

rous, who with the ſhipping of *Holland*, we feared of all the world might make away with vs.

But while we were in the middle of theſe diſcourſes, we heard that the Parliament ſhould bee anew adiourned vntill after Michaelmas, vpon which tidings we broke off both diſcourſe and working vntill after Chriſtmas. About Candlemas we brought ouer in a boate the powder, which we had prouided at Lambeth, and laide it in M. *Percies* houſe, becauſe wee were willing to haue all our danger in one place.

We wrought alſo another fortnight in the Mine againſt the ſtone wall, which was very hard to beate thorow; at which time we called in *Kit Wright*, and neare to Eaſter, as we wrought the third time, opportunitie was giuen to hire the Cellar, in which we reſolued to lay the powder, and leaue the Mine.

Now by reaſon that the charge of maintaining vs all ſo long together, beſides the number of ſeuerall houſes, which for ſeuerall vſes had beene hired, and buying of powder &c. had layen heauie on M. *Catesby* alone to ſupport; it was neceſſarie for him to call in ſome others to eaſe his charge, and to that ende deſired leaue, that hee, with M. *Percy*, and a third, whom they ſhould call, might acquaint whom they thought fit and willing to the buſineſſe: for many, ſaid hee, may be content that I ſhould know, who would not therefore that all the company ſhould be acquainted with their names: to this we all agreed.

After this Maſter *Fawkes* laid into the Cellar (which hee had newly taken) a thouſand of Billets, and fiue hundred of Faggots, and with that couered the Powder, becauſe we might haue the Houſe free, to ſuffer any one to enter that would. Maſter *Catesby* wiſhed vs to conſider, whether it were not now neceſſary to ſend M. *Fawkes* ouer, both to abſent himſelfe for a time, as alſo to acquaint Sir *William Stanley* and M. *Owen* with this matter. Wee agreed that he ſhould (prouided that hee gaue it them with the ſame othe that wee had taken it before) *videlicet*, to keepe it ſecret from all the world. The reaſon why we deſired Sir *William Stanley* ſhould be acquainted herewith was, to haue him with vs ſo ſoone as he could: And for M. *Owen*, hee might holde good correſpondencie after with forreine Princes. So M. *Fawkes* departed about Eaſter for *Flanders*, and returned the latter end of Auguſt. He tolde me that when he arriued at *Bruſſels*, Sir *William Stanley* was not returned from *Spaine*, ſo as hee vttered the matter onely to *Owen*, who ſeemed well pleaſed with the buſineſſe, but tolde him that ſurely Sir *William* would not be acquainted with any plot, as hauing buſineſſe now afoot in the Court of *England*; but he himſelfe would be alwayes readie to tell it him, and ſend him away ſo ſoone as it were done.

About this time did M. *Percy* and M. *Catesby* meete at the *Bathe*, where they agreed that the company being yet but few, M. *Catesby* ſhould haue the others authoritie to call in whom hee thought beſt; By which authoritie hee called in after, Sir *Euerard Digby*, though at what time I know not,

and

and laſt of all M. *Francis Treſham.* The firſt promiſed, as I heard M. *Catesby* ſay, fifteene hundred pounds; the ſecond two thouſand pounds; M. *Percy* himſelfe promiſed all that hee could get of the Earle of *Northumberlands* rents, which was about foure thouſand pounds, and to prouide many galloping horſes to the number of ten.

Meane while M. *Fawkes* and my ſelfe alone bought ſome new Powder, as ſuſpecting the firſt to be danke, and conueyed it into the Cellar, and ſet it in order, as wee reſolued it ſhould ſtand. Then was the Parliament anew prorogued vntill the fift of Nouember, ſo as we all went downe vntil ſome ten dayes before, when M. *Catesby* came vp with M. *Fawkes* to an houſe by *Enfield Chace* called *White-webbes*, whither I came to them, and M. *Catesby* willed me to enquire whether the yong Prince came to the Parliament: I tolde him that I heard that his Grace thought not to be there. Then muſt wee haue our Horſes ſaid M. *Catesby* beyond the water, and prouiſion of more company to ſurpriſe the Prince, and leaue the Duke alone.

Two dayes after being Sunday at night, in came one to my chamber, and told me that a letter had beene giuen to my L. *Mountegle* to this effect, That he wiſhed his Lordſhips abſence from the Parliament, becauſe a blow would there be giuen; which letter he preſently caried to my L. of *Salisbury*.

On the morrow I went to *White-webbes*, and told it M. *Catesby*, aſſuring him withall that the matter was diſcloſed; and wiſhing him in any caſe to forſake his Countrey. He told me he would ſee further as yet, and reſolued to ſend M. *Fawkes* to trie the vttermoſt, proteſting if the part belonged to himſelfe, he would trie the ſame aduenture.

On Wedneſday Maſter *Fawkes* went and returned at night, of which we were very glad.

Thurſday I came to London, and Friday Maſter *Catesby*, Maſter *Treſham* and I met at *Barnet*, where wee queſtioned how this Letter ſhould be ſent to my L. *Mountegle*, but could not conceiue, for Maſter *Treſham* forſware it, whom we onely ſuſpected.

On Saturday night I met M. *Treſham* againe in Lincolnes Inne walkes: wherein he tolde ſuch ſpeeches, that my Lord of *Salisbury* ſhould vſe to the King, as I gaue it loſt the ſecond time, and repeated the ſame to M. *Catesby*, who hereupon was reſolued to be gone, but ſtayed to haue M. *Percy* come vp, whoſe conſent herein wee wanted. On Sunday M. *Percy* being dealt with to that end, would needs abide the vttermoſt triall.

This ſuſpicion of all hands put vs into ſuch confuſion, as M. *Catesby* reſolued to goe downe into the countrey the Munday that M. *Percy* went to *Syon*, and M. *Percy* reſolued to follow the ſame night, or early the next morning. About fiue of the clocke being Tueſday, came the yonger *Wright* to my Chamber, and tolde me that a Nobleman called the L. *Mountegle*, ſaying, Ariſe, and come along to *Eſſex* houſe, for I am going to call vp my L. of *Northumberland*, ſaying withall, The matter is diſcouered Goe backe M. *Wright* (quoth I) and learne what you can about *Eſſex* gate. Shortly hee returned

returned and ſaid, Surely all is loſt: for *Lepton* is got on horſebacke at *Eſſex* doore, and as he parted, he asked if their Lordſhips would haue any more with him: and being anſwered No, is rode faſt vp Fleetſtreete as hee can ride. Goe you then (quoth I) to M. *Percy*, for ſure it is for him they ſeeke, and bid him be gone, I will ſtay and ſee the vttermoſt. Then I went to the Court gates, and found them ſtraitly guarded, ſo as no body could enter. From thence I went downe towards the Parliament houſe, and in the middle of Kings-ſtreet, found the Guard ſtanding that would not let me paſſe. And as I returned I heard one ſay, There is a Treaſon diſcouered, in which the King and the Lords ſhould haue beene blowen vp. So then I was fully ſatisfied that all was knowen, and went to the Stable where my gelding ſtood, and rode into the countrey. Maſter *Catesby* had appointed our meeting at *Dunchurch*, but I could not ouertake them vntill I came to my brothers, which was Wedneſday night. On Thurſday wee tooke the Armour at my Lord *Windſores*, and went that night to one *Stephen Littletons* houſe, where the next day (being Friday) as I was early abroad to diſcouer, my man came to me, and ſaid, that an heauie miſchance had ſeuered all the company, for that M. *Catesby*, M. *Rookwood*, and M. *Grant*, were burned with Gunpowder, vpon which ſight the reſt diſperſed. Maſter *Littleton* wiſhed me to flie, and ſo would hee. I told him I would firſt ſee the body of my friend and bury him, whatſoeuer befell me. When I came, I found M. *Catesby* reaſonable well, Maſter *Percy*, both the *Wrights*, M. *Rookwood*, and Maſter *Grant*. I asked them what they reſolued to doe: they anſwered, We meane here to die. I ſaid againe, I would take ſuch part as they did. About eleuen of the clocke came the company to beſet the houſe, and as I walked into the court, I was ſhot into the ſhoulder, which loſt me the vſe of mine arme: the next ſhot was the elder *Wright* ſtricken dead, after him the yonger M. *Wright*, and fourthly *Ambroſe Rookwood* ſhot. Then ſaid M. *Catesby* to me, (ſtanding before the doore they were to enter) Stand by me *Tom*, and we will die together. Sir (quoth I) I haue loſt the vſe of my right arme, and I feare that will cauſe me to be taken. So as wee ſtood cloſe together, M. *Catesby*, M. *Percy*, and my ſelfe, they two were ſhot (as farre as I could gueſſe with one Bullet) and then the company entred vpon me, hurt me in the Belly with a Pike, and gaue me other wounds, vntill one came behinde, and caught holde of both mine armes.

And ſo I remaine yours, &c.

Commiſſ. { *Notingham*, *Suffolke*, *Worceſter*, *Deuonſhire*, *Northampton*, *Saliſburie*, *Marr*, *Dunbar*, *Popham*.

Ed. Coke. *W. Waad.*

The

The names of those that were first in the Treason, *and laboured in the Mine.*

Robert Catesby. } *Esquires.*
Robert Winter. }

Thomas Percy.
Thomas Winter.
John Wright. } *Gentlemen.*
Christopher Wright.
Guido Fawkes.

And Bates, Catesbyes man.

Those that were made acquainted with it, though *not personally labouring in the Mine, nor in the Cellar.*

Euerard Digby. } *Knight.*

Ambrose Rookewood. } *Esquires.*
Francis Tresham. }

John Grant. } *Gent.*
Robert Keyes.

BVt here let vs leaue *Fawkes* in a lodging fit for such a guest, and taking time to aduise vpon his conscience; and turne our selues to that part of the Historie, which concernes the fortune of the rest of his partakers in that abominable Treason. The newes was no sooner spred abroad that morning, which was vpon a Tuesday, the 5. of *Nouember*, and the first day designed for that Session of Parliament; The newes (I say) of this so strange and vnlooked for accident, was no sooner diuulged, but some of those Conspiratours, namely *Winter*, and the two brothers of *Wrights* thought it high time for them to hasten out of the towne (for *Catesby* was gone the night before, and *Percy* at foure of the clocke in the morning the same day of the Discouerie) and all of them held their course, with more haste then good speed to *Warwick* Shire toward *Couentry*, where the next day morning being *Wednesday*, and about the same houre that *Fawks* was taken in *Westminster*, one *Graunt* a gentleman hauing associated vnto him some others of his opinion, all violent Papists and strong Recusants, came to a Stable of one *Benocke* a rider of great

The taking of the horſes out of the ſtable at Warwicke by *Graunt* and others.

Horſes, and hauing violently broken vp the ſame, caried along with them all the great Horſes that were therein, to the number of ſeuen or eight, belonging to diuers Noblemen and Gentlemen of that Countrey, who had put them into the Riders hands to be made fit for ther ſeruice. And ſo both that company of them which fledde out of *London*, as alſo *Graunt* and his complices met all together at *Dunchurch* at Sir *Euerard Digby* his lodging the Tueſday at night, after the diſcouerie of this treacherous Attempt: The which *Digby* had likewiſe for his part appointed a match of hunting to haue beene hunted the next day, which was Wedneſday, though his mind was *Nimrod*-like vpon a farre other maner of hunting, more bent vpon the blood of reaſonable men then bruite beaſts.

The hunting match appointed by Sir *Euerard Digby*.

This company and helliſh ſocietie thus conuened, finding their purpoſe diſcouered, and their treacherie preuented, did reſolue to runne a deſperate courſe, and ſince they could not preuaile by ſo priuate a Blow, to practiſe by a publike rebellion, either to attaine to their Intents, or at leaſt to ſaue themſelues in the throng of others. And therefore gathering all the company they could vnto them, and pretending the quarrell of Religion, hauing intercepted ſuch prouiſion of Armour, Horſes, and Powder, as the time could permit, thought by running vp and downe the Countrey both to augment peece and peece their number (dreaming to themſelues that they had the vertue of a Snow-ball, which being little at the firſt, and tumbling downe from a great hill groweth to a great quantitie, by encreaſing it ſelfe with the Snow that it meeteth by the way) and alſo that they beginning firſt this braue ſhewe in one part of the Countrey, ſhould by their Sympathy and example ſtirre vp and encourage the reſt of their Religion in other parts of *England* to riſe, as they had done there. But when they had gathered their force to the greateſt, they came not to the number of foureſcore, and yet were they troubled all the houres of the day to keepe and containe their own ſeruants from ſtealing from them; who (notwithſtanding of all their care) daily left them, being farre inferiour to *Gedeons* hoſte in number, but farre more in faith or iuſtneſſe of quarrell.

Their going into Armes after the Plot diſcouered.

Their number neuer aboue foureſcore.

And ſo after that this Catholicke troupe had wandered a while through Warwicke-ſhire to Worceſter-ſhire, and from thence to the edge and borders of Stafford-ſhire, this gallantly armed band had not the honour at the laſt to be beaten with a Kings Lieutenant or extraordinary Commiſsioner ſent downe for the purpoſe, but onely by the ordinary Shiriffe of Worceſter-ſhire were they all beaten, killed, taken and diſperſed. Wherein yee haue to note this following circumſtance ſo admirable, and ſo liuely diſplaying the greatneſſe of Gods iuſtice, as it could not be concealed without betraying in a maner the glory due to the Almighty for the ſame.

Their flight.

Although diuers of the Kings Proclamations were poſted downe after theſe Traitors with all the ſpeed poſſible, declaring the odiouſneſſe of that bloodie attempt, the neceſſitie to haue had *Percie* preſerued aliue, if it had beene poſſible, and the aſſembly together of that rightly-damned crew,

now

now no more darned Conſpirators, but open and auowed Rebels: yet the farre diſtance of the way (which was aboue an hundred miles) together with the extreme deepeneſſe thereof, ioyned alſo with the ſhortneſſe of the day, was the cauſe that the heartie and louing affections of the Kings good Subiects in thoſe partes preuented the ſpeed of his Proclamations: For vpon the third day after the flying downe of theſe Rebels, which was vpon the Friday next after the diſcouerie of their Plot, they were moſt of them all ſurprized by the Shiriffe of Worceſter-ſhire at *Holbeach*, about the noone of the day, and that in manner following.

Ouertaken at *Holbeach*, in Stafford ſhire, *Stephen Littl.* *tons* houſe.

Graunt, of whom I haue made mention before for taking the great horſes, who had not all the preceding time ſtirred from his owne houſe till the next morning after the attempt ſhould haue bene put in execution, he then laying his accompt without his Hoſt (as the prouerbe is) that their Plot had, without failing, receiued the day before their hoped-for ſucceſſe; Tooke, or rather ſtole out thoſe horſes (as I ſaid before) for enabling him, and ſo many of that ſoule-leſſe ſociety that had ſtill remained in the Countrey neere about him, to make a ſudden ſurprize vpon the Kings elder daughter, the Lady ELIZABETH, hauing her reſidence nere by that place, whom they thought to haue vſed for the colour of their treacherous deſſigne (His Maieſtie her father, her mother, and male children being all deſtroyed aboue.) And to this purpoſe alſo had that *Nimrod*, *Digby*, prouided his hunting match againſt that ſame time, that numbers of people beeing flocked together vpon the pretence thereof, they might the eaſilier haue brought to paſſe the ſudden ſurpriſe of her perſon.

Grants attempt to ſurprize the Lady *Elizabeth*.

Now the violent taking away of thoſe horſes long before day, did ſeeme to bee ſo great a ryot in the eyes of the Common-people, that knew of no greater myſtery: And the bold attempting thereof did ingender ſuch a ſuſpition of ſome following Rebellion in the hearts of the wiſer ſort, as both great and ſmall beganne to ſtirre and arme themſelues, vpon this vnlooked-for accident: Among whom Sir *Fulke Greuill* the Elder, Knight, as became one both ſo ancient in yeeres and good reputation, and by his Office, beeing Deputie Lieutenant of Warwicke-ſhire, though vnable in his bodie, yet by the zeale and trew feruencie of his mind, did firſt apprehend this foreſaid Ryot to be nothing but the ſparkles and ſure *indices* of a following Rebellion; whereupon both ſtoutly and honeſtly hee tooke order to get into his owne hands, the Munition and Armour of all ſuch Gentlemen about him, as were either abſent from their owne houſes, or in doubtfull guard; and alſo ſent ſuch direction to the Townes about him, as thereupon did follow the ſtriking of *Winter* by a poore Smith, who had likewiſe beene taken by thoſe vulgar people, but that he was reſcued by the reſt of his company, who perceiuing that the Countrey before them had notice of them, haſtened away with loſſe in their owne ſight, ſixteene of their followers being taken by the townes-men, and ſent preſently to the Shiriffe at Warwicke, and from thence to London.

But before twelue or ſixteene houres paſt, *Catesby*, *Percy*, the *Winters*, *Wrights*, *Rookewood* and the reſt, bringing then the aſſurance that their maine Plot was failed and bewrayed, whereupon they had builded the golden mountaines of their glorious hopes: They then tooke their laſt deſperate reſolution to flocke together in a troupe, and wander, as they did, for the reaſons aforetold. But as vpon the one part, the zealous duety to their God and their Souereigne was ſo deepely imprinted in the hearts of all the meaneſt and pooreſt ſort of the people (although then knowing of no further myſterie then ſuch publike miſbehauiours, as their owne eyes taught them) as notwithſtanding of their faire ſhewes and pretence of their Catholicke cauſe, no creature, man or woman through all the Countrey, would once ſo much as giue them willingly a cuppe of drinke, or any ſort of comfort or ſupport, but with execrations deteſted them: So on the other part, the Sheriffes of the Shires, where-through they wandered, conuening their people with all ſpeed poſſible, hunted as hotly after them, as the euilneſſe of the way, and the vnprouidedneſſe of their people vpon that ſudden could permit them. And ſo at laſt after Sir *Richard Verney*, Shiriffe of Warwicke-ſhire, had carefully and ſtreightly beene in chaſe of them to the confines of his Countie, part of the meaner ſort being alſo apprehended by him: Sir *Richard Walſh* Shiriffe of Worceſter-ſhire did likewiſe ductifully and hotely purſue them thorow his Shire; And hauing gotten ſure triall of their taking harbour at the houſe aboue-named, hee did ſend Trumpetters and Meſſengers to them, commaunding them in the Kings name to render vnto him, his Maieſties miniſter; and knowing no more at that time of their guilt then was publikely viſible, did promiſe vpon their ductifull and obedient rendring vnto him, to intercede at the Kings handes for the ſparing of their liues: who receiued onely from them this ſcornefull anſwere (they being better witneſſes to themſelues of their inward euill conſciences) *That hee had need of better aſſiſtance, then of thoſe few numbers that were with him, before hee could bee able to command or comptroll them.*

The preparation to aſſault the houſe.

But here fell the wonderous worke of Gods Iuſtice, That while this meſſage paſſed betweene the Shiriffe and them, The Shiriffes and his peoples zeale beeing iuſtly kindled and augmented by their arrogant anſwere, and ſo they preparing themſelues to giue a furious aſſault; and the other partie making themſelues readie within the houſe to performe their promiſe by a defence as reſolute; It pleaſed God that in the mending of the fire in their chamber, one ſmall ſparke ſhould flie out, and light among leſſe then two pound weight of Powder, which was drying a little from the chimney; which being thereby blowen vp, ſo maymed the faces of ſome of the principall Rebels, and the hands and ſides of others of them (blowing vp with it alſo a great bag full of Powder, which notwithſtanding neuer tooke fire) as they were not only diſabled and diſcouraged hereby from any further reſiſtance, in reſpect *Catesby* himſelfe, *Rookwood*, *Grant*, and diuers others

others of greateſt account among them, were thereby made vnable for defence: but alſo wonderfully ſtroken with amazement in their guiltie conſciences, calling to memory how God had iuſtly puniſhed them with that ſame Inſtrument, which they ſhould haue vſed for the effectuating of ſo great a ſinne, according to the olde Latine ſaying, *In quo peccamus, in eodem plectimur*; as they preſently (ſee the wonderfull power of Gods Iuſtice vpon guiltie conſciences) did all fall downe vpon their knees, praying GOD to pardon them for their bloody enterpriſe; And thereafter giuing ouer any further debate, opened the gate, ſuffered the Sheriffes people to ruſh in furiouſly among them, and deſperately ſought their owne preſent deſtruction; The three ſpecials of them ioyning backes together, *Catesby*, *Percy*, and *Winter*, whereof two with one ſhot, *Catesby* and *Percy* were ſlaine, and the third, *VVinter*, taken and ſaued aliue.

Catesby who was the firſt inuentor of this Treaſon in generall, and of the maner of working the ſame by powder, in ſpeciall, himſelfe now firſt maimed with the blowing vp of powder, and next he and *Percy* both killed with one ſhot proceeding from powder.

And thus theſe reſolute and high aſpiring Catholikes, who dreamed of no leſſe then the deſtruction of Kings and kingdomes, and promiſed to themſelues no lower eſtate then the gouernment of great and ancient Monarchies, were miſerably defeated, and quite ouerthrowen in an inſtant, falling in the pit which they had prepared for others; and ſo fulfilling that ſentence which his Maieſtie did in a maner prophecie of them in his Oration to the Parliament: ſome preſently ſlaine, others deadly wounded, ſtripped of their clothes, left lying miſerably naked, and ſo dying rather of cold, then of the danger of their wounds; and the reſt that either were whole, or but lightly hurt, taken and led priſoners by the Sheriffe the ordinary miniſter of Iuſtice, to the Gaole, the ordinarie place euen of the baſeſt malefactors, where they remained till their ſending vp to *London*, being met with a huge confluence of people of all ſorts, deſirous to ſee them as the rareſt ſort of Monſters; fooles to laugh at them, women and children to wonder, all the common people to gaze, the wiſer ſort to ſatisfie their curioſity in ſeeing the outward caſes of ſo vnheard of a villeny: & generally all ſorts of people to ſatiate and fill their eyes with the ſight of them, whom in their hearts they ſo farre admired and deteſted: ſeruing ſo for a fearfull and publike ſpectacle of Gods fierce wrath and iuſt indignation.

What hereafter will be done with them, is to be left to the Iuſtice of his Maieſtie and the State: Which as no good Subiect needes to doubt will be performed in the owne due time by a publike and an exemplarie puniſhment: So haue we all that are faithfull and humble Subiects, great cauſe to pray earneſtly to the Almighty, that it will pleaſe him who hath the hearts of all Princes in his hands, to put it in his Maieſties heart to make ſuch a concluſion of this Tragedie to the Traitors, but Tragicomedie to the King and all his trew Subiects; as thereby the glory of God and his trew Religion may be aduanced, the future ſecuritie of the King and his eſtate procured and prouided for, all hollow and vnhoneſt hearts diſcouered & preuented, & this horrible attempt (lacking due epitheres) to be ſo iuſtly auenged, That where they thought by one Catholike indeed & vniuerſall blow

to accompliſh the wiſh of that Romane tyrant, who wiſhed all the bodies in Rome to haue but one necke, and ſo by the violent force of Powder to breake vp as with a Pettard our triple locked peacefull gates of *Ianus*, which (God be thanked) they could not compaſſe by any other meanes; they may iuſtly be ſo recompenſed for their trewly viperous intended parricide, as the ſhame and infamie that otherwiſe would light vpon this whole Nation, for hauing vnfortunately hatched ſuch cockatrice egges, may be repaired by the execution of famous and honourable Iuſtice vpon the offendors; and ſo the kingdome purged of them, may hereafter perpetually flouriſh in peace and proſperitie, by the happy coniunction of the hearts of all honeſt and trew Subiects, with their iuſt and religious Soueraigne.

As *Aeneas Sylvius* doth notably write concerning the murther of K. *Iames* the firſt of *Scotland*, and the following puniſhment of the traitours, whereof himſelfe was an eye witneſſe. *Hiſt. de Europa, cap.* 46.

And thus whereas they thought to haue effaced our memories, the memory of them ſhall remaine (but to their perpetuall infamie) and wee (as I ſaid in the beginning) ſhall with all thankefulneſſe eternally preſerue the memory of ſo great a benefite. To which let euery good Subiect ſay AMEN.

Triplici

Triplici nodo, triplex cuneus.

OR AN APOLOGIE FOR THE OATH OF ALLEGIANCE.

AGAINST THE TWO BREVES OF POPE PAVLVS QVINTVS, AND THE late Letter of Cardinall BELLARMINE to G. BLACKVVEL the Arch-prieſt.

WHat a monſtrous, rare, nay neuer heard-of Treacherous attempt, was plotted within theſe few yeeres here in England, for the deſtruction of Mee, my Bed-fellow, and our poſteritie, the whole houſe of Parliament, and a great number of good Subiects of all ſorts and degrees; is ſo famous already through the whole world by the infamie thereof, as it is needleſſe to bee repeated or publiſhed any more; the horrour of the ſinne it ſelfe doeth ſo lowdly proclaime it. For if thoſe * crying ſinnes, (whereof mention is made in the Scripture) haue that epithet giuen them for their publique infamie, and for procuring as it were with a lowd cry from heauen a iuſt vengeance and recompenſe, and yet thoſe ſinnes are both old and too common, neither the world, nor any one Countrey being euer at any time cleane voyd of them: If thoſe ſinnes (I ſay) are ſaid in the Scripture to cry ſo lowd; What then muſt this ſinne doe, plotted without cauſe, infinite in crueltie, and ſingular from all examples? What proceeded hereupon is likewiſe notorious to the whole world; our Iuſtice onely taking hold vpon the offenders, and that in as honourable and publique a forme of Triall, as euer was vſed in this Kingdome.

* Gen. 4. 10.

2. For

2. For although the onely reaſon they gaue for plotting ſo heinous an attempt, was the zeale they caried to the Romiſh Religion; yet were neuer any other of that profeſsion the worſe vſed for that cauſe, as by our gracious Proclamation immediatly after the diſcouery of the ſaid fact doeth plainly appeare: onely at the next ſitting downe againe of the Parliament, there were Lawes made, ſetting downe ſome ſuch orders as were thought fit for preuenting the like miſchiefe in time to come. Amongſt which a forme of OATH was framed to be taken by my Subiects, whereby they ſhould make a cleare profeſſion of their reſolution, faithfully to perſiſt in their obedience vnto mee, according to their naturall allegiance; To the end that I might hereby make a ſeparation, not onely betweene all my good Subiects in generall, and vnfaithfull Traitors, that intended to withdraw themſelues from my obedience; But ſpecially to make a ſeparation betweene ſo many of my Subiects, who although they were otherwiſe Popiſhly affected, yet retained in their hearts the print of their naturall duetie to their Soueraigne; and thoſe who being caried away with the like fanaticall zeale that the Powder-Traitors were, could not conteine themſelues within the bounds of their naturall Allegiance, but thought diuerſitie of religion a ſafe pretext for all kinde of treaſons, and rebellions againſt their Soueraigne. Which godly and wiſe intent, God did bleſſe with ſucceſſe accordingly: For very many of my Subiects that were Popiſhly affected, aſwell Prieſts, as Layicks, did freely take the ſame Oath: whereby they both gaue me occaſion to thinke the better of their fidelitie, and likewiſe freed themſelues of that heauie ſlander, that although they were fellow profeſſors of one Religion with the powder-Traitors, yet were they not ioyned with them in treaſonable courſes againſt their Soueraigne; whereby all quietly minded Papiſts were put out of deſpaire, and I gaue a good proofe that I intended no perſecution againſt them for conſcience cauſe, but onely deſired to be ſecured of them for ciuill obedience, which for conſcience cauſe they were bound to performe.

3. But the diuel could not haue deuiſed a more malicious tricke for interrupting this ſo calme and clement a courſe, then fell out by the ſending hither, and publiſhing a *Breue* of the Popes, countermanding all them of his profeſſion to take this Oath; Thereby ſowing new ſeeds of ielouſie betweene me and my Popiſh Subiects, by ſtirring them vp to diſobey that lawfull commandement of their Soueraigne, which was ordeined to bee taken of them as a pledge of their fidelitie; And ſo by their refuſall of ſo iuſt a charge, to giue mee ſo great and iuſt a ground for puniſhment of them, without touching any matter of conſcience: throwing themſelues needleſly into one of theſe deſperate ſtraits; either with the loſſe of their liues and goods to renounce their Allegiance to their naturall Soueraigne; or elſe to procure the condemnation of their ſoules by renouncing the Catholicke faith, as he alleadgeth.

4. And on the other part, although diſparitie of Religion (the Pope being

being head of the contrary part) can permit no intelligence nor intercourſe of meſſengers betweene mee and the Pope: yet there being no denounced warre betweene vs, he hath by this action broken the rules of common ciuilitie and iuſtice betweene Chriſtian Princes, in thus condemning me vnheard, both by accounting me a perſecutor, which cannot be but implied by exhorting the Papiſts to endure Martyrdome; as likewiſe by ſo ſtraitly commanding all thoſe of his profeſſion in England, to refuſe the taking of this Oath; thereby refuſing to profeſſe their naturall obedience to me their Soueraigne. For if he thinke himſelfe my lawfull Iudge, wherefore hath he condemned me vnheard? And, if he haue nothing to doe with me and my gouernment (as indeed he hath not) why doeth he *mittere falcem in alienam meſſem*, to meddle betweene me and my Subiects, eſpecially in matters that meerely and onely concerne ciuill obedience? And yet could *Pius Quintus* in his greateſt fury and auowed quarrell againſt the late Queene, doe no more iniurie vnto her; then hee hath in this caſe offered vnto mee, without ſo much as a pretended or an alleadged cauſe. For what difference there is, betweene the commanding Subiects to rebell, and looſing them from their Oath of Allegiance as *Pius Quintus* did; and the commanding of Subiects not to obey in making profeſſion of their Oath of their dutifull Allegiance, as this Pope hath now done: no man can eaſily diſcerne.

5. But to draw neere vnto his *Breue*, wherein certainely hee hath taken more paines then he needed, by ſetting downe in the ſaid *Breue* the whole body of the Oath at length; whereas the onely naming of the Title thereof might as well haue ſerued, for any anſwere hee hath made thereunto (making *Vna litura*, that is, the flat and generall condemnation of the whole Oath to ſerue for all his refutation.) Therein hauing as well in this reſpect as in the former, dealt both vndiſcreetly with me, and iniuriouſly with his owne Catholickes. With mee; in not refuting particularly what ſpeciall words he quarrelled in that Oath; which if hee had done, it might haue beene that for the fatherly care I haue not to put any of my Subiects to a needleſſe extremitie, I might haue beene contented in ſome ſort to haue reformed or interpreted thoſe wordes. With his owne Catholickes: for either if I had ſo done, they had beene thereby fully eaſed in that buſineſſe; or at leaſt if I would not haue condeſcended to haue altered any thing in the ſaide Oath, yet would thereby ſome appearance or ſhadow of excuſe haue beene left vnto them for refuſing the ſame: not as ſeeming thereby to ſwarue from their Obedience and Allegiance vnto mee, but onely beeing ſtayed from taking the ſame vpon the ſcrupulous tenderneſſe of their conſciences, in regard of thoſe particular words which the Pope had noted and condemned therein.

And now let vs heare the words of his thunder.

POPE PAVLVS THE FIFT,
to the ENGLISH Catholickes.

The Pope his first Breue.

WElbeloued Sonnes, Salutation and Apoſtolicall Benediction. *The tribulations and calamities, which yee haue continually ſuſtained for the keeping of the Catholike Faith, haue alwayes afflicted vs with great griefe of minde. But for as much as we vnderſtand that at this time all things are more grieuous, our affliction hereby is wonderfully increaſed. For wee haue heard how you are compelled, by moſt grieuous puniſhments ſet before you, to goe to the Churches of Heretikes, to frequent their aſſemblies, to be preſent at their Sermons. Truely wee doe vndoubtedly beleeue, that they which with ſo great conſtancie and fortitude, haue hitherto indured moſt cruell perſecutions and almoſt infinite miſeries, that they may walke without ſpot in the Law of the Lord; will neuer ſuffer themſelues to be defiled with the communion of thoſe that haue forſaken the diuine Law. Yet notwithſtanding, being compelled by the zeale of our Paſtorall Office, and by our Fatherly care which we doe continually take for the ſaluation of your ſoules, we are inforced to admoniſh and deſire you, that by no meanes you come vnto the Churches of the Heretickes, or heare their Sermons, or communicate with them in their Rites, leſt you incurre the wrath of God: For theſe things may ye not doe without indamaging the worſhip of God, and your owne ſaluation. As likewiſe you cannot, without moſt euident and grieuous wronging of Gods Honour, bind your ſelues by the Oath, which in like maner we haue heard with very great griefe of our heart is adminiſtred vnto you, of the tenor vnder-written. viz.*

The Oath.

I A. B. doe trewly and ſincerely acknowledge, profeſſe, teſtifie and declare in my conſcience before God and the world, That our Soueraigne Lord King IAMES, is lawfull King of this Realme, and of all other his Maieſties Dominions and Countreyes: And that the *Pope* neither of himſelfe, nor by any authority of the Church or Sea of *Rome*, or by any other meanes with any other, hath any power or authoritie to depoſe the King, or to diſpoſe of any of his Maieſties Kingdomes or Dominions, or to authorize any forreigne Prince to inuade or annoy him or his Countreys, or to diſcharge any of his Subiects of their Allegiance and obedience to his Maieſtie, or to giue Licence or leaue to any of them to beare Armes, raiſe tumults, or to offer any violence or hurt to his Maieſties Royall Perſon, State or Gouernment, or to any of his Maieſties ſubiects within his Maieſties Dominions. Alſo I doe ſweare from my heart, that, notwithſtanding any declaration or ſentence of Excommunication, or depriuation made or granted, or to be made

made or granted, by the *Pope* or his ſucceſſors, or by any Authoritie deriued, or pretended to be deriued from him or his Sea, againſt the ſaid King, his heires or ſucceſſors, or any abſolution of the ſaid ſubiects from their obedience; I will beare faith and trew Allegiance to his Maieſtie, his heires and ſucceſſors, and him and them will defend to the vttermoſt of my power, againſt all conſpiracies and attempts whatſoeuer, which ſhalbe made againſt his or their Perſons, their Crowne and dignitie, by reaſon or colour of any ſuch ſentence, or declaration, or otherwiſe, and will doe my beſt endeuour to diſcloſe and make knowne vnto his Maieſtie, his heires and ſucceſſors, all Treaſons and traiterous conſpiracies, which I ſhall know or heare of, to be againſt him or any of them. And I doe further ſweare, That I doe from my heart abhorre, deteſt and abiure as impious and Hereticall, this damnable doctrine and poſition, That Princes which be excommunicated or depriued by the *Pope*, may be depoſed or murthered by their Subiects or any other whatſoeuer. And I doe beleeue, and in conſcience am reſolued, that neither the *Pope* nor any perſon whatſoeuer, hath power to abſolue me of this Oath, or any part therof; which I acknowledge by good and full authoritie to bee lawfully miniſtred vnto mee, and doe renounce all Pardons and Diſpenſations to the contrarie. And all theſe things I doe plainely and ſincerely acknowledge and ſweare, according to theſe expreſſe words by mee ſpoken, and according to the plaine and common ſenſe and vnderſtanding of the ſame words, without any Equiuocation, or mentall euaſion, or ſecret reſeruation whatſoeuer. And I do make this Recognition and acknowledgment heartily, willingly, and trewly, vpon the trew faith of a Chriſtian. So helpe me GOD.

Which things ſince they are thus; it muſt euidently appeare vnto you by the words themſelues, That ſuch an Oath cannot be taken without hurting of the Catholike Faith, and the ſaluation of your ſoules; ſeeing it conteines many things which are flat contrary to Faith and ſaluation. Wherefore wee doe admoniſh you, that you doe vtterly abſtaine from taking this and the like Oathes: which thing wee doe the more earneſtly require of you, becauſe wee haue experience of the conſtancie of your faith, which is tried like gold in the fire of perpetuall tribulation. Wee doe well know, that you will cheerefully vnder-goe all kinde of cruell torments whatſoeuer, yea and conſtantly endure death it ſelfe, rather then you will in any thing offend the Maieſtie of GOD. *And this our confidence is confirmed by thoſe things, which are dayly reported vnto vs, of the ſingular vertue, valour, and fortitude which in theſe laſt times doeth no leſſe ſhine in your* Martyrs, *then it did in the firſt beginning of the Church. Stand therefore, your loynes being girt about with veritie, and hauing on the breſt-plate of righteouſneſſe, taking the ſhield of Faith, be ye ſtrong in the Lord, and in the power of his might; And let nothing hinder you. Hee which will crowne you, and doeth in Heauen behold your conflicts, will finiſh the good worke which hee hath begun in you. You know how hee hath promiſed his diſciples, that hee will neuer leaue them Orphanes: for hee is faithfull which hath promiſed. Hold faſt therefore his correction, that is, being rooted and grounded in Charitie, whatſoeuer ye doe,*

whatſoeuer

whatsoeuer ye indeuour, doe it with one accord, in simplicitie of heart, in meekenesse of Spirit, without murmuring or doubting. For by this doe all men know that we are the disciples of CHRIST, *if we haue loue one to another. Which charitie, as it is very greatly to be desired of all faithfull Christians; So certainely is it altogether necessary for you, most blessed sonnes. For by this your charitie, the power of the diuel is weakened, who doeth so much assaile you, since that power of his is especially vpheld by the contentions and disagreement of our sonnes. Wee exhort you therefore by the bowels of our Lord* IESVS CHRIST, *by whose loue we are taken out of the iawes of eternall death; That aboue all things, you would haue mutuall charitie among you. Surely Pope* Clement *the eight of happy memory, hath giuen you most profitable precepts of practising brotherly charitie one to another, in his Letters in forme of a* Breue, *to our welbeloued sonne* M. George *Arch-priest of the Kingdome of England, dated the 5. day of the moneth of October* 1602. *Put them therefore diligently in practise, and be not hindered by any difficultie or doubtfulnesse. We command you that ye doe exactly obserue the words of those letters, and that yee take and vnderstand them simply as they sound, and as they lie; all power to interpret them otherwise, being taken away. In the meane while, we will neuer cease to pray to the Father of Mercies, that he would with pitie behold your afflictions and your paines; And that he would keepe and defend you with his continuall protection: whom wee doe gently greet with our Apostolicall Benediction. Dated at* Rome *at* S.Marke, *vnder the Signet of the Fisherman, the tenth of the Calends of October,* 1606. *the second yeere of our* Popedome.

THE ANSWERE TO THE FIRST *BREVE.*

FIrst, the *Pope* expresseth herein his sorrow, for that persecution which the Catholiques sustaine for the faiths sake. Wherein, besides the maine vntrewth whereby I am so iniuriously vsed, I must euer auow and maintaine, as the trewth is according to mine owne knowledge, that the late Queene of famous memory, neuer punished any Papist for Religion, but that their owne punishment was euer extorted out of her hands against her will, by their owne misbehauiour, which both the time and circumstances of her actions will manifestly make proofe of. For before *Pius Quintus* his excommunication giuing her ouer for a prey, and setting her Subiects at libertie to rebell, it is well knowne she neuer medled with the blood or hard punishment of any Catholique, nor made any rigorous Lawes against them. And since that time, who list to compare with an indifferent eye, the manifold intended inuasions against her whole Kingdome,

dome, the forreine practiſes, the internall publike rebellions, the priuate plots and machinations, poyſonings, murthers, and all ſorts of deuiſes, *& quid non?* daily ſet abroach; and all theſe wares continually foſtered and fomented from *Rome*; together with the continuall corrupting of her Subiects, as well by temporall bribes, as by faire and ſpecious promiſes of eternall felicitie; and nothing but booke vpon booke publikely ſet foorth by her fugitiues, for approbation of ſo holy deſignes: who liſt, I ſay, with an indifferent eye, to looke on the one part, vpon thoſe infinite and intollerable temptations, and on the other part vpon the iuſt, yet moderate puniſhment of a part of theſe hainous offendors; ſhall eaſily ſee that that bleſſed defunct LADIE was as free from perſecution, as they ſhall free theſe helliſh Inſtruments from the honour of martyrdome.

5. But now hauing ſacrificed (if I may ſo ſay) to the *Manes* of my late Predeceſſour, I may next with Saint PAVL iuſtly vindicate mine owne fame, from thoſe innumerable calumnies ſpread againſt me, in teſtifying the trewth of my behauiour toward the Papiſts: wherein I may trewly affirme, That whatſoeuer was her iuſt and mercifull Gouernement ouer the Papiſts in her time, my Gouernement ouer them ſince hath ſo farre exceeded hers, in Mercie and Clemencie, as not onely the Papiſts themſelues grewe to that height of pride, in confidence of my mildneſſe, as they did directly expect, and aſſuredly promiſe to themſelues libertie of Conſcience, and equalitie with other of my Subiects in all things; but euen a number of the beſt and faithfullieſt of my ſayde Subiects, were caſt in great feare and amazement of my courſe and proceedings, euer prognoſticating and iuſtly ſuſpecting that ſowre fruite to come of it, which ſhewed it ſelfe clearely in the Powder-Treaſon. How many did I honour with Knighthood, of knowen and open Recuſants? How indifferently did I giue audience, and acceſſe to both ſides, beſtowing equally all fauours and honours on both profeſſions? How free and continuall acceſſe, had all rankes and degrees of Papiſts in my Court and company? And aboue all, how frankely and freely did I free Recuſants of their ordinarie paiments? Beſides, it is euident what ſtrait order was giuen out of my owne mouth to the Iudges, to ſpare the execution of all Prieſts, (notwithſtanding their conuiction,) ioyning thereunto a gracious Proclamation, whereby all Prieſts, that were at libertie, and not taken, might goe out of the countrey by ſuch a day: my generall Pardon hauing beene extended to all conuicted Prieſtes in priſon: whereupon they were ſet at libertie as good Subiects: and all Prieſts that were taken after, ſent ouer and ſet at libertie there. But time and paper will faile me to make enumeration of all the benefits and fauours that I beſtowed in generall and particular vpon Papiſts: in recounting whereof, euery ſcrape of my penne would ſerue but for a blot of the Popes ingratitude and iniuſtice, in meating me with ſo hard a meaſure for the ſame. So

* *Magno cum animi mœrore, &c.*

as I thinke I haue ſufficiently, or at leaſt with good reaſon wiped the **teares* from the Popes eyes, for complaining vpon ſuch perſecution, who if hee had beene but politickely wiſe, although hee had had no reſpect to Iuſtice and Veritie, would haue in this complaint of his, made a difference betweene my preſent time, and the time of the late Queene: And ſo by his commending of my moderation, in regard of former times, might haue had hope to haue mooued me to haue continued in the ſame clement courſe: For it is a trew ſaying, that alledged kindneſſe vpon noble mindes, doeth euer worke much. And for the maine vntrewth of any perſecution in my time, it can neuer bee prooued, that any were, or are put to death ſince I came to the Crowne for cauſe of Conſcience; except that now this diſcharge giuen by the Pope to all Catholiques to take their Oath of Allegiance to me, be the cauſe of the due puniſhment of many: which if it fall out to be, let the blood light vpon the Popes head, who is the onely cauſe thereof.

The intendement of this diſcourſe.

As for the next point contained in his *Breue* concerning his diſcharge of all Papiſts to come to our Church, or frequent our rites and ceremonies, I am not to meddle at this time with that matter, becauſe my errand now onely is to publiſh to the world the Iniurie and Iniuſtice done vnto me, in diſcharging my ſubiects to make profeſſion of their obedience vnto mee. Now as to the point where the Oath is quarrelled, it is ſet downe in fewe, but very weighty wordes; to wit, *That it ought to be cleare vnto all Catholiques, that this Oath cannot bee taken with ſafetie of the Catholique Faith, and of their ſoules health, ſince it containeth many things that are plainely and directly contrarie to their faith and ſaluation.* To this, the old ſaying fathered vpon the Philoſopher, may very fitly bee applied, *Multa dicit, ſed pauca probat*; nay indeed, *Nihil omnino probat*: For how the profeſſion of the naturall Allegiance of Subiects to their Prince can be directly oppoſite to the faith and ſaluation of ſoules, is ſo farre beyond my ſimple reading in Diuinitie, as I muſt thinke it a ſtrange and new Aſſertion, to proceede out of the mouth of that pretended generall Paſtor of all Chriſtian ſoules. I reade indeede, and not in one, or two, or three places of Scripture, that Subiects are bound to obey their Princes for conſcience ſake, whether they were good or wicked Princes. So ſaid the people to [1] *Ioſhua, As wee obeyed Moſes in all things, ſo will wee obey thee.* So the [2] Prophet commanded the people to obey the King of Babel, ſaying, *Put your neckes vnder the yoke of the King of Babel, and ſerue him and his people, that yee may liue.* So were the children of Iſrael, vnto [3] *Pharaoh*, deſiring him to let them goe: ſo to [4] *Cyrus*, obtaining leaue of him to returne to build the Temple: and in a word, the Apoſtle willed all men [5] *to bee ſubiect to the higher powers for conſcience ſake.* Agreeable to the Scriptures did the Fathers teach. [6] *Auguſtine* ſpeaking of *Iulian*, ſaith, *Iulian was an vnbeleeuing Emperour: was hee not an Apoſtata, an Oppreſſour, and an Idolater? Chriſtian Souldiers ſerued that vnbeleeuing Emperour: when they came to the cauſe of* CHRIST, *they would acknowledge*

1 Ioſh. 1.17.
2 Iere. 27.12.
3 Exod. 5.1.
4 Ezra 1.3.
5 Rom. 13.5.
6 *Auguſt. in Pſalm.* 124.

no

no Lord, but him that is in heauen. When hee would haue them to worship Idoles and to sacrifice, they preferred GOD *before him: But when hee said, Goe forth to fight, inuade such a nation, they presently obeyed. They distinguished their eternall Lord from their temporall, and yet were they subiect euen vnto their temporall Lord, for his sake that was their eternall Lord and Master.* [1] Tertullian sayth, *A Christian is enemie to no man, much lesse to the Prince, whom hee knoweth to bee appointed of God; and so of necessitie must loue, reuerence and honour him, and wish him safe with the whole Romane Empire, so long as the world shall last: for so long shall it endure. Wee honour therefore the Emperour in such sort, as is lawfull for vs, and expedient for him, as a man, the next vnto God, and obtaining from God whatsoeuer hee hath, and onely inferiour vnto God. This the Emperour himselfe would: for so is hee greater then all, while hee is inferiour onely to the trew God.* [2] Iustine Martyr; *Wee onely adore the Lord, and in all other things cheerefully performe seruice to you, professing that you are Emperours and Princes of men.* [3] Ambrose; *I may lament, weepe, and sigh: My teares are my weapons against their armes, souldiers, and the* Gothes *also: such are the weapons of a Priest: Otherwise neither ought I, neither can I resist.* [4] Optatus; *Ouer the Emperour, there is none but onely God, that made the Emperour.* And [5] *Gregory* writing to *Mauritius* about a certaine Law, that a Souldier should not be receiued into a Monasterie, *nondum expleta militia, The Almightie God,* sayth hee, *holdes him guiltie, that is not vpright to the most excellent Emperour in all things that hee doeth or speaketh.* And then calling himselfe the vnworthy seruant of his Godlinesse, goeth on in the whole Epistle to shewe the iniustice of that Lawe, as hee pretendeth: and in the end concludes his Epistle with these wordes; *I being subiect to your command, haue caused the same Law to be sent through diuers parts of your Dominions: and because the Law it selfe doeth not agree to the Law of the Almightie God, I haue signified the same by my Letters to your most excellent Lordship: so that on both parts I haue payed what I ought; because I haue yeelded obedience to the Emperour, and haue not holden my peace, in what I thought for God.* Now how great a contrarietie there is, betwixt this ancient Popes action in obeying an Emperour by the publication of his Decree, which in his owne conscience hee thought vnlawfull, and this present Popes prohibition to a Kings Subiects from obedience vnto him in things most lawfull and meere temporall; I remit it to the Readers indifferencie. And answerably to the Fathers, spake the Councels in their Decrees. As the Councell of [6] *Arles*, submitting the whole Councell to the Emperour in these wordes; *These things wee haue decreed to be presented to our Lord the Emperour, beseeching his Clemencie, that if wee haue done lesse then wee ought, it may be supplyed by his wisedome: if any thing otherwise then reason requireth, it may be corrected by his iudgement: if any thing be found fault with by vs with reason, it may bee perfected by his aide with* GODS *fauourable assistance.*

But why should I speake of *Charles* the great, to whome not one Councell, but sixe seuerall Councels, *Frankeford, Arles, Tours, Chalons, Ments*

[1] *Tertull. ad Scap.*

[2] *Iust. Martyr. Apol. 2. ad Ant. Imperat.*

[3] *Amb. in orat. cont. Auxentiũ, de basilicis traden. habetur lib. 5. epist. Amb.*

[4] *Optat. contra Parmen. lib. 3.*

[5] *Greg. Mag. Epist. lib. 2. indict. 11. Epist. 61.*

[6] *Concil. Arelatense sub Carolo Mag. Can. 26.*

and *Rhemes* did wholy ſubmit themſelues? and not rather ſpeake of all the generall Councels, that of *Nice*, *Conſtantinople*, *Epheſus*, *Chalcedon*, and the foure other commonly ſo reputed, which did ſubmit themſelues to the Emperours wiſedome and piety in all things? Inſomuch as that of *Epheſus* repeated it foure ſeuerall times, *That they were ſummoned by the Emperours Oracle, becke, charge and commaund, and betooke themſelues to his Godlineſſe:* [1] *beſeeching him, that the Decrees made againſt* Neſtorius *and his followers, might by his power haue their full force and validitie*, as appeareth manifeſtly in the Epiſtle of the generall Councell of *Epheſus* written *ad Auguſtos*. I alſo reade that Chriſt ſaid, *His* [2] *kingdome was not of this world*, bidding, *Giue to* [3] *Ceſar what was Ceſars, and to God what was Gods*. And I euer held it for an infallible Maxime in Diuinitie, That temporall obedience to a temporall Magiſtrate, did nothing repugne to matters of faith or ſaluation of ſoules: But that euer temporall obedience was againſt faith and ſaluation of ſoules, as in this *Breue* is alledged, was neuer before heard nor read of in the Chriſtian Church. And therefore I would haue wiſhed the *Pope*, before hee had ſet downe this commandement to all Papiſts here, That, ſince in him is the power by the infabillity of his ſpirit, to make new Articles of Faith when euer it ſhall pleaſe him; he had firſt ſet it downe for an Article of Faith, before he had commanded all Catholikes to beleeue and obey it. I will then conclude the anſwere to this point in a *Dilemma*.

[1] *Vide Epiſtolam generalis Conc. Epheſ. ad Auguſt.*

[2] Iohn 18 36.
[3] Matt. 22.21.

Queſtion.

Either it is lawfull to obey the Soueraigne in temporall things, or not.

1. If it be lawfull (as I neuer heard nor read it doubted of) then why is the *Pope* ſo vniuſt, and ſo cruell towards his owne Catholikes, as to command them to diſobey their Soueraignes lawfull commandement?

2. If it be vnlawfull, why hath hee neither expreſſed any one cauſe or reaſon thereof, nor yet will giue them leaue (nay rather hee ſhould command and perſwade them in plaine termes) not to liue vnder a King whom vnto they ought no obedience?

Anſwere to the Popes exhortation.

And as for the vehement exhortation vnto them to perſeuere in conſtancie, and to ſuffer Martyrdome and all tribulation for this cauſe; it requireth no other anſwere then onely this, That if the ground be good whereupon hee hath commaunded them to ſtand, then exhortation to conſtancie is neceſſarie: but if the ground be vniuſt and naught (as indeed it is, and I haue in part already proued) then this exhortation of his can worke no other effect, then to make him guilty of the blood of ſo many of his ſheepe, whom hee doeth thus wilfully caſt away; not onely to the needleſſe loſſe of their liues, and ruine of their families, but euen to the laying on of a perpetuall ſlander vpon all Papiſts; as if no zealous Papiſt could be a trew ſubiect to his Prince; and that the profeſſion of that Religion, and the Temporall obedience to the Ciuill Magiſtrate, were two things repugnant and incompatible in themſelues. But euill information, and vntrew reports (which being caried ſo farre as betweene this and *Rome*, cannot

Fama vires acquirit eundo.

cannot but increaſe by the way) might haue abuſed the *Pope*, and made him diſpatch this *Breue* ſo raſhly: For that great Citie, Queene of the World, and as themſelues confeſſe, [1] myſtically *Babylon*, cannot but be ſo full of all ſorts of Intelligencies. Beſides, all complainers (as the Catholikes here are) be naturally giuen to exaggerate their owne griefes, and multiply thereupon: So that it is no wonder, that euen a iuſt Iudge ſitting there, ſhould vpon wrong information, giue an vnrighteous ſentence; as ſome of their owne partie doe not ſticke to confeſſe, That *Pius Quintus* was too raſhly caried vpon wrong information, to pronounce his thunder of Excommunication vpon the late Queene. And it may be, the like excuſe ſhall hereafter be made for the two *Breues*, which [2] *Clemens Octauus* ſent to ENGLAND immediatly before her death, for debarring me of the Crowne, or any other that either would profeſſe, or any wayes tolerate the profeſſours of our Religion; contrary to his manifold vowes and proteſtations, *ſimul & eodem tempore*, and as it were, deliuered *vno & eodem ſpiritu*, to diuers of my miniſters abroad, profeſſing ſuch kindneſſe, and ſhewing ſuch forwardneſſe to aduance me to this Crowne. Nay, the moſt part of Catholikes here, finding this *Breue* when it came to their handes to bee ſo farre againſt Diuinitie, Policie, or naturall ſenſe, were firmely perſwaded that it was but a counterfeit Libell, deuiſed in hatred of the Pope; or at the fartheſt, a thing haſtily done vpon wrong information, as was before ſaid. Of which opinion were not onely the ſimpler ſort of Papiſts, but euen ſome amongſt them of beſt account, both for learning and experience; whereof the Archprieſt himſelfe was one: But for ſoluing of this obiection, the Pope himſelfe hath taken new paines by ſending foorth a ſecond *Breue*, onely for giuing faith and confirmation to the former; That whereas before, his ſinne might haue beene thought to haue proceeded from raſhneſſe and miſ-information, he will now wilfully and willingly double the ſame; whereof the Copy followeth.

[1] *Euſebius, Oecumenius* and *Leo* hold, that by Babylon, in 1. Pet. 5. 13. *Rome* is meant, as the *Rhemiſts* themſelues confeſſe.

[2] See the Relation of the whole proceedings againſt the Traitours, *Garnet* and his confederates.

The Catholikes opinion of the *Breue*.

TO OVR BELOVED SONNES the Englisſh Catholikes, *Paulus P.P. V^tus.*

The ſecond Breue.

BEloued ſonnes, Salutation and Apoſtolicall Benediction. *It is reported vnto vs, that there are found certaine amongſt you, who when as we haue ſufficiently declared by our Letters, dated the laſt yeere on the tenth of the Calends of October in the forme of a* Breue, *that yee cannot with ſafe Conſcience take the Oath, which was then required of you; and when as wee haue further ſtraitly commanded you, that by no meanes yee ſhould take it: yet there are ſome, I ſay, among you, which dare now affirme, that ſuch Letters concerning the forbidding of the Oath, were not written of our owne accord, or of our owne proper will, but rather for the reſpect and at the inſtigation of other men. And for that cauſe the ſame men doe goe about to perſwade you, that our commands in the ſaid Letters are not to be regarded. Surely this newes did trouble vs; and that ſo much the more, becauſe hauing had experience of your obedience (moſt dearely beloued ſonnes) who to the end ye might obey this holy Sea, haue godlily and valiantly contemned your riches wealth, honour, libertie, yea and life it ſelfe; wee ſhould neuer haue ſuſpected that the trewth of our Apoſtolike Letters could once be called into queſtion among you, that by this pretence ye might exempt your ſelues from our Commandements. But we doe herein perceiue the ſubtiltie and craft of the enemie of mans ſaluation, and we doe attribute this your backwardneſſe rather to him, then to your owne will. And for this cauſe, wee haue thought good to write the ſecond time vnto you, and to ſignifie vnto you againe, That our Apoſtolike Letters dated the laſt yeere on the tenth of the Calends of October, concerning the prohibition of the Oath, were written not only vpon our proper motion, and of our certaine knowledge, but alſo after long and weightie deliberation vſed concerning all thoſe things, which are contained in them; and that for that cauſe ye are bound fully to obſerue them, reiecting all interpretation perſwading to the contrary. And this is our meere, pure, and perfect will, being alwayes carefull of your ſaluation, and alwayes minding thoſe things, which are moſt profitable vnto you. And we doe pray without ceaſing, that hee that hath appointed our lowlineſſe to the keeping of the flocke of Chriſt, would inlighten our thoughts and our counſels: whom we doe alſo continually deſire, that he would increaſe in you (our beloued Sonnes) faith, conſtancie, and mutuall charitie and peace one to another. All whom, we doe moſt louingly bleſſe with all charitable affection.*

Dated at Rome *at Saint* Markes *vnder the Signet of the* Fiſherman, *the x. of the Calends of September, 1607. the third yeere of our* Popedome.

THE

THE ANSWERE TO THE second BREVE.

NOw for this *Breue*, I may iuſtly reflect his owne phraſe vpon him, in tearming it to be *The craft of the Deuill.* For if the Deuill had ſtudied a thouſand yeeres, for to finde out a miſchiefe for our Catholikes heere, hee hath found it in this: that now when many Catholikes haue taken their Oath, and ſome Prieſts alſo; yea, the Arch-prieſt himſelfe, without compunction or ſticking, they ſhall not now onely be bound to refuſe the profeſſion of their naturall Allegiance to their Soueraigne, which might yet haue beene ſome way coloured vpon diuers ſcruples conceiued vpon the words of the Oath; but they muſt now renounce and forſweare their profeſſion of obedience alreadie ſworne, and ſo muſt as it were at the third inſtance forſweare their former two Oathes, firſt cloſely ſworne, by their birth in their naturall Allegiance; and next, clearely confirmed by this Oath, which doeth nothing but expreſſe the ſame: ſo as no man can now holde the faith, or procure the ſaluation of his ſoule in ENGLAND, that muſt not abiure and renounce his borne and ſworne Allegiance to his naturall Soueraigne.

And yet it is not ſufficient to ratifie the laſt yeeres *Breue*, by a new one come forth this yeere; but (that not onely euery yeere, but euery moneth may produce a new monſter) the great and famous Writer of the Controuerſies, the late vn-Ieſuited Cardinall *Bellarmine*, muſt adde his talent to this good worke, by blowing the bellowes of ſedition, and ſharpening the ſpurre to rebellion, by ſending ſuch a Letter of his to the Arch-prieſt here, as it is a wonder how paſſion, and an ambitious deſire of maintaining that Monarchie, ſhould charme the wits of ſo famouſly learned a man.

The Copy whereof here followeth.

TO

TO THE VERY REVEREND Mr. GEORGE BLACKWELL, ARCH-PRIEST of the ENGLISH: ROBERT BELLARMINE Cardinall of the holy Church of Rome, Greeting.

REuerend Sir, and brother in CHRIST; It is almost fourtie yeeres since we did see one the other: but yet I haue neuer bene vnmindfull of our ancient acquaintance, neither haue I ceased, seeing I could doe you no other good, to commend your labouring most painfully in the Lords Vineyard, in my prayers to God. And I doubt not, but that I haue liued all this while in your memory, and haue had some place in your prayers at the Lords Altar. So therfore euen vnto this time we haue abidden, as S. Iohn speaketh, in the mutuall loue one of the other, not by word or letter, but in deed and trewth. But a late message which was brought vnto vs within these few dayes, of your bonds and imprisonment, hath inforced mee to breake off this silence; which message, although it seemed heauie in regard of the losse which that Church hath receiued, by their being thus depriued of the comfort of your pastorall function amongst them, yet withall it seemed ioyous, because you drew neere vnto the glory of Martyrdome, then the which gift of God there is none more happy; That you, who haue fedde your flocke so many yeeres with the word and doctrine, should now feed it more gloriously by the example of your patience. But another heauie tidings did not a little disquiet and almost take away this ioy, which immediatly followed, of the aduersaries assault, and peraduenture of the slip and fall of your constancie in refusing an vnlawfull Oath. Neither trewly (most deare brother) could that Oath therefore bee lawfull, because it was offered in sort tempered and modified: for you know that those kinde of modifications are nothing else, but sleights and subtilties of Satan, that the Catholique faith touching the Primacie of the Sea Apostolike, might either secretly or openly be shot at; for the which faith so many worthy Martyrs euen in that very England it selfe, haue resisted vnto blood. For most certaine it is, that in whatsoeuer words the Oath is conceiued by the aduersaries of the faith in that Kingdome, it tends to this end, that the Authoritie of the head of the Church in England, may bee transferred from the successour of S. Peter, to the successour of King Henry the eight: For that which is pretended of the danger of the Kings life, if the high Priest should haue the same power in England, which hee hath in all other Christian Kingdomes, it is altogether idle, as all that haue any vnderstanding, may easily perceiue. For it was neuer heard of from the Churches infancie vntill this day, that euer any Pope did command, that any Prince, though an Heretike, though an Ethnike, though a persecutour, should be murdered; or did approue of the fact, when it was done by any other. And why, I pray you, doeth onely the King of England feare that, which none of all other the Princes in Christendome either doeth feare, or euer did feare?

But,

But, as I said, these vaine pretexts are but the traps and stratagemes of Satan: Of which kinde I could produce not a fewe out of ancient Stories, *if I went about to write a Booke and not an Epistle. One onely for example sake, I will call to your memory.* S. Gregorius Nazianzenus *in his first Oration against* Iulian *the Emperour, reporteth, That hee, the more easily to beguile the simple Christians, did insert the Images of the false gods into the pictures of the Emperour, which the Romanes did vse to bow downe vnto with a ciuill kinde of reuerence: so that no man could doe reuerence to the Emperours picture, but withall hee must adore the Images of the false gods; whereupon it came to passe that many were deceiued. And if there were any that found out the Emperours craft, and refused to worship his picture, those were most grieuously punished, as men that had contemned the Emperour in his Image. Some such like thing, me thinkes, I see in the Oath that is offered to you; which is so craftily composed, that no man can detest Treason against the King, and make profession of his Ciuill subiection, but he must bee constrained perfidiously to denie the Primacie of the Apostolicke Sea. But the seruants of Christ, and especially the chiefe Priests of the Lord, ought to bee so farre from taking an vnlawfull Oath, where they may indamage the Faith, that they ought to beware that they giue not the least suspicion of dissimulation that they haue taken it, least they might seeme to haue left any example of preuarication to faithfull people. Which thing that worthy* Eleazar *did most notably performe, who would neither eate swines flesh, nor so much as faine to haue eaten it, although hee sawe the great torments that did hang ouer his head; least, as himselfe speaketh in the second Booke of the* Machabees, *many young men might bee brought through that simulation, to preuaricate with the Lawe. Neither did* Basil *the Great by his example, which is more fit for our purpose, cary himselfe lesse worthily toward* Valens *the Emperour. For as* Theodoret *writeth in his Historie, when the Deputy of that hereticall Emperour did perswade Saint* Basil, *that hee would not resist the Emperour for a little subtiltie of a few points of doctrine; that most holy and prudent man made answere,* That it was not to be indured, that the least syllable of Gods word should bee corrupted, but rather all kind of torment was to be embraced, for the maintenance of the Trewth thereof. *Now I suppose, that there wants not amongst you, who say that they are but subtilties of Opinions that are contained in the Oath that is offered to the Catholikes, and that you are not to striue against the Kings Authoritie for such a little matter. But there are not wanting also amongst you holy men like vnto* Basil *the Great, which will openly auow, that the very least syllable of Gods diuine Trewth is not to bee corrupted, though many torments were to bee endured, and death it selfe set before you: Amongst whom it is meete, that you should bee one, or rather the Standard bearer, and Generall to the rest. And whatsoeuer hath beene the cause, that your Constancie hath quailed, whether it bee the suddainenesse of your apprehension, or the bitternesse of your persecution, or the imbecilitie of your old aage: yet wee trust in the goodnesse of God, and in your owne long continued vertue, that it will come to passe, that as you seeme in some part to haue imitated the fall of* Peter *and* Marcellinus, *so you shall happily imitate their valour in recouering your strength, and maintaining the Trewth: For if you will diligently weigh the whole matter with your selfe, trewly you shall see, it is no small*

matter.

matter that is called in queſtion by this Oath, but one of the principall heads of our Faith, and foundations of Catholique Religion. For heare what your Apoſtle Saint Gregorie *the Great hath written in his 24. Epiſtle of his 11. Booke.* Let not the reuerence due to the Apoſtolique Sea, be troubled by any mans preſumption; for then the ſtate of the members doeth remaine entire, when the Head of the Faith is not bruiſed by any iniurie: *Therefore by* Saint Gregories *teſtimonie, when they are buſie about diſturbing or diminiſhing, or taking away of the Primacie of the Apoſtolique Sea; then are they buſie about cutting off the very head of the faith, and diſſoluing of the ſtate of the whole body, and of all the members. Which ſelfe ſame thing* S. Leo *doth confirme in his third Sermon of his Aſſumption to the Popedom, when he ſaith,* Our Lord had a ſpecial care of *Peter,* & praied properly for *Peters* faith, as though the ſtate of others were more ſtable, when their Princes mind was not to be ouercome. *Whereupon himſelfe in his Epiſtle to the biſhops of the prouince of Vienna, doth not doubt to affirme,* that he is not partaker of the diuine Myſterie, that dare depart from the ſolidity of *Peter; who alſo ſaith,* That who thinketh the Primacy to be denied to that Sea, he can in no ſort leſſen the authority of it; but by being puft vp with the ſpirit of his owne pride, doth caſt himſelfe headlong into hel. *Theſe and many other of this kind, I am very ſure are moſt familiar to you: who beſides many other books, haue diligently read ouer the viſible Monarchy of your owne* Sanders, *a moſt diligent writer, and one who hath worthily deſerued of the Church of* England. *Neither can you be ignorant, that theſe moſt holy and learned men,* Iohn *biſhop of* Rocheſter, *and* Tho. Moore, *within our memory, for this one moſt weighty head of doctrine, led the way to* Martyrdome *to many others, to the exceeding glory of the Engliſh nation. But I would put you in remembrance that you ſhould take heart, and conſidering the weightines of the cauſe, not to truſt too much to your owne iudgement, neither be wiſe aboue that is meet to be wiſe: and if peraduenture your fall haue proceeded not vpon want of conſideration, but through humane infirmity, & for feare of puniſhment and impriſonment, yet do not preferre a temporall liberty to the liberty of the glory of the Sonnes of God: neither for eſcaping a light & momentanie tribulation, loſe an eternal weight of glory, which tribulation it ſelfe doeth worke in you. You haue fought a good fight a long time, you haue wel-neere finiſhed your courſe; ſo many yeeres haue you kept the faith: do not therefore loſe the reward of ſuch labors; do not depriue your ſelfe of that crowne of righteouſnes, which ſo long agone is prepared for you; Do not make the faces of ſo many yours both brethren and children aſhamed. Vpon you at this time are fixed the eyes of all the Church: yea alſo, you are made a ſpectacle to the world, to Angels, to men; Do not ſo carry your ſelfe in this your laſt act, that you leaue nothing but laments to your friends, and ioy to your enemies. But rather on the contrary, which we aſſuredly hope, and for which we continually powre forth prayers to God, diſplay glorioufly the banner of faith, and make to reioyce the Church, which you haue made heauy; ſo ſhall you not onely merite pardon at Gods hands, but a Crowne. Farewell. Quite you like a man, and let your heart be ſtrengthened. From Rome the 28. day of September 1607.*

Your very Reuerendſhips brother and ſeruant in Chriſt,
Robert Bellarmine Cardinall.

THE

THE ANSWERE TO THE CARDINALS LETTER.

AND now that I am to enter into the field against him by refuting his Letter, I must first vse this protestation; That no desire of vaine-glory by matching with so learned a man, maketh me to vndertake this taske; but onely the care and conscience I haue, that such smooth *Circes* charmes and guilded pilles, as full of exterior eloquence, as of inward vntrewths, may not haue that publike passage through the world without an answere: whereby my reputation might vniustly be darkened, by such cloudie and foggie mists of vntrewths and false imputations, the hearts of vnstayed and simple men be misse-led, and the trewth it selfe smothered.

A great mistaking of the state of the Question, and case in hand.

But before I come to the particular answere of this Letter, I must here desire the world to wonder with me, at the committing of so grosse an errour by so learned a man: as that he should haue pained himselfe to haue set downe so elaborate a Letter, for the refutation of a quite mistaken question: For it appeareth, that our English Fugitiues, of whose inward societie with him he so greatly vaunteth, haue so fast hammered in his head the Oath of Supremacie, which hath euer bene so great a scarre vnto them, as he thinking by his Letter to haue refuted the last Oath, hath in place thereof onely paied the Oath of Supremacie, which was most in his head; as a man that being earnestly caried in his thoughts vpon another matter, then he is presently in doing, will often name the matter or person he is thinking of, in place of the other thing he hath at that time in hand.

The difference betweene the Oath of Supremacie, and this of Allegiance.

For as the Oath of Supremacie was deuised for putting a difference betweene Papists, and them of our profession: so was this Oath, which hee would seeme to impugne, ordained for making a difference betweene the ciuilly obedient Papists, and the peruerse disciples of the Powder-Treason. Yet doeth all his Letter runne vpon an Inuectiue against the compulsion of Catholiques to deny the authoritie of *S. Peters* successors, and in place thereof to acknowledge the Successors of King *Henry the eight*: For in K. *Henry the eights* time, was the Oath of Supremacie first made: By him were *Thomas Moore* and *Roffensis* put to death, partly for refusing of it: From his time till now, haue all the Princes of this land professing this Religion, successiuely in effect maintained the same: and in that Oath onely is contained the Kings absolute power, to be Iudge ouer all persons, aswell Ciuill as Ecclesiastical, excluding al forraigne powers and Potentates to be Iudges within his dominions; whereas this last made Oath containeth no such matter,

matter,onely medling with the ciuill obedience of Subiects to their Soueraigne,in meere temporall causes.

And that it may the better appeare, that whereas by name hee seemeth to condemne the last Oath; yet indeed his whole Letter runneth vpon nothing, but vpon the condemnation of the Oath of Supremacie: I haue here thought good to set downe the said Oath,leauing it then to the discretion of euery indifferent reader to iudge, whether he doth not in substance onely answere to the Oath of Supremacie, but that hee giues the child a wrong name.

I A B.doe vtterly testifie and declare in my conscience,that the Kings Highnesse is the onely Supreame Gouernour of this Realme, and all other his Highnesse Dominions and Countries, aswell in all Spirituall,or Ecclesiasticall things or causes, as Temporall: And that no forraine Prince, Person, Prelate, State or Potentate, hath or ought to haue any Iurisdiction, Power, Superioritie, Preeminence or Authoritie Ecclesiasticall or Spirituall within this Realme. And therefore I doe vtterly renounce and forsake all forraine Iurisdictions, Powers, Superiorities and Authorities; and doe promise that from hencefoorth I shall beare faith and trew Allegiance to the Kings Highnesse, his Heires and lawfull Successours: and to my power shall assist and defend all Iurisdictions, Priuiledges, Preeminences and Authorities granted or belonging to the Kings Highnesse, his Heires and Successours, or vnited and annexed to the Imperiall Crowne of the Realme: So helpe me God; and by the Contents of this booke.

And that the iniustice,as well as the error of his grosse mistaking in this point,may yet be more clearely discouered; I haue also thought good to insert here immediatly after the Oath of Supremacie, the contrary conclusions to all the points and Articles,whereof this other late Oath doeth consist: whereby it may appeare,what vnreasonable and rebellious points hee would driue my Subiects vnto,by refusing the whole body of that Oath,as it is conceiued: For he that shall refuse to take this Oath,must of necessitie hold all,or some of these propositions following.

1. That I King IAMES, am not the lawfull King of this Kingdome,and of all other my Dominions.
2. That the *Pope* by his owne authoritie may depose me: If not by his owne authoritie, yet by some other authoritie of the Church, or of the Sea of *Rome*: If not by some other authoritie of the Church and Sea of *Rome*, yet by other meanes with others helpe,he may depose me.
3. That the *Pope* may dispose of my Kingdomes and Dominions.
4. That the *Pope* may giue authoritie to some forreine Prince to inuade my Dominions.
5. That the *Pope* may discharge my Subiects of their Allegiance and Obedience to me.
6. That the *Pope* may giue licence to one, or more of my Subiects to beare armes against me.

That

That the *Pope* may giue leaue to my Subiects to offer violence to my Perſon, or to my gouernement, or to ſome of my Subiects. 7.

That if the *Pope* ſhall by Sentence excommunicate or depoſe mee, my Subiects are not to beare Faith and Allegiance to me. 8.

If the *Pope* ſhall by Sentence excommunicate or depoſe me, my Subiects are not bound to defend with all their power my Perſon and Crowne. 9.

If the *Pope* ſhall giue out any Sentence of Excommunication or Depriuation againſt me, my Subiects by reaſon of that Sentence, are not bound to reueale all Conſpiracies and Treaſons againſt mee, which ſhall come to their hearing and knowledge. 10.

That it is not hereticall and deteſtable to hold, that Princes being excommunicated by the *Pope*, may be either depoſed or killed by their Subiects, or any other. 11.

That the *Pope* hath power to abſolue my Subiects from this Oath, or from ſome part thereof. 12.

That this Oath is not adminiſtred to my Subiects, by a full and lawfull authoritie. 13.

That this Oath is to be taken with Equiuocation, mentall euaſion, or ſecret reſeruation; and not with the heart and good will, ſincerely in the trew faith of a Chriſtian man. 14.

Theſe are the trew and naturall branches of the body of this Oath. The affirmatiue of all which negatiues, doe neither concerne in any caſe the *Popes* Supremacie in Spirituall cauſes: nor yet were euer concluded, and defined by any complete generall Councell to belong to the *Popes* authoritie; and their owne ſchoole Doctors are at irreconciliable oddes and iarres about them.

Touching the pretended Councell of Lateran. See Plat. *In vita Innocen. III.*

And that the world may yet farther ſee ours and the whole States ſetting downe of this Oath, did not proceed from any new inuention of our owne, but as it is warranted by the word of GOD: ſo doeth it take the example from an Oath of Allegiance decreed a thouſand yeeres agone, which a famous Councell then, together with diuers other Councels, were ſo farre from condemning (as the *Pope* now hath done this Oath) as I haue thought good to ſet downe their owne wordes here in that purpoſe: whereby it may appeare that I craue nothing now of my Subiects in this Oath, which was not expreſly and carefully commaunded then, by the Councels to be obeyed without exception of perſons. Nay not in the very particular point of *Equiuocatiõ*, which I in this Oath was ſo carefull to haue eſchewed: but you ſhall here ſee the ſaid Councels in their Decrees, as carefull to prouide for the eſchewing of the ſame; ſo as almoſt euery point of that action, & this of ours ſhalbe found to haue relation & agreeance one with the other, ſaue onely in this, that thoſe old Councels were careful and ſtrait in cõmanding the taking of the ſame: whereas by the contrary, he that now vanteth himſelfe to be head of al Councels, is as careful & ſtrait in the prohibition of all men from the taking of this Oath of Allegiance.

The Oath of Allegiance confirmed by the authoritie of ancient Councels.

The ancient Councels prouided for *Equiuocation*.

The difference betweene the ancient Councels, and the Pope counſelling of the Catholiques.

The words of the Councell be theſe:

Heare our Sentence.

Concil. Tolet. 4 can. 47. Anno 633.

Whoſoeuer of vs, or of all the people thorowout all Spaine, *ſhall goe about by any meanes of conſpiracie or practiſe, to violate the Oath of his fidelitie, which he hath taken for the preſeruation of his Countrey, or of the Kings life; or who ſhall attempt to put violent handes vpon the King; or to depriue him of his kingly power; or that by tyrannicall preſumption would vſurpe the Soueraigntie of the Kingdome: Let him bee accurſed in the ſight of God the Father, and of his Angels; and let him bee made and declared a ſtranger from the Catholique Church, which hee hath prophaned by his periurie; and an aliant from the companie of all Chriſtian people, together with all the complices of his impietie; becauſe it behoueth all thoſe that bee guiltie of the like offence, to vnder-lie the like puniſhment.* Which ſentence is three ſeuerall times together, and almoſt in the ſame wordes, repeated in the ſame Canon. After this, *the Synode deſired, That this Sentence of theirs now this third time rehearſed, might bee confirmed by the voyce and conſent of all that were preſent. Then the whole Clergie and people anſwered, Whoſoeuer ſhall cary himſelfe preſumptuouſly againſt this your definitiue ſentence, let them be Anathema maranatha, that is, let them bee vtterly deſtroyed at the Lords comming, and let them and their complices haue their portion with Iudas Iſcarioth. Amen.*

[1] Concil. Tolet. 5. Can. 7. anno 636.

And in the fifth [1] Councell, there it is decreed, That this Acte touching the Oath of Allegiance, ſhall bee repeated in euery Councell of the Biſhops of *Spaine*. The Decree is in theſe wordes: *In conſideration that the mindes of men are eaſily inclined to euill and forgetfulneſſe, therefore this moſt holy* Synode *hath ordained; and doeth enact, That in euery Councell of the Biſhops of* Spaine, *the Decree of the generall* [2] *Councell which was made for the ſafetie of our Princes, ſhall bee with an audible voyce proclaimed and pronounced, after the concluſion of all other things in the Synode: That ſo it beeing often ſounded into their eares, at leaſt by continuall remembrance, the mindes of wicked men beeing terrified, might bee reformed, which by obliuion and facilitie* [*to euill*] *are brought to preuaricate.*

[2] Synod. Tolet. 4. vniuerſalis, & magna Synodus dicta, Synod. Tolet. 5. cap. 2.

[3] Concil. Tolet. 6. Can. 18. Anno 638.

And in the ſixt [3] Councell, *Wee doe proteſt before God, and all the orders of Angels, in the preſence of the Prophets and Apoſtles, and all the companie of Martyrs, and before all the Catholique Church, and aſſemblies of the Chriſtians; That no man ſhall goe about to ſeeke the deſtruction of the King: No man ſhall touch the life of the Prince: No man ſhall depriue him of the Kingdome: No man by any tyrannical preſumption ſhall vſurpe to himſelfe the Soueraigntie of the Kingdome: No man by any Machination ſhall in his aduerſitie aſſociate to himſelfe any packe of Conſpirators againſt him: And that if any of vs ſhall be preſumptuous by raſhneſſe in any of theſe caſes, let him be ſtricken with the anatheme of God, and reputed as condemned in eternall iudgement without any hope of recouery.*

[4] Concil. Tolet. 10. Can. 2. AEra 694.

And in the tenth [4] Councell (to omit diuers others held alſo at *Toledo*) it is ſaid: *That if any religious man, euen from the Biſhop to the loweſt Order of the Church-men or Monkes, ſhall bee found to haue violated the generall Oathes made*

made for the preseruation of the Kings Person, or of the Nation and Countrey with a prophane minde; foorthwith let him bee depriued of all dignitie, and excluded from all place and Honour. The occasion of the Decrees made for this Oath, was, That the Christians were suspected for want of fidelitie to their Kings; and did either equiuocate in taking their Oath, or make no conscience to keepe it, when they had giuen it; as may appeare by sundry speeches in the [1] Councell, saying, *There is a generall report, that there is that perfidiousnesse in the mindes of many people of diuers Nations, that they make no conscience to keepe the Oath and fidelitie that they haue sworne vnto their Kings: but doe dissemble a profession of fidelitie in their mouthes, when they hold an impious perfidiousnesse in their mindes.* And [2] againe, *They sweare to their Kings, and yet doe they preuaricate in the fidelitie which they haue promised: Neither doe they feare the Volume of Gods iudgement, by the which the curse of God is brought vpon them, with great threatning of punishments, which doe sweare lyingly in the Name of God.* To the like effect spake they in the Councell of [3] *Aquisgran: If any of the Bishops, or other Church-man of inferiour degree, hereafter thorow feare or couetousnesse, or any other perswasion, shall make defection from our Lord the Orthodoxe Emperour* Lodowicke, *or shall violate the Oath of fidelitie made vnto him, or shall with their peruerse intention adhere to his enemies; let him by this Canonicall and Synodall sentence bee depriued of whatsoeuer place hee is possessed of.*

[1] *Concil. Tolet. 4. cap. 74.*

[2] *Concil. Tolet. 4. cap. 74.*

[3] *Concil. Aquisgran. sub Ludo. Pio, & Greg. 4. Can. 12. anno 836.*

And now to come to a particular answere of his Letter. First, as concerning the sweet memory hee hath of his old acquaintance with the Arch-priest; it may indeed be pleasing for him to recount: but sure I am, his acquaintance with him and the rest of his societie, our Fugitiues (whereof he also vanteth himselfe in his Preface to the Reader in his Booke of Controuersies) hath prooued sowre to vs and our State: For some of such Priests and Iesuits, as were the greatest Traitors and fomenters of the greatest conspiracies against the late Queene, gaue vp Father *Rob: Bellarmine* for one of their greatest authorities and oracles: And therfore I do not enuy the great honour he can winne, by his vaunt of his inward familiarity with an other Princes traitors & fugitiues; whom vnto if he teach no better maners then hitherto he hath done, I thinke his fellowship are litle beholding vnto him.

Campian and *Hart*. See the conference in the Tower.

And for desiring him to remember him in his prayers at the Altar of the Lord: if the Arch-Priests prayers prooue no more profitable to his soule, then *Bellarmines* counsell is like to proue profitable, both to the soule and bodie of *Blackwell* (if he would follow it) the authour of this Letter might very well be without his prayers.

Now the first messenger that I can finde which brought ioyfull newes of the Arch-Priest to *Bellarmine*, was hee that brought the newes of the Arch-Priests taking, and first appearance of Martyrdome. A great signe surely of the Cardinals mortification, that hee was so reioyced to heare of the apprehension, imprisonment and appearance of putting to death of so old and deare a friend of his. But yet apparantly he should first haue beene

ſure, that hee was onely to bee puniſhed for cauſe of Religion, before hee had ſo triumphed vpon the expectation of his Martyrdome. For firſt, by what rule of charitie was it lawfull for him to iudge mee a perſecutour, before proofe had beene made of it by the ſaid Arch-Prieſts condemnation and death? What could hee know, that the ſaid Arch-Prieſt was not taken vpon ſuſpicion of his guiltineſſe in the Powder-Treaſon? What certaine information had hee then receiued vpon the particulars, whereupon hee was to bee accuſed? And laſt of all, by what inſpiration could he foretell whereupon hee was to bee accuſed? For at that time there was yet nothing layed to his charge. And if charitie ſhould not bee ſuſpicious, what warrant had hee abſolutely to condemne mee of vſing perſecution and tyrannie, which could not bee but implyed vpon mee, if *Blackwel* was to bee a Martyr? But ſurely it may iuſtly be ſayd of *Bellarmine* in this caſe, that our Sauiour CHRIST ſaith of all worldly and carnall men, who thinke it enough to loue their [1] friends, and hate their enemies; the limits of the Cardinals charitie extending no farther, then to them of his owne profeſſion. For what euer hee added in ſuperfluous charitie to *Blackwel*, in reioycing in the ſpeculation of his future Martyrdome; hee detracted as much vniuſtly and vncharitably from me, in accounting of me thereby as of a bloody Perſecutour. And whereas this ioy of his was interrupted by the next meſſenger, that brought the newes of the ſaide Arch-Prieſt his failing in his conſtancie, by taking of this Oath; he needed neuer to haue beene troubled, either with his former ioy or his ſecond ſorrow, both beeing alike falſly grounded. For as it was neuer my intention to lay any thing vnto the ſaid Arch-Prieſts charge, as I haue neuer done to any for cauſe of conſcience; ſo was *Blackwels* conſtancie neuer brangled by taking of this Oath; It beeing a thing which he euer thought lawfull before his apprehenſion, and whereunto hee perſwaded all Catholiques to giue obedience; like as after his apprehenſion, hee neuer made doubt or ſtop in it; but at the firſt offering it vnto him, did freely take it, as a thing moſt lawfull; neither meanes of threatening, or flatterie being euer vſed vnto him, as himſelfe can yet beare witneſſe.

The Cardinals charitie.

[1] Mat. 5. 43.

And as for the temperature and modification of this Oath, except that a reaſonable and lawfull matter is there ſet downe in reaſonable and temperate wordes, agreeing thereunto; I know not what he can meane, by quarelling it for that fault: For no temperatneſſe nor modifications in words therein, can iuſtly be called the Deuils craft; when the thing it ſelfe is ſo plaine, and ſo plainely interpreted to all them that take it; as the onely troubleſome thing in it all, bee the wordes vſed in the end thereof, for eſchewing *Æquiuocation* and *Mentall reſeruation*. Which new Catholike doctrine, may farre iuſtlier bee called the Deuils craft, then any plaine and temperate wordes, in ſo plaine and cleare a matter. But what ſhall we ſay of theſe ſtrange countrey clownes, whom of with the *Satyre* we may iuſtly complaine, that they blow both hote & cold out of one mouth? For *Luther*

and

and all our bold and free-ſpeaking Writers are mightily railed vpon by them, as hote-brained fellowes, and ſpeakers by the Deuils inſtinct: and now if we ſpeake moderately and temperately of them, it muſt be tearmed the Deuils craft: And therefore wee may iuſtly complaine with CHRIST, that when we [1] mourne, they wil not lament: and when we pipe, they wil not dance. But neither *Iohn Baptiſt* his ſeueritie, nor CHRIST his meekeneſſe and lenitie can pleaſe them, who build but to their owne Monarchie vpon the ground of their owne Traditions; and not to CHRIST vpon the ground of his word and infallible trewth.

[1] Mat. 11.17.

But what can bee meant by alleadging, that the craft of the Deuill herein, is onely vſed for ſubuerſion of the Catholique Faith, and euerſion of Saint *Peters* Primacie; had neede bee commented anew by *Bellarmine* himſelfe: For in all this Letter of his, neuer one word is vſed, to prooue that by any part of this Oath the Primacie of Saint *Peter* is any way medled with, except Maſter *Bellarmine* his bare alleadging; which without prooving it by more cleare demonſtration, can neuer ſatisfie the conſcience of any reaſonable man. For (for ought that I know) heauen and earth are no farther aſunder, then the profeſſion of a temporall obedience to a temporall King, is different from any thing belonging to the Catholique Faith, or Supremacie of Saint *Peter*: For as for the Catholique Faith; can there be one word found in all that Oath, tending or ſounding to matter of Religion? Doeth he that taketh it, promiſe there to beleeue, or not to beleeue any article of Religion? Or doeth hee ſo much as name a trew or falſe Church there? And as for Saint *Peters* Primacie; I know no Apoſtles name that is therein named, except the name of IAMES, it being my Chriſten name: though it pleaſe him not to deigne to name me in all the Letter; albeit, the contents thereof concerne mee in the higheſt degree. Neither is there any mention at all made therein, either *diſertis verbis*, or by any other indirect meanes, either of the Hierarchie of the Church, of Saint *Peters* ſucceſſion, of the Sea Apoſtolike, or of any ſuch matter: but that the Author of our Letter doeth brauely make mention of Saint *Peters* ſucceſſion, bringing it in compariſon with the ſucceſſion of *Henry* the eight. Of which vnapt and vnmannerly ſimilitude, I wonder he ſhould not be much aſhamed: For as to King *Henries* Succeſſour (which hee meaneth by mee) as I, I ſay, neuer did, nor will preſume to create any Article of Faith, or to bee Iudge thereof; but to ſubmit my exemplarie obedience vnto them, in as great humilitie as the meaneſt of the land: ſo if the Pope could bee as well able to prooue his either Perſonall or Doctrinall Succeſſion from Saint *Peter*, as I am able to prooue my lineall deſcent from the Kings of *England* and *Scotland*; there had neuer beene ſo long adoe, nor ſo much ſturre kept about this queſtion in Chriſtendome; neither had [2] Maſter *Bellarmine* himſelfe needed to haue beſtowed ſo many ſheetes of paper *De ſummo Pontifice*, in his great bookes of Controuerſies: And when all is done, to conclude with a morall certitude, and a *piè credendum*; bringing in the [3] Popes, that

No deciſion of any point of Religion in the Oath of Allegiance.

[2] *Bellar. de Rom. Pont. li. 4. cap. 6. Ibid. l. 2. ca. 12.*
[3] *Idem ibid. lib. 2. cap. 14.*

are parties in this cauſe, to be his witneſſes: and yet their hiſtoricall narration muſt bee no article of Faith. And I am without vanterie ſure, that I doe farre more neerely imitate the worthie actions of my Predeceſſours, then the *Popes* in our aage can be well proued to be *ſimiles Petro*, eſpecially in curſing of Kings, and ſetting free their Subiects from their Allegiance vnto them.

The Cardinals weightieſt Argument.

But now wee come to his ſtrongeſt argument, which is, That he would alledge vpon mee a Panicke terrour, as if I were poſſeſſed with a needleſſe feare: *For*, ſaith the Cardinall, *from the beginning of the Churches firſt infancie, euen to this day, where was it euer heard, that euer a* Pope *either commaunded to bee killed, or allowed the ſlaughter of any Prince whatſoeuer, whether hee were an Hereticke, an Ethnicke, or Perſecutour?* But firſt, wherefore doeth he here wilfully, and of purpoſe omit the reſt of the points mentioned in that Oath, for depoſing, degrading, ſtirring vp of armes, or rebelling againſt them, which are as well mentioned in that Oath, as the killing of them? as beeing all of one conſequence againſt a King, no Subiect beeing ſo ſcrupulous, as that hee will attempt the one, and leaue the other vnperformed if hee can. And yet ſurely I cannot blame him for paſſing it ouer, ſince he could not otherwiſe haue eſchewed the direct belying of himſelfe in tearmes, which hee now doeth but in ſubſtance and effect: For [1] as for the *Popes* depoſing and degrading of Kings, hee maketh ſo braue vaunts and bragges of it in his former bookes, as he could neuer with ciuill honeſtie haue denied it here.

[1] *Bellarm. de Rom. Pont. lib. 5. cap. 8. et lib. 3. cap. 16.*

But to returne to the *Popes* allowing of killing of Kings, I know not with what face hee can ſet ſo ſtout a deniall vpon it againſt his owne knowledge. How many Emperours did the *Pope* raiſe warre againſt in their owne bowels? Who as they were ouercome in battaile, were ſubiect to haue beene killed therein, which I hope the *Pope* could not but haue allowed, when he was ſo farre inraged at [2] *Henry* the fifth for giuing buriall to his fathers dead corpes, after the [3] *Pope* had ſtirred him vp to rebell againſt his father, and procured his ruine. But leauing theſe olde Hiſtories to *Bellarmines* owne bookes, that doe moſt authentically cite them, as I haue already ſaid, let vs turne our eyes vpon our owne time, and therein remember what a Panegyricke [4] Oration was made by the *Pope*, in praiſe and approbation of the Frier and his fact, that murthered king *Henry* the third of *France*, who was ſo farre from either being Hereticke, Ethnicke, or Perſecutor in their account, that the ſaid *Popes* owne wordes in that Oration are, *That a trew Friar hath killed a counterfeit Frier*. And beſides that vehement Oration and congratulation for that fact, how neere it ſcaped, that the ſaid Frier was not canonized for that glorious act, is better knowen to *Bellarmine* and his followers, then to vs here.

[2] *Gotfrid. Viterb. Helmod. Cuſpinian.*
[3] *Paſchal. 2.*

[4] See the Oration of *Sixtus Quintus*, made in the Conſiſtory vpon the death of *Henry* the 3.

But ſure I am, if ſome Cardinals had not beene more wiſe and circumſpect in that errand, then the *Pope* himſelfe was, the *Popes* owne Kalender of his Saints would haue ſufficiently proued *Bellarmin* a lier in this caſe. And

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to draw yet neerer vnto our ſelues; how many practiſes and attempts were made againſt the late Queenes life, which were directly enioyned to thoſe Traitours by their Confeſſors, and plainly authorized by the *Popes* allowance? For verification whereof, there needs no more proofe, then that neuer *Pope* either then or ſince, called any Church-man in queſtion for medling in any thoſe treaſonable conſpiracies; nay, the Cardinals owne S. *Sanderus* mentioned in his Letter, could well verifie this trewth, if hee were aliue; and who will looke his bookes, will finde them filled with no other doctrine then this. And what difference there is betweene the killing, or allowing the ſlaughter of Kings, and the ſtirring vp and approbation of practiſes to kill them; I remit to *Bellarmines* owne iudgement. It may then very clearely appeare, how ſtrangely this Authors paſſion hath made him forget himſelfe, by implicating himſelfe in ſo ſtrong a contradiction againſt his owne knowledge and conſcience, againſt the witneſſe of his former bookes, and againſt the practiſe of our owne times. But who can wonder at this contradiction of himſelfe in this point, when his owne great Volumes are ſo filled with contradictions? which when either he, or any other ſhall euer bee able to reconcile, I will then beleeue that hee may eaſily reconcile this impudent ſtrong deniall of his in his Letter, of any *Popes* medling againſt Kings, with his owne former bookes, as I haue already ſaid.

And that I may not ſeeme to imitate him in affirming boldly that which I no wayes prooue; I will therefore ſend the Reader to looke for witneſſes of his contradictions, in ſuch places here mentioned in his owne booke. In his bookes of [1] Iuſtification, there he affirmeth, *That for the vncertaintie of our owne proper righteouſneſſe, and for auoiding of vaine-glory, it is moſt ſure and ſafe, to repoſe our whole confidence in the alone mercy and goodneſſe of God*; [2] Which propoſition of his, is directly contrary to the diſcourſe, and current of all his fiue bookes *de Iuſtificatione*, wherein the ſame is contained.

God doeth not encline a man to euill, either [3] *naturally or morally.*

Preſently after, hee affirmeth the contrary, *That God doeth not encline to euill naturally, but* [4] *morally.*

All the Fathers teach conſtantly, *That* [5] *Biſhops doe ſucceed the Apoſtles, and Prieſts the ſeuentie diſciples.*

Elſewhere he affirmeth the contrary, *That* [6] *Biſhops doe not properly ſucceede the Apoſtles.*

That [7] *Iudas did not beleeue.*

Contrary, *That* [8] *Iudas was iuſt and certainly good.*

The keeping of the [9] *Law according to the ſubſtance of the worke, doeth require that the Commandement be ſo kept, that ſinne be not committed, and the man be not guiltie for hauing not kept the Commandement.*

Contrary, [10] *It is to be knowen, that it is not all one, to doe a good morall worke, and to keepe the Commandement according to the ſubſtance of the worke: For the Commandement may be kept according to the ſubſtance of the worke, euen with ſinne; as if*

[1] *Bellar. de Iuſtif. lib. 5. cap. 7.*

[2] Contrary to all his fiue bookes *de Iuſtificatione.*

[3] *Bellar. de amiſſ gra. & ſtat. pecca. li. 2. c. 13.*

[4] *Ibidem paulò poſt.*

[5] *Bellar. de clericis, lib. 1. c. 14.*

[6] *Bellar. de Pont. l. 4. c. 25.*

[7] *Bellar. de Pont. lib. 1. c. 12.*

[8] *Bellar. de Iuſtif. lib. 3. c. 14.*

[9] *Bellar. de gra. & lib. arbit. lib. 5. cap. 5.*

[10] *Eodem lib. cap. 9.*

as if one ſhould reſtore to his friend the thing committed to him of truſt, to the end that theeues might afterward take it from him.

[1] Peter *did not looſe that faith, whereby the heart beleeueth vnto iuſtification.*

Contrary, [2] Peters *ſinne was deadly.*

[3] *Antichriſt ſhall be a Magician, and after the maner of other Magicians ſhall ſecretly worſhip the diuel.*

[4] Contrary, *He ſhall not admit of idolatrie: he ſhall hate idoles, and reedifie the Temple.*

By the words of [5] *Conſecration the trew and ſolemne oblation is made.*

Contrary, *The ſacrifice doeth not conſiſt in the words: but in the* [6] *oblation of the thing it ſelfe.*

[7] *That the end of the world cannot be knowne.*

[8] Contrary, *After the death of* Antichriſt, *there ſhall bee but fiue and fourtie dayes till the end of the world.*

[9] *That the tenne Kings ſhall burne the ſcarlet Whore, that is,* Rome.

[10] Contrary, Antichriſt *ſhall hate* Rome, *and fight againſt it, and burne it.*

[11] *The name of vniuerſall Biſhop may be vnderſtood two wayes; one way, that he which is ſaid to be vniuerſall Biſhop, may bee thought to be the onely Biſhop of all Chriſtian Cities; ſo that all others are not indeed Biſhops, but onely Vicars to him, who is called vniuerſall Biſhop: in which ſenſe, the* Pope *is not vniuerſall Biſhop.*

Contrary, *All ordinary* [12] *iuriſdiction of Biſhops doeth deſcend immediatly from the Pope; and is in him, and from him is deriued to others.* Which few places I haue onely ſelected amongſt many the like, that the diſcreet and iudicious Reader may diſcerne *ex vngue Leonem*: For when euer he is preſſed with a weighty obiection, hee neuer careth, nor remembreth how his ſolution and anſwere to that, may make him gainesay his owne doctrine in ſome other places, ſo it ſerue him for a ſhift to put off the preſent ſtorme withall.

But now to returne to our matter againe: *Since Popes*, ſayeth hee, *haue neuer at any time medled againſt Kings, wherefore, I pray you, ſhould onely the King of* ENGLAND *be afraid of that, whereof neuer Chriſtian King is, or was afraid?* Was neuer Chriſtian Emperour or King afraid of the *Popes*? How then were theſe miſerable Emperours toſt and turmoiled, and in the end vtterly ruined by the *Popes*: for proofe whereof I haue already cited *Bellarmines* owne bookes? Was not the [13] Emperour afraid, who [14] waited barefooted in the froſt and ſnow three dayes at the *Popes* gate, before he could get entrie? Was not the [15] Emperour alſo afraid, [16] who was driuen to lie agroofe on his belly, and ſuffer another *Pope* to tread vpon his necke? And was not another [17] Emperour afraid, [18] who was conſtrained in like maner to endure a third *Pope* to beat off from his head the Imperiall Crowne with his foot? Was not [19] *Philip* afraid, being made Emperour againſt *Pope Innocentius* the thirds good liking, when he brake out into theſe words, *Either the Pope ſhall take the Crowne from* Philip, *or* Philip *ſhall take the Miter from the Pope?* whereupon the *Pope* ſtirred vp *Ottho* againſt him, who cauſed

[1] Bellar. *de Pont. lib* 4 *c.*3.
[2] Bell. *de Iuſt. lib.*3. *cap.*14.
[3] Bell. *de Rom Pontif. lib* 3. *cap.*14.
[4] *Ibid. ex ſententt. Hypol. & Cyril & cap.* 12. *eiuſdem libri.*
[5] Bell. *lib.*1. *de miſſa. cap.* 17.
[6] Bellar. *de miſſ. lib.*2. *cap.* 12.
[7] Bellar. *de anim. Chriſt. lib.*4. *cap.*5.
[8] Bellar. *de Pont. lib.*3. *cap.*17.
[9] Bellar. *de Pont. lib.*3. *cap.* 13.
[10] Bellar. *ibid.*
[11] Bellar. *de Pont. lib.*2. *cap.*31.
[12] Bellar. *de Pont. lib.*2. *cap.*24.

[13] Henry 4.
[14] *Abbas Vrſperg. Lamb. Scaff. Anno* 1077. *Plat. in vit. Greg.*7.
[15] Frederick Barbaroſſa.
[16] *Naucler. gener,*40. *Iacob. Bergom. in Supplem. chron. Alfonſ. Clacon. in vit. Alex.*3.
[17] Henry 6.
[18] *R. Houeden in Rich.* 1. *Ranulph. in Polycronico. lib.*7.
[19] *Abbas Vrſper. ad Ann.* 1191. *Nauc. gen.* 40. *Cuſpin. in Philippo.*

caused him to be slaine; and presently went to *Rome*, and was crowned Emperour by the *Pope*, though afterward the *Pope* [1] deposed him too. Was not the Emperour [2] *Fredericke* afraid, when *Innocentius* the fourth excommunicated him, depriued him of his crowne, absolued Princes of their Oath of fidelitie to him, and in *Apulia* corrupted one to giue him poison? whereof the Emperour recouering, hee hired his bastard sonne *Manfredus* to poison him; whereof he died. What did [3] *Alexander* the third write to the *Soldan?* That if he would liue quietly, hee should by some slight murther the [4] Emperour; and to that end sent him the Emperours picture. And did not [5] *Alexander* the sixt take of the Turke *Baiazetes* two hundred thousand crownes to kill his brother *Gemen*; or as some call him, *Sisimus*, whom he helde captiue at *Rome*? Did hee not accept of the conditions to poyson the man, and had his pay? Was not our [6] *Henry* the second afraid after the slaughter of *Thomas Becket*; that besides his going bare-footed in Pilgrimage, was whipped vp and down the Chapter-house like a schoole-boy, and glad to escape so to? Had not this French King his great grandfather King *Iohn* reason to be afraid, when the [7] *Pope* gaue away his kingdome of *Nauarre* to the King of *Spaine*, whereof he yet possesseth the best halfe? Had not this King, his Successour reason to be afraid, when he was forced to begge so submissiuely the relaxation of his Excommunication, as he was content likewise to suffer his Ambassadour to be whipped at *Rome* for penance? And had not the late Queene reason to looke to her selfe, when she was excommunicated by *Pius Quintus*, her Subiects loosed from their fidelitie and Allegiance toward her, her Kingdome of *Ireland* giuen to the King of *Spaine*, and that famous fugitiue diuine, honoured with the like degree of a redde Hat as *Bellarmine* is, was not ashamed to publish in Print an [8] Apologie for *Stanleys* treason, maintaining, that by reason of her excommunication and heresie, it was not onely lawfull for any of her Subiects, but euen they were bound in conscience to depriue her of any strength, which lay in their power to doe? And whether it were armies, townes, or fortresses of hers which they had in their hands, they were obliged to put them in the King of *Spaine* her enemies hands, shee no more being the right owner of any thing? But albeit it be trew, that wise men are mooued by the examples of others dangers to vse prouidence and caution, according to the olde Prouerbe, *Tum tua res agitur, paries cùm proximus ardet*: yet was I much neerlier summoned to vse this caution, by the practise of it in mine owne person.

First, by the sending foorth of these Bulles whereof I made mention already, for debarring me from entrie vnto this Crowne, and Kingdome. And next after my entrie, and full possession thereof, by the horrible Powder-treason, which should haue bereft both me and mine, both of crowne and life. And howsoeuer the Pope will seeme to cleare himselfe of any allowance of the said Powder-treason; yet can it not be denied, that his principall ministers here, and his chiefe *Mancipia* the Iesuites, were the plaine practisers

[1] *Abbas Vrsper.*

[2] *Math. Paris. in Henr. 3. Petr. de Vineis, Epist. li. 1. & 2. Cuspin in Freder. 2.*

[3] *Vita Frederici Germanicè conscripta.*

[4] Fredericke Barbarossa.

[5] *Paul. Iouius, Hist. lib. 2. Cuspinian. in Baiazet. 11. Guicciard. lib. 2.*

[6] *Houeden, pag. 308. Matth. Paris. in Henric 2. Walsinga. in Hypodig. Neustriæ. Ioan. Capgraue.*

[7] *Gomecius de rebus gest. Fran. Ximenij Archiepis. Tolet. lib. 5.*

[8] Card. Allens Answere to Stan. letter, Anno 1587.

practiſers thereof: for which the principall of them hath died confeſſing it, and other haue fled the Countrey for the crime; yea, ſome of them gone into *Italy*: and yet neither theſe that fled out of this Countrey for it, nor yet *Baldwine*, who though he then remained in the Low-countreys, was of counſell in it, were euer called to account for it by the Pope; much leſſe puniſhed for medling in ſo ſcandalous and enormous buſineſſe. And now what needs ſo great wonder and exclamation, that *the only King of* England *feareth*: And *what other Chriſtian King doeth, or euer did feare but hee?* As if by the force of his rhetoricke he could make me and my good Subiects to miſtruſt our ſenſes, deny the Sunne to ſhine at midday, and not with the ſerpent to ſtop our eares to his charming, but to the plaine and viſible veritie it ſelfe. And yet for all this wonder, he can neuer prooue mee to be troubled with ſuch a Panicke terrour. Haue I euer importuned the Pope with any requeſt for my ſecuritie? Or haue I either troubled other Chriſtian Princes my friends and allies, to intreat for me at the Popes hand? Or yet haue I begged from them any aide or aſſiſtance for my farther ſecuritie? No. All this wondred-at feare of mine, ſtretcheth no further, then wiſely to make diſtinction betweene the ſheepe and goats in my owne paſture. For ſince, what euer the Popes part hath beene in the Powder-treaſon; yet certaine it is, that all theſe caitife monſters did to their death maintaine, that onely zeale of Religion mooued them to that horrible attempt: yea, ſome of them at their death, would not craue pardon at God or King for their offence; exhorting other of their followers to the like conſtancie. Had not wee then, and our Parliament great reaſon, by this Oath to ſet a marke of diſtinction betweene good Subiects, and bad? Yea, betweene Papiſts, though peraduenture zealous in their religion, yet otherwiſe ciuilly honeſt and good Subiects, and ſuch terrible firebrands of hell, as would maintaine the like maximes, which theſe Powder-men did? Nay, could there be a more gracious part in a King, ſuppoſe I ſay it, towards Subiects of a contrary Religion, then by making them to take this Oath, to publiſh their honeſt fidelitie in temporal things to me their Soueraigne, and thereby to wipe off that imputation and great ſlander which was laide vpon the whole profeſſours of that Religion, by the furious enterpriſe of theſe Powder-men?

[1] *Nazianzen. in Iulian. inuectiuâ primâ.*

And whereas for illuſtration of this ſtrong argument of his, hee hath brought in for a ſimilitude the hiſtorie of [1] *Iulian* the *Apoſtata* his dealing with the Chriſtians, when as he ſtraited them either to commit idolatrie, or to come within the compaſſe of treaſon: I would wiſh the authour to remember, that although a ſimilitude may be permitted *claudicare vno pede*; yet this was a very ill choſen ſimilitude, which is lame both of feete and hands, and euery member of the body: For I ſhall in fewe wordes prooue, that it agreeth in no one point ſaue one, with our purpoſe, which is, that *Iulian* was an Emperour, and I a King. Firſt, *Iulian* was an *Apoſtata*, one that had renounced the whole Chriſtian faith, which he had once profeſſed,

The diſproportion of the Cardinals ſimilitude.

profeſſed, and became an Ethnike againe, or rather an Atheiſt: whereas I am a Chriſtian, who neuer changed that Religion, that I dranke in with my milke: nor euer, I thanke GOD, was aſhamed of my profeſſion. *Iulian* dealt againſt Chriſtians onely for the profeſſion of CHRISTES cauſe: I deale in this cauſe with my Subiects, onely to make a diſtinction betweene trew Subiects, and falſe-hearted traitours. *Iulians* end was the ouerthrow of the Chriſtians: my onely end is, to maintaine Chriſtianitie in a peaceable gouernement. *Iulians* drift was to make them commit Idolatrie: my purpoſe is, to cauſe my Subiects to make open profeſſion of their naturall Allegiance, and ciuill Obedience. *Iulians* meanes whereby he went about it, was by craft, and inſnaring them before they were aware: my courſe in this is plaine, cleare, and voyd of all obſcuritie; neuer refuſing leaue to any that are required to take this Oath, to ſtudy it at leiſure, and giuing them all the interpretation of it they can craue. But the greateſt diſſimilitude of all, is in this: that *Iulian* preſſed them to commit idolatrie to Idoles and Images: but as well I, as all the Subiects of my profeſſion are ſo farre from guilt in this point, as wee are counted heretiques by you, becauſe we will not commit idolatrie. So as in the maine point of all, is the greateſt contrarietie. For, *Iulian* perſecuted the Chriſtians becauſe they would not commit idolatrie; and ye count me a perſecutour, becauſe I will not admit idolatrie: So as to conclude this point, this old ſentence may well be applied to *Bellarmine*, in vſing ſo vnapt a ſimilitude,

Perdere quos vult Iupiter, hos dementat.

And therefore his vncharitable concluſion doeth not rightly follow: *That it ſeemeth vnto him, that ſome ſuch thing ſhould be ſubtilly or fraudulently included in this Oath*; as if no man can deteſt Treaſon againſt the King, or profeſſe ciuill ſubiection, except hee renounce the Primacie of the Apoſtolique Sea. But how he hath ſuckt this apprehenſion out at his fingers ends, I cannot imagine: for ſure I am, as I haue oft ſaid, hee neuer goeth about to prooue it: and to anſwere an improbable imagination, is to fight againſt a vaniſhing ſhadow. It cannot be denied indeed, that many ſeruants of CHRIST, as well Prieſts, as others, haue endured conſtantly all ſorts of torments, and death, for the profeſſion of CHRIST: and therefore to all ſuch his examples, as hee bringeth in for verifying the ſame, I need not to giue him any other anſwere, ſaue onely to remember him, that he playeth the part of a ſophiſter in all theſe his examples of the conſtancie of Martyrs; euer taking *Controuerſum pro confeſſo*, as if this our caſe were of the ſame nature.

But yet that the Reader may the better diſcouer, not onely how vnaptly his ſimilitudes are applied, but likewiſe how diſhoneſtly hee vſeth himſelfe in all his citations: I haue thought good to ſet downe the very places themſelues cited by him, together with a ſhort deduction of the trew ſtate of thoſe particular caſes: whereby, how little theſe examples can touch our caſe; nay, by the contrary, how rightly their trew ſenſe may bee vſed,

vſed, as our owne weapons to be throwen backe vpon him that alledgeth them, ſhall eaſily appeare. And firſt, for [1] *Eleazar*: If the Arch-prieſt his ground of refuſing the Oath, were as good as *Eleazars* was, to forbeare to eate the ſwines fleſh, it might not vnfitly be applied by the Cardinal to this purpoſe: For as *Eleazar* was a principall Scribe, ſo is he a principall Prieſt: As *Eleazars* example had a great force in it, to animate the yonger Scribes to keepe the Lawe, or in his colourable eating it, to haue taught them to diſſemble: ſo hath the Arch-prieſts, either to make the inferiour Prieſts to take the Oath, or to refuſe it: but the ground failing, the building cannot ſtand: For what example is there in all the Scripture, in which diſobedience to the Oath of the King, or want of Allegiance is allowed? If the Cardinall would remember, that when the Church maketh a Lawe (ſuppoſe to forbid fleſh on certaine dayes) he that refuſeth to obey it, incurreth the iuſt cenſure of the Church: If a man then ought to die rather then to breake the leaſt of Gods Ceremoniall Lawes, and to pine and ſtarue his body, rather then to violate the Church his poſitiue Law: will he not giue leaue to a man to redeeme his ſoule from ſinne, and to keepe his body from puniſhment, by keeping a Kings politike Law, and by giuing good example in his Perſon, raiſe vp a good opinion in me of like Allegiance in the inferiour of his order? This application, as I take it, would haue better fitted this example.

[1] 2. Maccab. chap. 6. ver. 18.

An anſwere to the Card example of *Eleazar*.

But let mee remember the Cardinall of another [2] Oath inioyned by a King to his people, whereby he indangered his owne life, and hazarded the ſafetie of the whole armie, when hee made the people ſweare in the morning, not to taſte of any meate vntill night: which Oath he exacted ſo ſtrictly, that his eldeſt ſonne, and heire apparant, *Ionathan*, for breaking of it, by taſting a little hony of the top of his rodde, though he heard not when the King gaue that Oath, had well-nigh died for it. And ſhall an Oath giuen vpon ſo vrgent an occaſion as this was, for the apparant ſafetie of me and my poſteritie, forbidding my people to drinke ſo deeply in the bitter cup of Antichriſtian fornications, but that they may keepe ſo much hony in their hearts, as may argue them ſtill eſpouſed to me their Soueraigne in the maine knot of trew Allegiance; ſhall this Law, I ſay, by him bee condemned to hell for *a ſtratageme of Sathan?* I ſay no more, but Gods lot in the Oath of *Sauls*, and *Bellarmines* verdict vpon this Oath of ours, ſeeme not to be caſt out of one lap.

[2] 1. Sam. 14. 25.

Now to this example of [3] *Baſill*, which is (as he ſayth) ſo fit for his purpoſe: Firſt, I muſt obſerue, that if the Cardinall would leaue a common and ordinarie tricke of his in all his Citations, which is to take what makes for him, and leaue out what makes againſt him; and cite the Authours ſenſe, as well as his Sentence, we ſhould not be ſo much troubled with anſwering the Ancients which he alledgeth. To inſtance it in this very place: if he had continued his allegation one line further, hee ſhould haue found this place out of *Theodoret*, of more force to haue mooued *Blackwell* to take

[3] *Theodoret. lib. 4. cap. 19.* An anſwere to the Card. example of *S. Baſil.*

take the Oath, then to haue diſſwaded him from it : For in the very next words it followeth, *Imperatoris quidem amicitiam magni ſe pendere, cum pietate; quâ remotâ, perniciosam eſſe dicere.* But that it may appeare, whether of vs haue greateſt right to this place, I will in few words ſhew the Authours drift.

The Emperour *Valens* being an Arrian, at the perſwaſion of his wife, when he had depriued all the Churches of their Paſtours, came to *Cæſarea*, where [1] *S. Baſil* was then Biſhop, who, as the hiſtorie reporteth, was accounted the *Light of the world.* Before hee came, hee ſent his [2] deputie to worke it, that *S. Baſil* ſhould hold fellowſhip with *Eudoxius* (which [3] *Eudoxius* was biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, and the principall of the Arrian faction) or if he would not, that hee ſhould put him to baniſhment. Now when the Emperours Deputie came to *Cæſarea*, he ſent for *Baſil*, intreated him honourably, ſpake pleaſingly vnto him, deſired he would giue way to the time, neither that he would hazard the good of ſo many Churches *tenui exquiſitione dogmatis* : promiſed him the Emperours fauour, and himſelfe to be mediatour for his good. But *S. Baſill* anſwered, *Theſe intiſing ſpeeches were fit to bee vſed to children, that vſe to gape after ſuch things : but for them that were throughly inſtructed in Gods word, they could neuer ſuffer any ſyllable thereof to be corrupted : Nay, if need required, they would for the maintenance thereof refuſe no kind of death. Indeed the loue of the Emperour ought to bee greatly eſteemed with pietie; but pietie taken away, it was pernicious.*

This is the trewth of the hiſtorie. Now compare the caſe of *Baſill* with the Arch-prieſts: *Baſill* was ſollicited to become an Arrian: the Arch-prieſt not once touched for any article of faith. *Baſill* would haue obeyed the Emperour, but that the word of GOD forbade him : this man is willed to obey, becauſe the word of GOD commandeth him. *Baſill* highly eſteemed the Emperours fauour, if it might haue ſtood with pietie : the Arch-prieſt is exhorted to reiect it, though it ſtand with trew godlineſſe in deed, to embrace it. But that he may lay load vpon the Arch-prieſt, it is not ſufficient to exhort him to courage and conſtancie by *Eleazarus* and *Baſils* examples; but he muſt be vtterly caſt downe with the comparing his fall to *S. Peter*, and *Marcellinus* : which two mens caſes were the moſt fearefull, conſidering their perſons and places, that are to be found, or read of, either in all the bookes of diuine Scripture, or the volumes of Eccleſiaſticall hiſtories; the one denying the onely trew GOD, the other our Lord and Sauiour IESVS CHRIST; the one ſacrificing to Idoles, with the prophane heathen : the other forſwearing his Lord and Maſter, with the hard-harted *Iewes*. Vnleſſe the Cardinall would driue the Arch-prieſt to ſome horrour of conſcience, and pit of deſpaire, I know not what he can meane by this compariſon : For ſure I am, all that are not intoxicated with their cup, cannot but wonder to heare of an Oath of Allegiance to a naturall Soueraigne, to be likened to an *Apoſtats* denying of God, and forſwearing of his Sauiour.

But to let paſſe the *Diſdiapaſon* of the caſes (as his ill-fauoured coupling

[1] *Theodoret. lib. 4. cap. 19.*
[2] *Modeſtus* as *Nazianzen* vpō the death of *Baſil* calleth him in his oration.
[3] Looke cap. 12. *eiuſdem libri.*

The Cardinal aſſimilating of the Archpr. caſe to *S. Peters*, and *Marcellinus*, conſidered.

S. *Peter* the head of their Church, with an apoſtate Pope) I marueile hee would remember this example of [1] *Marcellinus*, ſince his brother Cardinall *Baronius*, and the late Edition of the Councels by [2] *Binnius* ſeeme to call the credit of the whole hiſtorie into queſtion, ſaying, *That it might plainely be refuted, and that it is probably to be ſhewed, that the ſtory is but obreptious*, but that he would not ſwarue from the common receiued opinion.

[1] Looke *Platina in vita Marcellini.*
[2] *Concil. Tom. 1. pag. 222.* Looke *Baronius, Ann. 302. num. 96.*

And if a man might haue leaue to coniecture; ſo would his Cardinalſhip too, if it were not for one or two ſentences in that Councell of *Sinueſſa*, which ſerued for his purpoſe; namely, that *Prima ſedes à nemine iudicatur*: And, *Iudica cauſam tuam: noſtrâ ſententiâ non condemnaberis.* But to what purpoſe a great Councell (as he termes it) of three hundred Biſhops and others, ſhould meete together, who before they met, knew they could doe nothing; when they were there, did nothing, but like Cuckowes, ſing ouer and ouer the ſame ſong: that, *Prima ſedes à nemine iudicatur*; and ſo after three dayes ſitting (a long time indeed for a great and graue Councell) brake ſo bluntly vp: and yet, that there ſhould be ſeuentie two witneſſes brought againſt him, and that they ſhould ſubſcribe his excommunication, and that at his owne mouth hee tooke the *Anathema maranatha*: how theſe vntoward contradictions ſhall be made to agree, I muſt ſend the Cardinall to *Venice*, to *Padre Paulo*, who in his [3] Apologie againſt the Cardinals oppoſitions, hath handled them very learnedly.

See *Tom. 1. Concil. in Act. Concil. Sinuſſ.*

[3] *Apol. Pat. Paul. aduerſus oppoſit. Card. Bellar.*

But from one Pope, let vs paſſe to another: (for, what a principall article of Faith and Religion this Oath is, I haue alreadie ſufficiently proued.) Why hee called S. [4] *Gregory* our Apoſtle, I know not, vnleſſe perhaps it be, for that hee ſent [5] *Auguſtine* the Monke and others with him into England, to conuert vs to the faith of Chriſt, wherein I wiſh the *Popes* his ſucceſſours would follow his patterne: For albeit hee ſent them by diuine reuelation (as hee ſaid) into England vnto King *Ethelbert*; yet when they came, they exerciſed no part of their function, but by the Kings leaue and permiſſion. So did King [6] *Lucius* ſend to *Eleutherius* his predeceſſour, and hee ſent him diuers Biſhops, who were all placed by the Kings authoritie. Theſe conuerted men to the faith, and taught them to obey the King. And if the *Popes* in theſe dayes would but inſiſt in theſe ſteppes of their fore-fathers; then would they not entertaine Princes fugitiues abroad, nor ſend them home, not onely without my leaue, but directly againſt the Lawes, with plots of treaſon and doctrine of rebellion, to draw Subiects from their obedience to me their naturall King: nor be ſo cruell to their owne *Mancipia*, as returning them with theſe wares, put either a State in iealouſie of them; or them in hazard of their owne liues. Now to our Apoſtle (ſince the Cardinall will haue him ſo called) I perſwade my ſelfe I ſhould doe a good ſeruice to the Church in this my labour, if I could but reape this one fruit of it, to moue the Cardinall to deale faithfully with the Fathers, & neuer to alledge their opinions againſt their own purpoſe: For, this letter of *Gregorius* was written to *Iohn* Biſhop of [7] *Palermo* in *Sicily*,

An anſwere to the place alledged out of S. Gregory.
[4] *Greg. lib. 11. cap. 42.*
[5] *Beda Eccleſi. Hiſt. gen. Ang. lib. 1 cap. 25.*
[6] *Beda Eccleſi. Hiſt. gen. Ang. lib. 1. cap. 4.*
[7] *Greg. lib. 11. cap. 42.*

Sicily, to whom he granted *vsum pallij*, to be worne in such times, and in such order as the Priests in the Ile of *Sicily*, and his predecessors were wont to vse: and withall giueth him a caueat, *That the reuerence to the Apostolike Sea, be not disturbed by the presumption of any: for then the state of the members doeth remaine sound, when the head of the Faith is not bruised by any iniury, and the authoritie of the Canons alwayes remaine safe and sound.*

Now let vs examine the words. The Epistle was written to a Bishop, especially to grant him the vse of the Pall; a ceremonie and matter indifferent. As it appeareth, the Bishop of *Rome* tooke it well at his hands, that he would not presume to take it vpon him without leaue from the Apostolike Sea, giuing him that admonition which followeth in the wordes alledged out of him: which doctrine we are so farre from impugning, that we altogether approoue and allow of the same, that whatsoeuer ceremony for order is thought meet by the Christian Magistrate, and the Church, the same ought inuiolably to be kept: and where the head and gouernour in matters of that nature are not obeyed, the members of that Church must needs run to hellish confusion: But that *Gregory* by that terme, *caput fidei*, held himselfe the head of our faith, and the head of all religion, cannot stand with the course of his doctrine and writings: For first, when an [1] other would haue had this stile to be called *Vniuersalis Episcopus*, hee said, [2] *I doe confidently auouch, that whosoeuer calleth himselfe, or desireth to be called Vniuersall Bishop, in this aduancing of himselfe, is the fore-runner of the Antichrist*: which notwithstanding was a stile farre inferiour to that of *Caput fidei*. And when it was offered to himselfe, the wordes of S. *Gregory* be these, refusing that Title: [3] *None of my predecessours* [Bishops of Rome,] *euer consented to vse this prophane name* [of vniuersall Bishop.] *None of my predecessours euer tooke vpon him this name of singularitie, neither consented to vse it, Wee the Bishops of* Rome *doe not seeke, nor yet accept this glorious title, being offered vnto vs.* And now, I pray you, would he that refused to be called Vniuersall Bishop, be stiled *Caput fidei*, vnlesse it were in that sense, as I haue expressed? which sense if he will not admit, giue me leaue to say that of *Gregorie*, which himselfe sayth of [4] *Lyra, Minus cautè locutus est*: or which he elsewhere sayth of *Chrysostome*, [5] *Locutus est per excessum.* To redeeme therefore our Apostle out of his hands, and to let him remaine ours, and not his in this case; it is very trew that he sayth in that sense he spake it. When yee goe about to disturbe, diminish, or take away the authoritie or supremacie of the Church, which resteth on the head of the King, within his dominions, ye cut off the head and chiefe gouernour thereof, and disturbe the state and members of the whole body. And for a conclusion of this point, I pray him to think, that we are so well perswaded of the good minde of our Apostle S. *Gregory* to vs, that wee desire no other thing to be suggested to the Pope and his Cardinals, then our Apostle S. *Gregory* desired [6] *Sabinian* to suggest vnto the Emperour and the State in his time. His words be these: *One thing there is, of which I would haue you shortly to suggest to your most noble Lord and*

[1] Iohn of *Constantinople.* See *Greg. lib. 4. Epist. 32.*
[2] *Lib. 6. Epist. 30.*
[3] *Greg. lib. 4. epist. 32. & 36.*
[4] *Bellar. de Rom. Pont. lib. 2. cap. 10.*
[5] *Idem lib. 2. de Missa, cap. 10.*
[6] *Greg. lib. 7. Epist. 1.*

Maſter: That if I his ſeruant would haue had my hand in ſlaying of the Lombards, at this day the Nation of the Lombards had neither had King, nor Dukes, nor Earles, and had beene diuided aſunder in vtter confuſion: but becauſe I feare God, I dread to haue my hand in the blood of any man.

An anſwere to the authoritie out of *Leo.*

And thus hauing anſwered to S. *Gregory*, I come to another Pope, his Apoſtle, S. *Leo.* And that hee may ſee, I haue not in the former citations, quarelled him like a Sophiſter for contention ſake, but for finding out of the trewth, I doe grant, that the authorities out of [1] *Leo*, are rightly alledged all three, the wordes trewly ſet downe, together with his trew intent and purpoſe: but withall, let me tell him, and I appeale vnto his owne conſcience, whether I ſpeake not trewly, that what *Tullie* ſaid to [2] *Hortenſius*, when he did immoderately praiſe eloquence, that hee would haue lift her vp to Heauen, that himſelfe might haue gone vp with her; So his S. *Leo* lift vp S. *Peter* with praiſes to the skie, that he being his [3] heire, might haue gone vp with him: For his S. *Leo* was a great Oratour, who by the power of his eloquence redeemed *Rome* from fire, when both [4] *Attilas* and *Genſericus* would haue burnt it.

[1] *Leo primus in die aſſump. ſuæ ad Pont. ſerm. 3. Leo Epiſt. 89. ad Epiſc. Vien. Idem ibid. ca. 2.*
[2] *Cic. in Hort.*
[3] For ſo hee calleth himſelfe *in ſerm. 1. in die aſſum.*
[4] *Ex breuiario Romano.*

Some fruites of this rhetoricke hee beſtowed vpon S. *Peter*, ſaying, *The Lord* [5] *did take Peter into the fellowſhip of the indiuiſible vnitie*: which wordes being coupled to the ſentence alledged by the Cardinall (*that he hath no part in the diuine Myſterie, that dare depart from the ſoliditie of Peter*) ſhould haue giuen him, I thinke, ſuch a skarre, as hee ſhould neuer haue dared to haue taken any aduantage by the wordes immediatly preceding, for the benefite of the Church of *Rome*, and the head thereof; ſince thoſe which immediatly follow, are ſo much derogatorie to the diuine Maieſtie. And againe, *My* [6] *writings be ſtrengthened by the authoritie and merit of my Lord, moſt bleſſed* S. Peter. *We* [7] *beſeech you to keepe the things decreed by vs through the inſpiration of God, and the Apoſtle moſt bleſſed* S. Peter. *If* [8] *any thing be well done, or decreed by vs; If any thing be obtained of Gods mercy by daily prayers, it is to be aſcribed to* S. Peters *workes and merits, whoſe power doeth liue, and authoritie excell in his owne Sea. Hee* [9] *was ſo plentifully watered of the very fountaine of all graces, that whereas he receiued many things alone, yet nothing paſſeth ouer to any other, but hee was partaker of it.* And in a word, hee was ſo deſirous to extoll Saint Peter, that a meſſenger from him was *an* [10] *embaſſage from* Saint Peter: [11] *any thing done in his preſence, was in* S. Peters *preſence.* Neither did he vſe all this Rhetoricke without purpoſe: for at that time the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople* contended with him for Primacie. And in the Councell of [12] *Chalcedon*, the Biſhops, ſixe hundred and more, gaue equall authoritie to the Patriarch of that Sea, and would not admit any Priuiledge to the Sea of *Rome* aboue him; but went againſt him. And yet he that gaue ſo much to *Peter*, tooke nothing from *Cæſar*; but gaue him both his Titles and due, giuing the power of calling a Councell to the Emperour; as it may appeare by theſe one or two places following of many. *If it may pleaſe your* [13] *godlineſſe to vouchſafe at our ſupplication to condiſcend, that you will command a Coun-*

[5] *Epiſt. 52.*
[6] *Epiſt. 89.*
[7] *In ſerm. 2 in die anniuer. aſſum. ſuæ.*
[8] *Serm. 3. in die anniuer. aſſump. ſuæ.*
[9] *Epiſt. 24.*
[10] *Epiſt. 4.*
[11] *Concil. Chalcedon. Act. 16. & Can. 28.*
[12] *Epiſt 9. Theodoſio.*
[13]

a Councell of Biſhops to be holden within Italy. And writing vnto the Biſhop of Conſtantinople: *Becauſe the moſt clement* [1] *Emperour, carefull of the peace of the Church, will haue a Councell to be holden; albeit it euidently appeare, the matter to be handled doeth in no caſe ſtand in neede of a Councell.* And againe, *Albeit* [2] *my occaſions will not permit me to be preſent vpon the day of the Councell of Biſhops, which your godlineſſe hath appointed.* So as by this it may well appeare, that hee that gaue ſo much to *Peter*, gaue alſo to *Cæſar* his due and prerogatiue. But yet he playeth not faire play in this, that euen in all theſe his wrong applied arguments and examples, hee produceth no other witneſſes, but the parties themſelues; bringing euer the *Popes* ſentences for approbation of their owne authoritie.

[1] *Epiſt. 16. Flau.*

[2] *Epiſt. 17. Theodoſio.*

Now indeed for one word of his in the middeſt of his examples, I cannot but greatly commend him; that is, that Martyrs ought to endure all ſorts of tortures and death, before they ſuffer one ſyllable to be corrupted of the Law of God. Which leſſon, if hee and all the reſt of his owne profeſſion would apply to themſelues, then would not the Sacrament be adminiſtred *ſub vnâ ſpecie*, directly contrary to Chriſts inſtitution, the practiſe of the Apoſtles and of the whole Primitiue Church for many hundred yeeres: then would not the priuate Maſſes be in place of the Lordes Supper: then would not the words of the [3] Canon of the Maſſe be oppoſed to the words of S. *Paul* and S. *Luke*, as our Aduerſarie himſelfe confeſſeth, and cannot reconcile them: nor then would not ſo many hundreths other traditions of men be ſet vp in their Church, not onely as equall, but euen preferred to the word of God. But ſure in this point I feare I haue miſtaken him: for I thinke hee doeth not meane by his *Diuina Dogmata*, the word of the God of heauen, but onely the Canons and Lawes of his *Dominus Deus Papa*: otherwiſe all his Primacie of the Apoſtolike Sea would not be ſo much ſticken vpon, hauing ſo ſlender ground in the word of God.

[3] *Bellar. de ſacra Euchariſt. lib. 4. cap. 14.*

And for the great feare he hath, that the ſuddennes of the apprehenſion, the bitterneſſe of the perſecution, the weakneſſe of his aage, and other ſuch infirmities might haue been the cauſe of the Arch-prieſts fall; in this, I haue already ſufficiently anſwered him; hauing declared, as the trewth is, and as the ſaid *Blackwell* himſelfe will yet teſtifie, that he tooke this Oath freely of himſelfe, without any inducement thereunto, either *Precibus* or *Minis*.

But amongſt all his citations, hee muſt not forget holy *Sanderus* and his *viſibilis Monarchia*, whoſe perſon and actions I did alreadie a little touch. And ſurely who will with vnpartiall eyes reade his bookes, they may well thinke, that hee hath deſerued well of his Engliſh Romane-Church; but they can neuer thinke, but that hee deſerued very ill of his Engliſh Soueraigne and State: Witneſſe his owne books; whereout I haue made choice to ſet downe heere theſe fewe ſentences following, as flowers pickt out of ſo worthy a garland. [4] *Elizabeth Queene of* ENGLAND, *doeth exerciſe the Prieſtly acte of teaching and preaching the Goſpel in* ENGLAND, *with no leſſe authority then Chriſt himſelfe, or* Moſes *euer did. The ſupremacie of a* [5] *woman in Church*

Some of Sanders his worthy ſayings remembred.

[4] *Sand. de viſib. Monar. lib. 6. cap. 4.*

[5] *Sand. de clau. Dauid. li. 6. ſ. 1.*

Church matters is from no other, then from the Deuill. And of all things in generall thus he speaketh, *The* [1] *King that will not inthrall himselfe to the Popes authoritie, he ought not to be tolerated; but his Subiects ought to giue all diligence, that another may be chosen in his place assoone as may be. A King that is an* [2] *Heretike, ought to be remooued from the Kingdome that hee holdeth ouer Christians; and the Bishops ought to endeauour to set vp another, assoone as possibly they can. Wee doe constantly* [3] *affirme, that all Christian Kings are so farre vnder Bishops and Priests in all matters appertaining to faith, that if they shall continue in a fault against Christian Religion, after one or two admonitions, obstinately, for that cause they may and ought to be deposed by the Bishops from their temporall authoritie they holde ouer Christians.* [4] *Bishops are set ouer temporall kingdomes, if those kingdomes doe submit themselues to the faith of Christ. We doe iustly* [5] *affirme, that all Secular power, whether Regall, or any other, is of men. The* [6] *anoynting which is powred vpon the head of the King by the Priest, doeth declare that hee is inferiour to the Priest. It is altogether against the will of* [7] *Christ, that Christian kings should haue Supremacie in the Church.*

[1] *Sand. de visib. Monar. lib. 2. cap. 4.*
[2] *Ibidem.*
[3] *Ibidem.*
[4] *Ibidem.*
[5] *Sand. de clau. Dauid. li. 5. c. 2.*
[6] *Ibidem.*
[7] *Sand. de clau. Dauid. li. 5. c. 4.*

The Cardinals paire of Martyrs weighed.

And whereas for the crowne and conclusion of all his examples, he reckoneth his two English Martyrs, *Moore* and *Roffensis*, who died for that one most weightie head of doctrine, as he alledgeth, refusing the Oath of Supremacie; I must tell him, that he hath not been well informed in some materiall points, which doe very neerely concerne his two said Martyrs: For it is cleare and apparantly to be prooued by diuers Records, that they were both of them committed to the Tower about a yeere before either of them was called in question vpon their liues, for the *Popes* Supremacie; And that partly for their backwardnesse in the point of the establishment of the Kings succession, whereunto the whole Realme had subscribed, and partly for that one of them, to wit, *Fisher*, had had his hand in the matter of the holy [8] maide of *Kent*; hee being for his concealement of that false prophets abuse, found guiltie of misprision of Treason. And as these were the principall causes of their imprisonment (the King resting secure of his Supremacie, as the Realme stood then affected, but especially troubled for setling the Crowne vpon the issue of his second mariage) so was it easily to be conceiued, that being thereupon discontented, their humors were thereby made apt to draw them by degrees, to further opposition against the King and his authoritie, as indeede it fell out: For in the time of their being in prison, the Kings lawfull authoritie in cases Ecclesiasticall being published and promulged, as well by a generall decree of the Clergie in their Synode, as by an Acte of Parliament made thereupon; they behaued themselues so peeuishly therein, as the olde coales of the Kings anger being thereby raked vp of new, they were againe brought in question; as well for this one most weighty head of doctrine of the *Pope* his supremacy, as for the matter of the Kings mariage and succession, as by the confession of one of themselues, euen *Thomas Moore*, is euident: For being condemned, he vsed these words at the barre before the Lords, *Non ignoro cur me morti*

[8] Called *Elizabeth Barton.* See the Act of Parliament.

morti adiudicaueritis; videlicet ob id, quòd nunquam voluerim assentiri in negotio matrimonij Regis. That is, *I am not ignorant why you haue adiudged mee to death: to wit, for that I would neuer consent in the businesse of the new mariage of the King.* By which his owne confession it is plaine, that this great martyr himselfe tooke the cause of his owne death, to be onely for his being refractary to the King in this said matter of Marriage and Succession; which is but a very fleshly cause of Martyrdome, as I conceiue.

Histor. aliquot Martyrum nostri seculi, Anno 1550.

And as for *Roffensis* his fellow Martyr (who could haue bene content to haue taken the Oath of the Kings Supremacie, with a certaine modification, which *Moore* refused) as his imprisonment was neither onely, nor principally for the cause of Supremacie, so died hee but a halting and a singular Martyr or witnesse for that most weighty head of doctrine; the whole Church of *England* going at that time, in one current and streame as it were against him in that Argument, diuers of them being of farre greater reputation for learning and sound iudgement, then euer he was. So as in this point we may well arme our selues with the Cardinals owne reason, where he giueth amongst other notes of the trew Church, *Vniuersalitie* for one, wee hauing the generall and Catholique conclusion of the whole Church of *England*, on our side in this case, as appeareth by their booke set out by the whole Conuocation of *England*, called, *The Institution of a Christian man*; the same matter being likewise very learnedly handled by diuers particular learned men of our Church, as by *Steuen Gardiner* in his booke *De vera obedientia*, with a Preface of Bishop *Boners* adioyning to it, *De summo & absoluto Regis Imperio*, published by M. *Bekinsaw*, *De vera differentia Regiæ Potestatis & Ecclesiasticæ*, Bishop *Tonstals* Sermon, Bishop *Longlands* Sermon, the letter of *Tonstall* to Cardinall *Poole*, and diuers other both in English and Latine. And if the bitternesse of *Fishers* discontentment had not bene fed with his dayly ambitious expectation of the Cardinals hat, which came so neere as *Calis* before he lost his head to fill it with, I haue great reason to doubt, if he would haue constantly perseuered in induring his Martyrdome for that one most waighty head of doctrine.

And surely these two Captaines and ringleaders to Martyrdome were but ill followed by the rest of their countreymen: for I can neuer reade of any after them, being of any great accompt, and that not many, that euer sealed that weighty head of doctrine with their blood in *England*. So as the trew causes of their first falling in trouble (whereof I haue already made mention) being rightly considered vpon the one part; and vpon the other the scant number of witnesses, that with their blood sealed it; (a point so greatly accompted of by our Cardinal) there can but smal glory redound thereby to our English nation, these onely two, *Enoch* and *Elias*, seruing for witnesses against our Antichristian doctrine.

The Supremacy of Kings sufficiently warranted by the Scriptures.

And I am sure the Supremacie of Kings may, & wil euer be better maintained by the word of God (which must euer be the trew rule to discerne all waighty heads of doctrine by) to be the trew and proper office of Christian Kings

Kings in their owne dominions, then he will be euer able to maintaine his annihilating Kings, and their authorities, together with his baſe and vnreuerend ſpeaches of them, wherewith both his former great Volumes, and his late Bookes againſt *Venice* are filled. In the old Teſtament, Kings were directly [1] Gouernours ouer the Church within their Dominions, [2] purged their corruptions; reformed their abuſes, brought the [3] Arke to her reſting place, the King [4] dancing before it; [5] built the Temple; [6] dedicated the ſame, aſſiſting in their owne perſons to the ſanctification thereof; [7] made the Booke of the Law new-found, to bee read to the people; [8] renewed the Couenant betweene God and his people; [9] bruiſed the braſen ſerpent in pieces, which was ſet vp by the expreſſe commandement of God, and was a figure of Chriſt; deſtroyed [10] all Idoles, and falſe gods; made [11] a publike reformation, by a Commiſſion of Secular men and Prieſts mixed for that purpoſe; depoſed [12] the high Prieſt, and ſet vp another in his place: and generally, ordered euery thing belonging to the Church-gouernment, their Titles and Prerogatiues giuen them by God, agreeing to theſe their actions. They are called *the* [13] *Sonnes of the moſt High*, nay, *Gods* [14] *themſelues*; *The* [15] *Lords anoynted*, *Sitting* [16] *in Gods throne*; *His* [17] *ſeruants*; *The Angels* [18] *of God*; *According to his* [19] *hearts deſire*; *The light* [20] *of Iſrael*; *The* [21] *nurſing fathers of the Church*, with innumerable ſuch ſtiles of honour, wherwith the old Teſtament is filled; whereof our aduerſary can pretend no ignorance. And as to the new Teſtament, *Euery ſoule* is commaunded *to be ſubiect vnto them, euen for* [22] *conſcience ſake.* All men [23] muſt be prayed for; *but eſpecially Kings, and thoſe that are in Authoritie, that vnder them we may leade a godly, peaceable, and an honeſt life.*

The [24] *Magiſtrate is the miniſter of God, to doe vengeance on him that doeth euill, and reward him that doeth well. Ye muſt obey all higher powers, but* [25] *eſpecially Princes, and thoſe that are ſupereminent. Giue euery man his due, feare* [26] *to whom feare belongeth, and honour to whome honour. Giue* [27] *vnto Cæſar what is Cæſars, and to God what is Gods.* [28] *Regnum meum non eſt huius mundi.* [29] *Quis me conſtituit Iudicem ſuper vos?* [30] *Reges gentium dominantur eorum, vos autem non ſic.* If theſe examples, ſentences, titles, and prerogatiues, and innumerable other in the Olde and New Teſtament doe not warrant Chriſtian Kings, within their owne dominions, to gouerne their Church, as well as the reſt of their people, in being *Cuſtodes vtriuſque Tabulæ*, not by making new Articles of Faith, (which is the Popes office, as I ſaid before) but by commanding obedience to be giuen to the word of God, by reforming the religion according to his preſcribed will, by aſſiſting the ſpirituall power with the temporall ſword, by reforming of corruptions, by procuring due obedience to the Church, by iudging, and cutting off all friuolous queſtions and ſchiſmes, as [31] *Conſtantine* did; and finally, by making *decorum* to be obſerued in euery thing, and eſtabliſhing orders to bee obſerued in all indifferent things for that purpoſe, which is the onely intent of our Oath of Supremacie: If this Office of a King, I ſay, doe not agree with the power giuen

[1] 2.Chron. 19.4.
[2] 2.Sam.5.6.
[3] 1.Chron. 13.12.
[4] 2.Sam.6.16
[5] 1.Chron. 28.6.
[6] 2.Chron.6.
[7] 2.King. 22. 11.
[8] Nehe.9.38. Dauid. Salomon.
[9] 2.King.18.4
[10] 1.King.15. 12. 2.king. 13.4.
[11] 2. Chron. 17.8.
[12] 1.King.2.27
[13] 2.Sam.7.14
[14] Pſal.82.6. & exod.22.8.
[15] 1.Sam.24. 11.
[16] 2.Chro.9.8.
[17] 2. Chro.6. 15.
[18] 2.Sam.14. 20.
[19] 1.Sam.13. 14.
[20] 2.Sam.21. 17.
[21] Iſa. 49.23.
[22] Rom.13.5.
[23] 1.Tim.2.2.
[24] Rom.13.4.
[25] 1.Pet.2.13.
[26] Rom.13.7.
[27] Mat.22.21.
[28] Iohn 18.36.
[29] Luk. 12.14.
[30] Luk.22.25.
[31] *Euſeb. lib. 3. de vita Conſtantini.*

giuen him by Gods word, let any indifferent man voyd of paſſion, iudge. But how theſe honourable offices, ſtyles, and prerogatiues giuen by God to Kings in the Old and New Teſtament, as I haue now cited, can agree with the braue ſtyles and titles that *Bellarmine* giueth them, I can hardly conceiue.

1 That *Kings are rather ſlaues then Lords.*

2 That *they are not onely ſubiects to Popes, to Biſhops, to Prieſts, but euen to Deacons.*

3 That *an Emperour muſt content himſelfe to drinke, not onely after a Biſhop, but after a Biſhops Chaplen.*

4 That *Kings haue not their Authoritie nor Office immediatly from God, nor his Law, but onely from the Law of Nations.*

5 That *Popes haue degraded many Emperours, but neuer Emperour degraded the Pope; nay, euen* * *Biſhops*, that are but the Popes vaſſals, *may depoſe Kings, and abrogate their lawes.*

6 That *Church-men are ſo farre aboue Kings, as the ſoule is aboue the body.*

7 That *Kings may be depoſed by their people, for diuers reſpects.*

8 But *Popes can by no meanes be depoſed: for no fleſh hath power to iudge of them.*

9 That *obedience due to the Pope, is for conſcience ſake.*

10 But *the obedience due to Kings, is onely for certaine reſpects of order and policie.*

11 That *theſe very Church-men that are borne, and inhabite in Soueraigne Princes countreys, are notwithſtanding not their Subiects, and cannot bee iudged by them, although they may iudge them.*

12 And, that *the obedience that Church-men giue to Princes, euen in the meaneſt and meere temporall things, is not by way of any neceſſarie ſubiection, but onely out of diſcretion, and for obſeruation of good order and cuſtome.*

1 *De laicis cap.7.*
2 *De Pont.li. 1.cap.7.*
3 *Ibidem.*
4 *Ibid & de Cler.cap.28.*
5 *De Pont.lib. 3.cap.16.*
* *De Rom.Pontif.lib.5.cap.8.*
6 *De laicis cap.8.*
7 *De Pont.li. 5 cap.18.*
8 *De Pon.lib. 2.cap.26.*
9 *De Pont.lib. 4.cap.15.*
10 *De Clericis, cap.28.*
11 *Ibidem.*
12 *Ibidem.*

Theſe contrarieties betweene the Booke of God, and *Bellarmines* bookes, haue I heere ſet in oppoſition each to other, *Vt ex contrariis iuxta ſe poſitis, veritas magis eluceſcere poſsit.* And thus farre I dare boldly affirme, that whoſoeuer will indifferently weigh theſe irreconciliable contradictions here ſet downe, will eaſily confeſſe, that CHRIST is no more contrarie to Belial, light to darkneſſe, and heauen to hell, then *Bellarmines* eſtimation of Kings, is to Gods.

Now as to the concluſion of his letter, which is onely filled with ſtrong and pithie exhortations, to perſwade and confirme *Blackwell* to the patient and conſtant induring of martyrdome, I haue nothing to anſwere, ſaue by way of regrate; that ſo many good ſentences drawen out of the Scripture, ſo well and ſo handſomely packed vp together, ſhould be ſo ill and vntrewly applied: But an euill cauſe is neuer the better for ſo good a cloake; and an ill matter neuer amended by good wordes: And therefore I may iuſtly turne ouer that craft of the diuell vpon himſelfe, in vſing ſo holy-like an exhortation to ſo euill a purpoſe. Onely I could haue wiſhed him, that hee had

had a little better obſerued his *decorum* herein, in not letting ſlippe two or three prophane words amongſt ſo many godly mortified Scripture ſentences. For in all the Scripture, eſpecially in the New Teſtament, I neuer read of *Pontifex Maximus*. And the Pope muſt be content in that ſtyle to ſucceed according to the Law and inſtitution of *Numa Pompilius*, and not to *S. Peter*, who neuer heard nor dreamed of ſuch an Office.

And for his *Caput fidei*, which I remembred before, the Apoſtles (I am ſure) neuer gaue that ſtyle to any, but to CHRIST: So as theſe ſtyles, whereof ſome were neuer found in Scripture, and ſome were neuer applyed but to CHRIST in that ſenſe, as hee applieth it, had beene better to haue beene left out of ſo holy and mortified a letter.

To conclude then this preſent Diſcourſe, I heartily wiſh all indifferent readers of the *Breues* and Letter, not to iudge by the ſpeciouſneſſe of the wordes, but by the weight of the matter; not looking to that which is ſtrongly alledged, but iudiciouſly to conſider what is iuſtly prooued: And for all my owne good and naturall Subiects, that their hearts may remaine eſtabliſhed in the trewth; that theſe forraine inticements may not ſeduce them from their natall and naturall duetie; and that all, aſwell ſtrangers, as naturall ſubiects, to whoſe eyes this Diſcourſe ſhall come, may wiſely and vnpartially iudge of the Veritie, as it is nakedly here ſet downe, for clearing theſe miſts and cloudes of calumnies, which were iniuſtly heaped vpon me; for which end onely I heartily pray the courteous Reader to be perſwaded, that I tooke occaſion to publiſh this Diſcourſe.

A PRE-

A PREMONITION TO ALL MOST MIGHTIE MONARCHES, KINGS, FREE PRINCES, AND STATES OF CHRISTENDOME.

TO

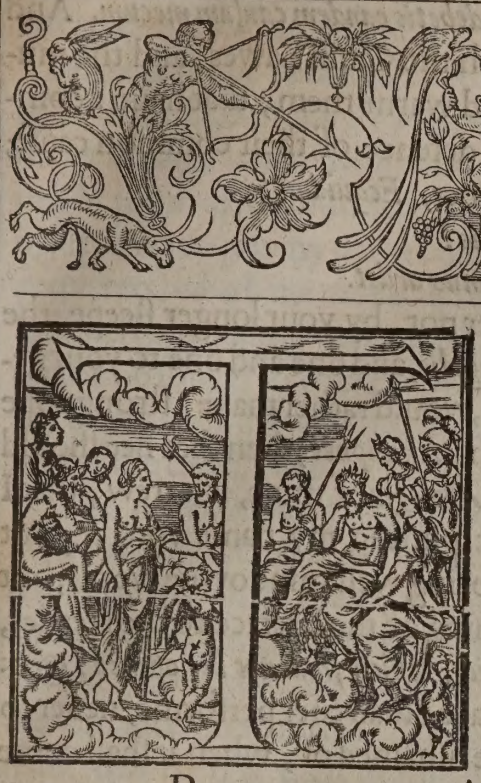
TO THE MOST SACRED AND INVINCIBLE PRINCE, *RODOLPHE THE* II. *by* GODS *Clemencie Elect Emperour* of the ROMANES; KING OF GERMANIE, HVNGARIE, *BOHEME*, *DALMATIE*, CROATIE, SCLAVONIE, &c. *ARCH-DUKE OF AVSTRIA, DUKE* OF BVRGVNDIE, STIRIA, CARINTHIA, CARNIOLA, and WIRTEMBERG, &c. Earle of TYROLIS, &c.

AND TO ALL OTHER *RIGHT HIGH AND* MIGHTIE KINGS, *And Right Excellent free Princes and States* of CHRISTENDOME: Our louing BRETHREN, COSINS, ALLIES, CONFEDERATES and FRIENDS:

IAMES by the Grace of GOD, King of GREAT BRITAINE, FRANCE and IRELAND; Professour, Maintainer and Defender of the Trew, Christian, Catholique and Apostolique FAITH, Professed by the ancient and Primitiue CHVRCH, and sealed with the blood of so many Holy Bishops, and other faithfull crowned with the glory of MARTYRDOME;

WISHETH euerlasting felicitie in CHRIST our SAVIOVR.

TO



TO YOV MOST SACRED AND INVINCIBLE EMPEROVR; RIGHT HIGH AND MIGHTIE KINGS; RIGHT EXCELLENT FREE PRINCES AND STATES, MY LOVING BRETHREN AND COSINS:

To you, I say, as of right belongeth, doe I consecrate and direct this Warning of mine, or rather *Preamble* to my reprinted *Apologie for the Oath of Allegiance*. For the cause is generall, and concerneth the Authoritie and priuiledge of Kings in generall, and all supereminent Temporall powers. And if in whatsoeuer Societie, or Corporation of men, either in Corporations of Cities, or in the Corporation of any mechanicke craft or handie-worke, euery man is carefull to maintaine the priuiledges of that Societie whereunto he is sworne; nay, they will rather cluster all in one, making it a common cause, exposing themselues to all sorts of perill, then suffer the least breach in their Liberties; If those of the baser sort of people, I say, be so curious and zealous for the preseruation of their common priuiledges and liberties, as if the meanest amongst them be touched in any such point, they thinke it concerneth them all: Then what should wee doe in such a case, whom GOD hath placed in the highest thrones vpon earth, made his Lieutenants and Vice-gerents, and euen seated vs vpon his owne Throne to execute his Iudgements? The consideration hereof hath now mooued mee to expone a Case vnto you, which doeth not so neerely touch mee in my particular, as it doeth open a breach against our Authoritie, (I speake in the plurall of all Kings) and priuiledge in generall. And since not onely all rankes and sorts of people in all Nations doe inuiolably obserue this *Maxime*, but euen the Ciuil Law, by which the greatest part of Christendome is gouerned, doeth giue them an interest, *qui fouent consimilem causam*; How much more then haue yee interest in this cause, not beeing *similis* or *par causa* to yours, but *eadem* with yours?

and indeed yee all *fouetis*, or at least *fouere debetis eandem causam mecum.* And since this cause is common to vs all; both the Ciuill Lawes, and the municipall Lawes of all Nations, permit and warne them, that haue a common interest, to concurre in one for the defence of their common cause; yea, common sense teacheth vs with the Poet, *Ecquid*

Ad te pòst paulò ventura pericula sentis?
Nam tua res agitur paries cùm proximus ardet.

Awake then while it is time, and suffer not, by your longer sleepe, the strings of your Authoritie to be cut *in singulis*, and one and one to your generall ruine, which by your vnited forces, would rather make a strong rope for the enemie to hang himselfe in, with *Achitophel*, then that hee should euer bee able to breake it. As for this *Apologie* of mine, it is trew, that I thought good to set it first out without putting my name vnto it; but neuer so, as I thought to denie it, remembring well mine owne words, but taken out of the Scripture, in the beginning of the Preface to the Reader, in my ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ, *that nothing is so hid, which shall not bee opened, &c*: promising there, which with GOD his grace I shall euer performe, neuer to doe that in secret, which I shall need to be ashamed of, when it shall come to be proclaimed in publique.

In deed I thought it fit, for two respects, that this my *Apologie* should first visite the world without hauing my name written in the forehead thereof. First because of the *matter*, and next of the *persons* that I medled with. The *matter*, it being a *Treatise*, which I was to write, conteining reasons and discourses in *Diuinitie*, for the defence of the *Oath of Alleagiance*, and refutation of the condemners thereof; I thought it not comely for one of my place, to put my name to bookes concerning Scholasticke *Disputations*; whose calling is to set forth *Decrees* in the Imperatiue mood: for I thinke my selfe as good a man as the Pope, by his reuerence, for whom these my *Answerers* make the like excuse; for that his *Breues* are so summary without yeelding any reason vnto them. My next reason was the respect of the *persons* whom with I medled: Wherein, although I shortly answered the Popes *Breues*; yet the point I most laboured, being the refutation of *Bellarmines* Letter, I was neuer the man, I confesse, that could thinke a *Cardinall* a meet match for a *King*: especially, hauing many hundreth thousands of my subiects of as good birth as hee. As for his Church dignitie, his *Cardinalship* I meane, I know not how to ranke or value it, either by the warrant of God his word, or by the ordinance of *Emperours* or *Kings*, it being indeed onely a new *Papall* erection, tolerated by the sleeping conniuence of our *Predecessours* (I meane still by the plurall of *Kings*) But notwithstanding of this my forbearing to put my name vnto it, some *Embassadours* of some of you (my louing *Brethren* and *Cousins*) whome this cause did neerelieſt concerne, can witnesse, that I made Presents of some of those bookes, at their first printing, vnto them, and that auowedly in my owne name. As also the English

Para-

Paragraphist, or rather peruerse Pamphleter *Parsons*, since all his description must runne vpon a *P.* hath trewly obserued, that my Armes are affixed in the frontispice thereof, which vseth not to bee in bookes of other mens doing; whereby his malice in pretending his ignorance, that hee might pay mee the soundlier, is the more inexcusable. But now that I finde my sparing to put my name vnto it hath not procured my sparing by these answerers, who haue neither spared my Person directly in naming me, nor indirectly by railing vpon the Author of the Booke: it is now high time for me no longer to conceale nor disauow my selfe, as if I were ashamed of my owne deed. And therefore that ye may the better vnderstand the nature of the cause, I will begin at the first ground thereof.

The neuer enough wondered at and abhorred POVVDER-TREASON (though the repetition thereof grieueth, I know, the gentle hearted Iesuite *Parsons*) this Treason, I say, being not onely intended against mee and my Posteritie, but euen against the whole house of Parliament, plotted onely by Papists, and they onely led thereto by a preposterous zeale for the aduancement of their Religion; some of them continuing so obstinate, that euen at their death they would not acknowledge their fault; but in their last words, immediatly before the expiring of their breath, refused to condemne themselues and craue pardon for their deed, except the *Romish* Church should first condemne it; And soone after, it being discouered, that a great number of my Popish Subiects of all rankes and sexes, both men and women, as well within as without the Countrey; had a confused notion and an obscure knowledge, that some great thing was to bee done in that Parliament for the weale of the Church; although, for secrecies cause, they were not acquainted with the particulars; certaine formes of prayer hauing likewise beene set downe and vsed for the good successe of that great errand; adding heereunto, that diuers times, and from diuers Priestes, the Archtraitours themselues receiued the Sacrament for confirmation of their heart, and obseruation of secrecie; Some of the principall Iesuites likewise being found guiltie of the foreknowledge of the Treason it selfe; of which number some fled from their triall, others were apprehended (as holy *Garnet* himselfe and *Owldcorne* were) and iustly executed vpon their owne plaine confession of their guilt: If this Treason now, clad with these circumstances, did not minister a iust occasion to that Parliament house, whome they thought to haue destroyed, courageously and zealously at their next sitting downe, to vse all meanes of triall, whether any more of that minde were yet left in the Countrey; I leaue it to you to iudge, whom God hath appointed his highest Depute Iudges vpon earth: And amongst other things for this purpose, This *Oath of Allegiance*, so vniustly impugned, was then deuised and enacted. And in case any sharper Lawes were then made against the Papists, that were not obedient to the former Lawes of the Countrey; if ye will consider the *Time*, *Place* and *Persons*, it will be thought no wonder,

seeing that occasion did so iustly exasperate them to make seuerer Lawes, then otherwise they would haue done. The *Time*, I say, being the very next sitting downe of the Parliament, after the discouerie of that abominable Treason: the *Place* being the same, where they should all haue bene blowne vp, and so bringing it freshly to their memorie againe; the *Persons* being the very Parliament men whom they thought to haue destroyed. And yet so farre hath both my heart and gouernment bene from any bitternes, as almost neuer one of those sharpe additions to the former Lawes haue euer yet bene put in execution.

And that ye may yet know further, for the more conuincing these Libellers of wilfull malice, who impudently affirme, That this *Oath of Allegiance* was deuised for deceiuing and intrapping of Papists in points of Conscience; The trewth is, that the Lower house of Parliament at the first framing of this Oath, made it to containe, That the Pope had no power to excommunicate me; which I caused them to reforme, onely making it to conclude, That no excommunication of the Popes, can warrant my Subiects to practise against my Person or State; denying the deposition of Kings to be in the Popes lawfull power; as indeed I take any such temporall violence, to be farre without the limits of such a Spirituall censure as Excommunication is. So carefull was I that nothing should be contained in this Oath, except the profession of natural Allegiance, and ciuil and temporall obedience, with a promise to resist to all contrary vnciuill violence.

This Oath now grounded vpon so great and iust an occasion, set forth in so reasonable termes, and ordained onely for making of a trew distinction betweene Papists of quiet disposition, and in all other things good subiects, and such other Papists as in their hearts maintained the like violent bloody *Maximes*, that the Powder-Traitours did: This Oath, I say, being published and put in practise, bred such euill blood in the Popes head and his Cleargie, as *Breue* after *Breue* commeth forth, *vt vndam vnda sequitur*; prohibiting all Catholikes from taking the same, as a thing cleane contrary to the Catholike faith; and that the taking thereof cannot stand with the saluation of their soules.

There commeth likewise a letter of Cardinall *Bellarmines* to *Blackwell* to the same purpose; but discoursing more at length vpon the said Oath. Whereupon, after I had entred in consideration of their vniust impugning that so iust and lawfull an Oath; and fearing that by their vntrew calumnies and Sophistrie the hearts of a number of the most simple and ignorant of my people should bee misse-led, vnder that faire and deceitfull cloake of Conscience; I thought good to set foorth an *Apologie* for the said Oath: wherein I prooued, that as this Oath contained nothing but matter of ciuill and temporall Obedience, due by Subiects to their Soueraigne Prince; so this quarrelling therewith was nothing but a late vsurpation of Popes (against the warrant of all Scriptures, ancient Councels and Fathers) vpon the Tempo: all power of Kings, wherewith onely my

my *Apologie* doeth meddle. But the publiſhing of this Booke of mine hath brought ſuch two Anſwerers, or rather Railers vpon mee, as all the world may wonder at: For my Booke being firſt written in Engliſh, an Engliſh Oath being the ſubiect thereof, and the vſe of it properly belonging to my Subiects of *England*; and immediatly thereafter being tranſlated into Latine, vpon a deſire that ſome had of further publiſhing it abroad; it commeth home to mee now anſwered in both the Languages. And, I thinke, if it had bene ſet foorth in all the tongues that were at the confuſion of *Babel*, it would haue bene returned anſwered in them all againe. Thus may a man ſee how buſie a Biſhop the Diuell is, and how hee omitteth no diligence for venting of his poyſoned wares. But herein their malice doeth clearely appeare, that they pay mee ſo quickly with a double anſwere; and yet haue neuer anſwered their owne Arch-prieſt, who hath written a booke for the maintenance of the ſame Oath, and of the temporall authoritie of Kings, alledging a cloud of their owne Scholemen againſt them.

As for the Engliſh *Anſwerer*, my vnnaturall and fugitiue Subiect, I will neither defile my pen, nor your ſacred eyes or eares with the deſcribing of him, who aſhames, nay, abhorres not to raile, nay, to rage and ſpew foorth blaſphemies againſt the late Queene of famous memory. A Subiect to raile againſt his naturall Soueraigne by birth; A man to raile againſt a Lady by ſexe; A holy man (in outward profeſſion) to inſult vpon the dead; nay to take *Radamanthus* office ouer his head, and to ſit downe and play the Iudge in hell, And all his quarrell is, that either her Succeſſour, or any of her ſeruants ſhould ſpeake honourably of her. Curſed be he that curſeth the Anointed of God: and deſtroyed mought he be with the deſtruction of *Korah*, that hath ſinned in the contradiction of *Korah*. Without mought ſuch dogs and ſwine be caſt forth, I ſay, out of the Spirituall *Ieruſalem*.

As for my Latine *Anſwerer*, I haue nothing to ſay to his perſon; hee is not my Subiect; hee ſtandeth or falleth vnto his owne Lord: But ſure I am, they two haue caſten lotts vpon my Booke, ſince they could not diuide it: the one of them, my fugitiue, to raile vpon my late Predeceſſour, (but a rope is the fitteſt anſwere for ſuch an Hiſtorian;) the other, a ſtranger, thinketh he may be boldeſt both to pay my perſon and my Booke, as indeed he doeth; which how iuſtly either in matter or maner, wee are now to examine.

But firſt, who ſhould be the trew Authour of this booke, I can but gueſſe. Hee calleth himſelfe *Mattheus Tortus*, Cardinall *Bellarmins* Chaplaine. A [1] throwne Euangeliſt indeed, full of throward Diuinitie; an obſcure Authour, vtterly vnknowne to mee, being yet little knowne to the world for any other of his workes: and therefore muſt be a very deſperate fellow in beginning his *apprentiſage*, not onely to refute, but to raile vpon a King. But who will conſider the carriage of the whole booke, ſhall finde that hee writeth with ſuch authoritie, or at the leaſt *tam elato ſtylo*,

[1] Being a proper word to expreſſe the trew meaning of *Tortus*.

so little sparing either Kings in generall, or my person in particular; and with such a greatnesse, [1] *Habemus enim exemplaria Breuium illorum in manibus*, and [2] *Decernimus*: as it shall appeare, or at least bee very probable, that it is the Masters, and not the mans labour; especially in one place, where hee quarrelleth mee for casting vp his *moralis certitudo* and *piè credi* vnto him; hee there grossely forgetting himselfe, saith, *malâ fide nobiscum agit*, thereby making this Authour to be one person with *Bellarmine*. But let it bee the worke of a *Tortus* indeed, and not of a personated Cardinall; yet must it bee the Cardinals deed, since Master *Tortus* is the Cardinals man, and doeth it in his Masters defence. The errand then being the Cardinals, and done by his owne man, it cannot but bee accounted as his owne deed; especially since the Englisn Answerer doeth foure times promise, that *Bellarmine*, or one by his appointment, shall sufficiently answere it.

[1] P.46.
[2] P.63.
Pag.69.

And now to come to his matter and maner of Answere: Surely if there were no more but his vnmanerly maner, it is enough to disgrace the whole matter thereof. For first, to shew his pride, in his Printers preface of the *Politan* edition of this *elegans libellus*, hee must equall the Cardinals greatnesse with mine in euery thing. For though hee confesseth this Master *Tortus* to bee an obscure man; yet being the Cardinals Chapleine, he is sufficient enough forsooth to answere an Englisn booke, that lacketh the name of an Authour; as if a personated obscure name for Authour of a Cardinals booke, were a meete match for answering a KINGS Booke, that lacketh the name of an Authour; and a Cardinals Chapleine to meete with the Deane of the Kings Chappell, whom *Parsons* with the Cardinall, haue (as it seemeth) agreed vpon to intitle to bee the Authour of my *Apologie*. And not onely in the Preface, but also through the whole booke doeth hee keepe this comparatiue greatnesse. Hee must bee as short in his answere, as I am in my Booke, hee must refute all that I haue said against the Popes second *Breue*, with equall breuitie, and vpon one page almost, as I haue done mine: and because I haue set downe the substance of the Oath in foureteene Articles; in iust as many Articles must he set downe that Acte of Parliament of mine, wherein the Oath is contained: And yet, had hee contented himselfe with his owne pride, by the demonstration of his owne greatnesse, without further wronging of mee, it had bene the more tollerable. But what cause gaue I him to farce his whole booke with iniuries, both against my Person and Booke? For whereas in all my *Apologie* I haue neuer giuen him a foule word, and especially neuer gaue him the Lye: hee by the contrary giueth mee nine times the Lye in expresse termes, and seuen times chargeth mee with falsehood, which phrase is equiualent with a Lye. And as for all other wordes of reproch, as *nugæ*, *conuitia*, *temeritas*, *vanitas*, *impudentia*, *blasphemiæ*, *sermonis barbaries*, *cum eadem fœlicitate scribendi*, *cauillationes*, *applicatio inepta*, *fingere historias*, *audacia quæ in hominem sanæ mentis cadere non potest*,

poteſt, vel ſenſu communi caret, imperitia & leuitas, omnem omnino pudorem & conſcientiam exuiſſe, malâ fide nobiſcum agit, vt lectoribus per fas & nefas imponat : of ſuch like reproches, I ſay, I doubt if there bee a page in all his Booke free, except where hee idlely ſets downe the Popes *Breues*, and his owne *Letter*. And in caſe this might onely ſeeme to touch the vnknowen Authour of the Booke, whome notwithſtanding he knew well enough, as I ſhew before; hee ſpareth not my Perſon with my owne name: ſometimes ſaying, that *Pope* Clement *thought mee to bee inclined to their Religion* : Sometimes, that I *was a Puritane in Scotland, and a perſecutour of Proteſtants*. In one place hee concludeth, *Quia Iacobus non eſt Catholicus, hoc ipſo Hæreticus eſt.* In another place, *Ex Chriſtiano Caluiniſtam fecerunt.* In another place hee ſayeth, *Neque omnino verum eſt, Iacobum nunquam deſeruiſſe Religionem quam primò ſuſceperat.* And in another place, after that hee hath compared and ranked mee with *Iulian* the Apoſtate, hee concludeth, *Cùm Catholicus not ſit, neque Chriſtianus eſt.* If this now bee mannerly dealing with a King, I leaue it to you to iudge, who cannot but reſent ſuch indignities done to one of your qualitie.

Pag.47. Pag.98. Pag.87. Pag.98. Ibid. Pag.97.

And as for the Matter of his Booke, it well fittes indeede the Manner thereof: for hee neuer anſwereth directly to the maine queſtion in my Booke. For whereas my *Apologie* handleth onely two points, as I told you before; One, to prooue that the *Oath of Allegiance* doeth onely meddle with the ciuill and temporall Obedience, due by Subiects to their naturall Soueraignes: The other, that this late vſurpation of Popes ouer the temporall power of Princes, is againſt the rule of all Scriptures, auncient Councels and Fathers: hee neuer improoues the firſt, but by a falſe inference; that the Oath denyeth the Popes power of Excommunication directly, ſince it denieth his authoritie in depoſing of Kings. And for the ſecond point, he bringeth no proofe to the contrary, but, *Paſce oues meas*: and, *Tibi dabo claues regni Cœlorum*: and, That no Catholike euer doubted of it. So as I may trewly ſay of him, that hee either vnderſtandeth not, or at leaſt will not ſeeme to vnderſtand my Booke, in neuer directly anſwering the maine queſtion, as I haue alreadie ſaide; and ſo may I iuſtly turne ouer vpon himſelfe that doome of ignorance, which in the beginning of his Booke hee raſhly pronounceth vpon mee; ſaying, that I neither vnderſtand the Popes *Breues*, his *Letter*, nor the Oath it ſelfe: And as hee delighteth to repeate ouer and ouer, I know not how oft, and triumpheth in this wrong inference of his; That to deny the Popes power to depoſe Kings, is to denie the Popes Primacie, and his ſpirituall power of Excommunication: So doeth hee, vpon that ground of *Paſce oues meas*, giue the Pope ſo ample a power ouer Kings, to throne or dethrone them at his pleaſure (and yet onely ſubiecting Chriſtian Kings to that ſlauerie) as I doubt not but in your owne Honours yee will reſent you of ſuch indignities; the rather ſince it concernes ſo many of you as profeſſe the Romiſh religion, farre more

more then me: For since he accounteth me an heretike, and like *Iulian* the Apostate; I am consequently *extra caulam*, and none of the Popes flocke, and so am in the case of Ethnicke Princes, ouer whom he confesseth the Pope hath no power. But yee are in the Popes folde; and you, that great Pastour may leade as sheepe to the slaughter, when it shall please him. And as the Asses eares must be hornes, if the Lion list so to interprete it; so must yee be remooued as scabbed sheepe from the flocke, if so the Pope thinke you to be, though your skinne be indeed neuer so sound.

Thus hath he set such a new goodly interpretation vpon the wordes of CHRIST, *Pasce oues meas*, as if it were as much to say, as, depose Christian Kings; and that *Quodcunque solueris* gaue the Pope power to dispense with all sorts of Oathes, Vowes, Penalties, Censures and Lawes, euen with the naturall obedience of Subiects to their Souereigne Lords; much like to that new coyned glosse that his brother [t] *Baronius* made vpon the wordes in Saint *Peters* vision, *Surge Petre, occide & manduca*; That is (said he to the Pope) Goe kill and confound the *Venetians*.

[t] *Senten. Card. Baron. super excom. Venet.*

And because I haue in my Booke (by citing a place in his controuersies) discouered him to be a small friend to Kings, he is much commoued: For whereas in his said Controuersies, speaking *de Clericis*, he is so bolde as to affirme, that Church-men are exempted from the power of earthly Kings; and that they ought them no subiection euen in temporall matters, but onely *vi rationis* and in their owne discretion, for the preseruation of peace and good order, because, I say, citing this place of his in my Booke, I tell with admiration, that hee freeth all Church-men from any subiection to Kings, euen those that are their borne Subiects: hee is angry with this phrase, and sayth it is an addition for breeding enuie vnto him, and raising of hatred against him: For, sayth hee, although *Bellarmine* affirmed generally, that Church-men were not subiect to earthly Kings; yet did hee not insert that particular clause [*though they were borne and dwelling in their Dominions*] as if the words of Church-men and earthly Kings in generall imported not as much: for Layickes as well as Church-men are subiect to none but to their naturall Soueraigne: And yet doeth hee not sticke to confesse, that he meant it, though it was not fit (he sayth) to be expressed.

Lib. de Cler. cap. 28.

And thus quarrels hee me for reuealing his Printed secret. But whose hatred did hee feare in this? was it not yours? Who haue interest, but KINGS, in withdrawing of due subiection from KINGS? And when the greatest Monarches amongst you will remember, that almost the third part of your Subiects and of your Territories, is Church-men, and Church-liuings; I hope, yee will then consider and weigh, what a feather hee pulles out of your wings, when hee denudeth you of so many Subiects and their possessions, in the Popes fauour: nay, what briars and thornes are left within the heart of your dominions, when so populous and potent a partie shall haue their birth, education and liuelihood in

your

your Countries,and yet owe you no ſubiection, nor acknowledge you for their SOVERAIGNES? So as where the Church-men of old were content with their tythe of euery mans goods; the Pope now will haue little leſſe then the third part of euery Kings *Subiects* and *Dominions*. And as in this place, ſo throughout all the reſt of his booke, hee doeth nothing but amplifie the Popes power ouer Kings, and exaggerate my vnreaſonable rigour for preſſing this Oath; which hee will needs haue to bee nothing but a renewed Oath of *Supremacie* in more ſubtill and craftie termes, onely to robbe the Pope of his *Primacie* and ſpirituall power: making his temporall power and authoritie ouer Princes, to be one of the chiefe Articles of the Catholike Faith.

But that it may the better appeare vnto you, that all my labour,and intention in this errand, was onely to meddle with that due temporall Obedience which my Subiects owe vnto mee; and not to intrap or inthrall their Conſciences, as hee moſt falſely affirmes: Yee ſhall firſt ſee how farre other Godly and Chriſtian *Emperours* and *Kings* were from acknowledging the Popes temporall *Supremacie* ouer them; nay, haue created, controlled and depoſed Popes: and next, what a number of my *Predeceſſors* in this Kingdome haue at all occaſions, euen in the times of the greateſt Greatneſſe of Popes, reſiſted and plainely withſtood them in this point.

And firſt, all Chriſtian *Emperours* were for a long time ſo farre from acknowledging the Popes Superioritie ouer them, as by the contrary the Popes acknowledged themſelues for their *Vaſſals*, reuerencing and obeying the *Emperours* as their *Lords*, for proofe whereof, I remit you to my *Apologie*.

And for the creating of Popes; the *Emperours* were in ſo long and continuall poſſeſſion thereof, as I will vſe for my firſt witneſſe a Pope himſelfe; who (in a [1] *Synode* of an hundreth fiftie and three *Biſhops* and *Abbots*) did ordeine, That the Emperour CHARLES the Great ſhould haue the Right of chooſing the Pope, and ordeining the Apoſtolicall Seate, and the Dignitie of the *Romane* Principalitie: nay, farther hee ordeined; That all *Archbiſhops* and *Biſhops* ſhould receiue their Inueſtiture from the *Emperour*, or elſe bee of no auaile; And, that a *Biſhop* wanting it, ſhould not bee conſecrate, pronouncing an *Anathema* againſt all that ſhould diſobey this Sentence.

And that the *Emperours* aſſent to the Popes Election was a thing ordinary for a long time, [2] *Platina*, and a number of the Popes owne writers beare witneſſe: And [3] *Bellarmine* himſelfe, in his booke of Controuerſies, cannot get it handſomely denied. Nay, the Popes were euen forced then to pay a certaine ſumme of money to the *Emperours* for their Confirmation: And this laſted almoſt ſeuen hundreth yeeres after CHRIST; witneſſe [4] *Sigebert* and [5] *Luitprandus*, with other Popiſh Hiſtorians.

And

[1] *Sigebert. ad ann.773. Walthram. Naumburg.lib. de Epiſc.inueſtitura. Mart. Polon.ad ann. 780. Theod. à Niem. de priuileg. & Iurib. Imperij & diſt. 63.C.Hadrian.*

[2] See *Platin. in vit.Pelag.2. Gregor.1. & Seuerini.*

[3] *Lib.de Clericis.*

[4] *In Chron.ad ann.680.*

[5] *In vit.Agathon.& Anaſt. in vit.eiuſd.Agath.& Herm. Contract. ad ann.678.edit. poſter.& diſt. 63.c Agatho.*

And for *Emperours* deposing of Popes, there are likewise diuers examples. The Emperour [1] *Ottho* deposed Pope *Iohn* the twelfth of that name, for diuers crimes and vices; especially of Lecherie. The Emperour [2] *Henry* the third in a short time deposed three Popes; *Benedict* the ninth, *Siluester* the third, and *Gregorie* the sixt, as well for the sinne of Auarice, as for abusing their extraordinarie authoritie against Kings and Princes.

[1] *Luitpr. Hist. lib 6. ca. 10. 11. Rhegino ad an. 963. & Platin. in vit. Ioan. 13.*

[2] *Marianus Scot. Sigeb. Abbas Vsp. ad ann. 1046 & Plat in vit. Greg. 6.*

And as for KINGS that haue denied this Temporall Superioritie of Popes; First, wee haue the vnanime testimonie of diuers famous HISTORIOGRAPHERS for the generall of many CHRISTIAN Kingdomes. As [3] *Walthram* testifieth, *That the Bishops of Spaine, Scotland, England, Hungarie, from ancient institution till this moderne noueltie, had their Inuestiture by* KINGS, *with peaceable inioyning of their Temporalities wholly and entirely; and whosoeuer* (sayeth hee) *is peaceably solicitous, let him peruse the liues of the Ancients, and reade the Histories, and hee shall vnderstand thus much.* And for verification of this generall Assertion; wee will first beginne at the practise of the KINGS of France, though not named by *Walthram* in this his enumeration of Kingdomes: amongst whom my first witnesse shall bee that vulgarly knowne letter of [4] *Philip le Bel* King of France, to Pope *Boniface* the eighth, the beginning whereof, after a scornefull salutation, is, *Sciat tua maxima fatuitas, nos in temporalibus nemini subesse.*

[3] *Walthram. Naumburg. in lib. de inuest. Episc. Vixit circa ann. 1110.*

[4] See *Annales Francie Nicolai Gillij in Phil. Pulchro.*

And likewise after that [5] *Lewes* the ninth, surnamed *Sanctus*, had by a publique instrument (called *Pragmatica sanctio*) forbidden all the exactions of the Popes Court within his Realme: Pope *Pius* [6] the second, in the beginning of *Lewes* the eleuenth his time, greatly misseliking this Decree so long before made, sent his Legate to the saide King *Lewes*, with Letters-patents, vrging his promise which hee had made when hee was Dolphin of France, to repeale that Sanction if euer hee came to bee King. The King referreth the Legate ouer with his Letters-patents to the Councell of Paris: where the matter being propounded, was impugned by *Iohannes Romanus*, the Kings Atturney; with whose opinion the Vniuersitie of Paris concurring, an Appeale was made from the attempts of the Pope to the next generall Councell; the Cardinall departing with indignation.

[5] *Anno 1268. ex Arrestis Senatus Parisiens.*

[6] *Ioan. Maierius. lib. de Scismat & Concil.*

But that the King of France and Church thereof haue euer stoken to their *Gallican* immunitie, in denying the Pope any Temporall power ouer them, and in resisting the Popes as oft as euer they prest to meddle with their Temporall power, euen in the donation of Benefices; the Histories are so full of them, as the onely examples thereof would make vp a bigge Volume by it selfe. And so farre were the *Sorbonistes* for the Kings and French Churches priuiledge in this point, as they were wont to maintaine; That if the Pope fell a quarrelling the King for that cause, the

the *Gallican* Church might elect a *Patriarch* of their owne, renouncing any obedience to the Pope. And *Gerſon* was ſo farre from giuing the Pope that temporall authority ouer Kings (who otherwiſe was a deuoute *Roman* Catholike) as hee wrote a Booke *de Auferibilitate Papæ*; not onely from the power ouer Kings, but euen ouer the Church.

And now pretermitting all further examples of forraigne Kings actions, I will onely content me at this time with ſome of my owne Predeceſſors examples of this kingdome of England; that it may thereby the more clearely appeare, that euen in thoſe times when the world was fulleſt of darkened blindnes and ignorance, the Kings of England haue oftentimes, not onely repined, but euen ſtrongly reſiſted and withſtood this temporall vſurpation and encrochment of ambitious Popes.

And I will firſt begin at [1] King *Henry* the firſt of that name, after the Conqueſt; who after he was crowned gaue the Biſhopricke of *Wincheſter* to *William Gifford*, and forthwith inueſted him into all the poſſeſſions belonging to the Biſhopricke, contrary to the Canons of the new Synod. [2] *King Henry* alſo gaue the Archbiſhopricke of *Canterbury* to *Radulph* Biſhop of *London*; and gaue him inueſtiture by a Ring and a Croſiers ſtaffe.

Alſo Pope [3] *Calixtus* held a Councell at RHEMES, whither King *Henry* had appointed certaine Biſhops of ENGLAND and NORMANDIE to goe; *Thurſtan* alſo, elected Archbiſhop of YORKE, got leaue of the King to goe thither, giuing his faith that hee would not receiue Conſecration of the Pope; And comming to the Synode, by his liberall gifts (as the faſhion is) wanne the ROMANES fauour, and by their meanes obtained to bee conſecrated at the Popes hand: Which aſſoone as the King of ENGLAND knewe, hee forbade him to come within his Dominions.

Moreouer King *Edward* the firſt prohibited the *Abbot* of [4] *Waltham* and *Deane* of *Pauls*, to collect a tenth of euery mans goods for a ſupply to the holy Land, which the Pope by three *Bulles* had committed to their charge; and the ſaid Deane of *Pauls* compeering before the King and his *Councell*, promiſed for the reuerence he did beare vnto the King, not to meddle any more in that matter, without the Kings good leaue and permiſſion. Here (I hope) a Church-man diſobeyed the *Pope* for obedience to his *Prince* euen in Church matters: but this new *Ieſuited* Diuinitie was not then knowen in the world.

The ſame *Edward I.* impleaded the Deane of the Chappell of *Vuluerhampton*, becauſe the ſaid Deane had, againſt the priuiledges of the Kingdome, giuen a Prebend of the ſame Chappell to one at the Popes command: whereupon the ſaid Deane compeered, and put himſelfe in the Kings will for his offence.

The ſaid *Edward I.* depriued alſo the *Biſhop* of *Durham* of all his liberties, for diſobeying a prohibition of the Kings. So as it appeareth, the Kings in

[1] *Matth. Paris. in Henr. 1. anno 1100.*

[2] *Idem ibid. anno 1113.*

[3] *Idem ibid. anno 1119.*

[4] *Ex Archiuis Regni.*

in thoſe dayes thought the Church-men their *Subiects*, though now we be taught other Seraphicall doctrine.

For further proofe whereof *Iohn* of *Ibſtocke* was committed to the goale by the ſayde King, for hauing a ſuite in the Court of *Rome* ſeuen yeeres for the Rectorie of *Newchurch*.

And *Edward* II. following the footſteps of his Father; after giuing out a Summons againſt the Abbot of *Walden*, for citing the Abbot of Saint *Albons* and others in the Court of *Rome*, gaue out letters for his apprehenſion.

And likewiſe, becauſe a certaine Prebend of *Banburie* had drawen one *Beuercoat* by a Plea to *Rome* without the Kings Dominions, therefore were letters of Caption ſent foorth againſt the ſaid Prebend.

And *Edward* III. following likewiſe the example of his Predeceſſours; Becauſe a Parſon of *Liche* had ſummoned the Prior of S. *Oſwalds* before the Pope at *Auinion*; for hauing before the Iudges in *England* recouered the arrerage of a penſion; directed a Precept, for ſeaſing vpon all the goods both Spirituall and Temporall of the ſaid Parſon, becauſe hee had done this in preiudice of the King and Crowne. The ſaide King alſo made one *Harwoden* to bee declared culpable and worthie to bee puniſhed, for procuring the Popes *Bulles* againſt a Iudgement that was giuen by the Kings Iudges.

And likewiſe, Becauſe one entred vpon the Priorie of *Barnewell* by the *Popes Bul*, the ſaid Intrant was committed to the Tower of *London*, there to remaine during the Kings pleaſure.

So as my Predeceſſors (ye ſee) of this Kingdome, euen when the *Popes* triumphed in their greatneſſe, ſpared not to puniſh any of their Subiects, that would preferre the *Popes* Obedience to theirs, euen in Church-matters: So farre were they then from either acknowledging the *Pope* for their temporall Superiour, or yet from doubting that their owne Churchmen were not their Subiects. And now I will cloſe vp all theſe examples with an Act of *Parliament* in King *Richard* II. his time; whereby it was prohibited, That none ſhould procure a Benefice from *Rome*, vnder paine to be put out of the Kings protection. And thus may yee ſee, that what thoſe Kings ſucceſſiuely one to another by foure generations haue acted in priuate, the ſame was alſo maintained by a publike Law.

By theſe few examples now (I hope) I haue ſufficiently cleered my ſelfe from the imputation, that any ambition or deſire of Noueltie in mee ſhould haue ſtirred mee, either to robbe the *Pope* of any thing due vnto him, or to aſſume vnto my ſelfe any farther authoritie, then that which other Chriſtian *Emperours* and *Kings* through the world, and my owne Predeceſſours of *England* in eſpeciall, haue long agone maintained. Neither is it enough to ſay (as *Parſons* doeth in his Anſwere to the Lord *Coke*) That farre more Kings of this Countrey haue giuen many more examples of acknowledging, or not reſiſting the *Popes* vſurped Authoritie; ſome perchance

perchance lacking the occaſion; and ſome the abilitie of reſiſting them: for euen by the Ciuill Law, in the caſe of violent intruſion and long and wrongfull poſſeſſion againſt mee, it is enough if I prooue that I haue made lawfull interruption vpon conuenient occaſions.

But the Cardinall thinkes the Oath, not onely vnlawfull for the ſubſtance therof, but alſo in regard of the Perſon whom vnto it is to be ſworne: For (ſaith he) *The King is not a Catholique*; And in two or three other places of his booke, he ſticketh not to call me by my name very broadly, an Heretike, as I haue already told. But yet before I be publikely declared an Heretike; by the Popes owne Law my people ought not to refuſe their Obedience vnto me. And (I truſt) if I were but a ſubiect, and accuſed by the Pope in his *Conclaue* before his Cardinals, hee would haue hard prouing mee an Heretike, if he iudged me by their owne ancient Orders.

For firſt, I am no *Apoſtate*, as the Cardinal would make me; not onely hauing euer bene brought vp in that Religion which I preſently profeſſe, but euen my Father and Grandfather on that ſide profeſſing the ſame: and ſo cannot be properly an Heretike, by their owne doctrine, ſince I neuer was of their Church. And as for the Queene my Mother of worthy memorie; although ſhe continued in that Religion wherein ſhee was nouriſhed, yet was ſhe ſo farre from being ſuperſtitious or *Ieſuited* therein, that at my Baptiſme (although I was baptized by a Popiſh Archbiſhop) ſhe ſent him word to forbeare to vſe the ſpettle in my Baptiſme; which was obeyed, being indeed a filthy and an apiſh tricke, rather in ſcorne then imitation of CHRIST. And her owne very words were, *That ſhe would not haue a pockie prieſt to ſpet in her childs mouth.* As alſo the Font wherein I was Chriſtened, was ſent from the late Queene here of famous memory, who was my Godmother; and what her Religion was, *Pius V.* was not ignorant. And for further proofe, that that renowmed Queene my Mother was not ſuperſtitious; as in all her Letters (whereof I receiued many) ſhe neuer made mention of Religion, nor laboured to perſwade me in it; ſo at her laſt words, ſhe commanded her Maſter-houſhold, a Scottiſh Gentleman my ſeruant and yet aliue, ſhe commanded him (I ſay) to tell me; That although ſhe was of another Religion then that wherein I was brought vp; yet ſhe would not preſſe me to change, except my owne Conſcience forced mee to it: For ſo that I led a good life, and were carefull to doe Iuſtice and gouerne well; ſhe doubted not but I would be in a good caſe with the profeſſion of my owne Religion. Thus am I no *Apoſtate*, nor yet a deborder from that Religion which one part of my Parents profeſſed, and an other part gaue mee good allowance of. Neither can my Baptiſme in the rites of their Religion make me an *Apoſtate*, or Heretike in reſpect of my preſent profeſſion, ſince we all agree in the ſubſtance thereof, being all Baptized *In the Name of the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghoſt*: vpon which head there is no variance amongſt vs.

And now for the point of Heretike; I will neuer bee aſhamed to render

an accompt of my profeſſion, and of that hope that is in me, as the Apoſtle preſcribeth. I am ſuch a CATHOLIKE CHRISTIAN, as beleeueth the three *Creeds*; That of the Apoſtles, that of the Councell of *Nice*, and that of *Athanaſius*; the two latter being Paraphraſes to the former: And I beleeue them in that ſenſe, as the ancient Fathers and Councels that made them did vnderſtand them: To which three *Creeds* all the Miniſters of England doe ſubſcribe at their Ordination. And I alſo acknowledge for Orthodoxe all thoſe other formes of *Creedes*, that either were deuiſed by Councels or particular Fathers, againſt ſuch particular Hereſies as moſt reigned in their times.

I reuerence and admit the foure firſt generall Councels as Catholique and Orthodoxe: And the ſaid foure generall Councels are acknowledged by our Acts of Parliament, and receiued for Orthodoxe by our Church.

As for the Fathers; I reuerence them as much and more then the *Ieſuites* doe, and as much as themſelues euer craued. For what euer the Fathers for the firſt fiue hundreth yeeres did with an vnanime conſent agree vpon, to be beleeued as a neceſſary point of ſaluation, I either will beleeue it alſo, or at leaſt will be humbly ſilent; not taking vpon mee to condemne the ſame: But for euery priuate Fathers opinion, it bindes not my conſcience more then *Bellarmines*; euery one of the Fathers vſually contradicting others. I will therefore in that caſe follow [1] *S. Auguſtines* rule in iudging of their opinions, as I finde them agree with the Scriptures: what I finde agreeable thereunto I will gladly imbrace; what is otherwiſe I will (with their reuerence) reiect.

[1] *Lib. 2. cont. Creſconium. cap. 32.*

As for the Scriptures; no man doubteth I will beleeue them: But euen for the *Apocrypha*; I hold them in the ſame accompt that the Ancients did: They are ſtill printed and bound with our Bibles, and publikely read in our Churches: I reuerence them as the writings of holy and good men: but ſince they are not found in the *Canon*, wee accompt them to bee *ſecundæ lectionis*, or [2] *ordinis* (which is *Bellarmines* owne diſtinction) and therefore not ſufficient whereupon alone to ground any article of Faith, except it be confirmed by ſome other place of Canonicall Scripture; Concluding this point with *Ruffinus* (who is no Noueliſt, I hope) That the *Apocryphall* books were by the Fathers permitted to be read; not for confirmation of Doctrine, but onely for inſtruction of the people.

[2] *Lib. 1. de verb. Dei, c. 4.*

As for the Saints departed, I honour their memory, and in honour of them doe we in our Church obſerue the dayes of ſo many of them, as the Scripture doeth canonize for Saints; but I am loath to beleeue all the tales of the *Legended ſaints*.

And firſt for the bleſſed Virgin MARIE, I yeeld her that which the Angel *Gabriel* pronounced of her, and which in her *Canticle* ſhee prophecied of herſelfe: that is, That [3] ſhe is bleſſed amongſt women, and [4] That all generations ſhall call her bleſſed. I reuerence her as the Mother of CHRIST, whom of our Sauiour tooke his fleſh, and ſo the Mother of

[3] Luk. 1. 28.
[4] Ibid. ver. 48.

of GOD, ſince the Diuinitie and Humanitie of CHRIST are inſeparable. And I freely confeſſe, that ſhee is in glory both aboue Angels and men, her owne Sonne (that is both GOD and man) onely excepted. But I dare not mocke her and blaſpheme againſt GOD, calling her not onely *Diua* but *Dea*, and praying her to command and controule her Sonne, who is her GOD; and her SAVIOVR: Nor yet not I thinke, that ſhee hath no other thing to doe in heauen, then to heare euery idle mans ſuite, and buſie her ſelfe in their errands; whiles requeſting, whiles commanding her Sonne, whiles comming downe to kiſſe and make loue with Prieſtes, and whiles diſputing and brawling with Deuils. In heauen ſhee is in eternall glory and ioy, neuer to bee interrupted with any worldly buſineſſe; and there I leaue her with her bleſſed Sonne our SAVIOVR and hers in eternall felicitie.

As for *Prayer to Saints*; CHRIST (I am ſure) hath commanded vs to Come all to him that are loaden with ſinne, and hee will relieue vs: and *Saint Paul* hath forbidden vs to worſhip Angels; or to vſe any ſuch voluntary worſhip, that hath a ſhew of humilitie in that it ſpareth not the fleſh. But what warrant wee haue to haue recourſe vnto theſe *Dij Penates* or *Tutelares*, theſe Cõurtiers of GOD, I know not; I remit that to theſe Philoſophicall Neoterike Diuines. It ſatisfieth mee to pray to GOD through CHRIST as I am commanded, which I am ſure muſt be the ſafeſt way; and I am ſure the ſafeſt way is the beſt way in points of ſaluation. But if the Romiſh Church hath coined new Articles of Faith, neuer heard of in the firſt 500. yeeres after CHRIST, I hope I ſhall neuer bee condemned for an Heretike, for not being a Noueliſt. Such are the *priuate Maſſes*, where the Prieſt playeth the part both of the Prieſt and of the people; And ſuch are the *Amputation of the one halfe of the Sacrament* from the people; *The Tranſubſtantiation, Eleuation for Adoration*, and *Circumportation* in Proceſſion of the Sacrament; *the workes of Supererogation*, rightly named *Theſaurus Eccleſiæ*; *the Baptiſing of Bels*, and a thouſand other trickes: But aboue all, *the worſhipping of Images*. If my faith bee weake in theſe, I confeſſe I had rather beleeue too little then too much: And yet ſince I beleeue as much as the Scriptures doe warrant, the Creeds doe perſwade, and the ancient Councels decreed, I may well be a Schiſmatike from *Rome*, but I am ſure I am no Heretike.

Matt. 11. 28.

Coloſſ. 2. 8, 23.

For *Reliques of Saints*; If I had any ſuch that I were aſſured were members of their bodies, I would honourably bury them, and not giue them the reward of condemned mens members, which are onely ordeined to bee depriued of buriall: But for worſhipping either them or *Images*, I muſt account it damnable Idolatrie.

I am no *Iconomachus*; I quarrell not the making of Images, either for publike decoration, or for mens priuate vſes: But that they ſhould bee worſhipped, bee prayed to, or any holineſſe attributed vnto them, was neuer knowen of the Ancients: And the Scriptures are ſo directly, vehemently

and punctually againſt it, as I wonder what braine of man, or ſuggeſtion of Sathan durſt offer it to Chriſtians; and all muſt bee ſalued with nice Philoſophicall diſtinctions: As, *Idolum nihil eſt*: and, They worſhip (forſooth) the Images of things *in being*, and the Image of the trew GOD. But the Scripture forbiddeth to worſhip the Image of any thing that GOD created. It was not a *nihil* then that God forbade onely to be worſhipped, neither was the braſen Serpent, nor the body of *Moſes* a *nihil*; and yet the one was deſtroyed, and the other hidden for eſchewing of Idolatrie. Yea, the Image of GOD himſelfe is not onely expreſly forbidden to bee worſhipped, but euen to bee made. The reaſon is giuen, That no eye euer ſaw GOD; and how can we paint his face, when *Moſes* (the man that euer was moſt familiar with GOD) neuer ſawe but his backe parts? Surely, ſince he cannot be drawen to the *viue*, it is a thankeleſſe labour to marre it with a falſe repreſentation; which no Prince, nor ſcarce any other man will bee contented with in their owne pictures. Let them therefore that maintaine this doctrine, anſwere it to CHRIST at the latter day, when he ſhall accuſe them of Idolatrie; And then I doubt if hee will bee payed with ſuch nice ſophiſticall Diſtinctions.

But CHRISTS Croſſe muſt haue a particular priuiledge (ſay they) and bee worſhipped *ratione contactus*. But firſt wee muſt know what kinde of touching of CHRISTS body drew a vertue from it; whether euery touching, or onely touching by faith? That euery touching of his body drew not vertue from it, is more then manifeſt. When [1] the woman in the bloody fluxe touched him, ſhe was healed of her faith: But *Peter* then told him that a crowd and throng of many people then touched him; and yet none of them receiued any benefite or vertue from him. *Iudas* touched him many and many a time, beſides his laſt kiſſe; ſo did the villaines that buffeted and crucified him; and yet I may ſafely pronounce them accurſed, that would beſtow any worſhip vpon their reliques: yea wee cannot denie but the land of *Canaan* it ſelfe (whereupon our Lord did dayly tread) is ſo viſibly accurſed, beeing gouerned by faithleſſe *Turkes*, full of innumerable ſects of hereticall Chriſtians, and the very fertilitie thereof ſo farre degenerated into a pitifull ſterilitie, as hee muſt bee accurſed that accounteth it bleſſed. Nay, when a certaine [2] woman bleſſed the belly that bare CHRIST, and the breaſtes that gaue him ſucke; Nay, rather (ſaith hee) *Bleſſed are thoſe that heare the Word of God, and keepe it*. Except then they could firſt prooue that CHRIST had reſolued to bleſſe that tree of the Croſſe whereupon hee was nailed; they can neuer proue that his touching it could giue it any vertue. And put the caſe it had a vertue of doing miracles, as *Peters* ſhadow had; yet doeth it not follow, that it is lawful to worſhip it, which *Peter* would neuer accept of. Surely the Prophets that in ſo many places curſe thoſe that worſhip Images, that haue eyes and ſee not, that haue eares and heare not, would much more haue curſed them that worſhip a piece of a ſticke, that hath not ſo much as

[1] Luke 8.

[2] Luk. 11. 28.

as any reſemblance or repreſentation of eyes or eares.

As for Purgatorie and all the * traſh depending thereupon, it is not worth the talking of; *Bellarmine* cannot finde any ground for it in all the Scriptures. Onely I would pray him to tell me; If that faire greene Meadow that is in Purgatorie, haue a brooke running thorow it; that in caſe I come there, I may haue hawking vpon it. But as for me; I am ſure there is a Heauen and a Hell, *præmium & pœna*, for the Elect and reprobate: How many other roomes there be, I am not on God his counſell. *Multæ ſunt manſiones in domo Patris mei*, ſaith CHRIST, who is the trew Purgatorie for our ſinnes: But how many chambers and anti-chambers the diuell hath, they can beſt tell that goe to him: But in caſe there were more places for ſoules to goe to then we know of, yet let vs content vs with that which in his Word he hath reuealed vnto vs, and not inquire further into his ſecrets. Heauen and Hell are there reuealed to be the eternall home of all mankinde: let vs indeauour to winne the one and eſchew the other; and there is an end.

*Iubilees, Indulgences, ſatisfactions for the dead, &c.

Lib. 2. de Purgat. cap. 7.

Iohn 14.

Now in all this diſcourſe haue I yet left out the maine Article of the Romiſh faith; and that is the *Head of the Church* or *Peters Primacie*; for who denieth this, denieth *fidem Catholicam*, ſaith *Bellarmine*. That Biſhops ought to be in the Church, I euer maintained it, as an Apoſtolique inſtitution, and ſo the ordinance of God; contrary to the *Puritanes*, and likewiſe to [1] *Bellarmine*; who denies that Biſhops haue their Iuriſdiction immediatly from God (But it is no wonder he takes the *Puritanes* part, ſince *Ieſuits* are nothing but *Puritan-papiſts*.) And as I euer maintained the ſtate of Biſhops, and the Eccleſiaſticall Hierarchie for order ſake; ſo was I euer an enemie to the confuſed Anarchie or paritie of the *Puritanes*, as well appeareth in my ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ. Heauen is gouerned by order, and all the good Angels there; nay, Hell it ſelfe could not ſubſiſt without ſome order; And the very deuils are diuided into Legions, and haue their chiefetaines: how can any ſocietie then vpon earth, ſubſiſt without order and degrees? And therefore I cannot enough wonder with what braſen face this Anſwerer could ſay, *That I was a Puritane in Scotland, and an enemie to Proteſtants*: I that was perſecuted by *Puritanes* there, not from my birth onely, but euen ſince foure moneths before my birth? I that in the yeere of God 84. erected Biſhops, and depreſſed all their popular Paritie, I then being not 18. yeeres of aage? I that in my ſaid Booke to my Sonne, doe ſpeake tenne times more bitterly of them nor of the Papiſts; hauing in my ſecond Edition thereof, affixed a long Apologetike Preface, onely in *odium Puritanorum*? and I that for the ſpace of ſixe yeeres before my comming into England, laboured nothing ſo much as to depreſſe their Paritie, and re-erect Biſhops againe? Nay, if the dayly Commentaries of my life and actions in Scotland, were written (as *Iulius Cæſars* were) there would ſcarcely a moneth paſſe in all my life, ſince my entring into the 13. yeere of my aage, wherein ſome accident or other would not conuince the Cardinall of a Lye in this point.

[1] *Bell. lib. 4. de Rom. Pont. cap. 25.*

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And ſurely I giue a faire commendation to the Puritanes in that place of my booke, Where I affirme that I haue found greater honeſtie with the high-land and border theeues, then with that ſort of people. But leauing him to his owne impudence, I returne to my purpoſe.

Of *Biſhops* and Church Hierarchie I very well allowe (as I ſaid before) and likewiſe of Ranks and Degrees amongſt *Biſhops*. *Patriarches* (I know) were in the time of the Primitiue Church, and I likewiſe reuerence that Inſtitution for order ſake: and amongſt them was a contention for the firſt place. And for my ſelfe (if that were yet the queſtion) I would with all my heart giue my conſent that the *Biſhop* of *Rome* ſhould haue the firſt Seate: I being a weſterne King would goe with the *Patriarch* of the Weſt. And for his temporall Principalitie ouer the Signory of *Rome*, I doe not quarrell it neither; let him in God his Name be *Primus Epiſcopus inter omnes Epiſcopos*, and *Princeps Epiſcoporum*; ſo it be no otherwiſe but as *Peter* was *Princeps Apoſtolorum*. But as I well allow of the Hierarchie of the Church for diſtinction of orders (for ſo I vnderſtand it) ſo I vtterly deny that there is an earthly *Monarch* thereof, whoſe word muſt be a Law, and who cannot erre in his Sentence, by an infallibilitie of Spirit. Becauſe earthly Kingdomes muſt haue earthly *Monarches*; it doeth not follow, that the Church muſt haue a viſible *Monarch* too: for the world hath not ONE earthly temporall *Monarch*. CHRIST is his Churches *Monarch*, and the holy Ghoſt his Deputie: *Reges gentium dominantur eorum, vos autem non ſic.* CHRIST did not promiſe before his aſcenſion, to leaue *Peter* with them to direct and inſtruct them in all things; but he promiſed to ſend the holy Ghoſt vnto them for that end.

Luke 22.25.

Iohn 14.26.

And as for theſe two before cited places, whereby *Bellarmine* maketh the Pope to triumph ouer Kings: I meane *Paſce oues*, and *Tibi dobo claues*: the Cardinall knowes well enough, that the ſame words of *Tibi dabo*, are in another place ſpoken by *Chriſt* in the plurall number. And he likewiſe knowes what reaſon the Ancients doe giue, why *Chriſt* bade *Pater paſcere oues*: and alſo what a cloude of witneſſes there is, both of Ancients, and euen of late Popiſh writers, yea diuers Cardinals, that do all agree that both theſe ſpeeches vſed to *Peter*, were meant to all the Apoſtles repreſented in his perſon: Otherwiſe how could *Paul* direct the Church of *Corinth* to excommunicate the inceſtuous perſon *cum ſpiritu ſuo*, whereas he ſhould then haue ſayd, *cum ſpiritu Petri*? And how could all the Apoſtles haue otherwiſe vſed all their cenſures, onely in *Chriſts* Name, and neuer a word of his Vicar? *Peter* (wee reade) did in all the Apoſtles meetings ſit amongſt them as one of their number: And when choſen men were ſent to *Antiochia* from that great Apoſtolike *Councel* at *Ieruſalem* (*Acts* 15.) The text ſaith, It ſeemed good to the Apoſtles and Elders with the whole Church, to ſend choſen men, but no mention made of the Head thereof; and ſo in their Letters no mention is made of *Peter*, but onely of the Apoſtles, Elders and Brethren. And it is a wonder, why *Paul* rebuketh the Church of

Matth.18.18.

1.Cor.5.4.

Act.15.22,23.

Corinth

Corinth for making exception of Persons, because some followed *Paul*, some *Apollos*, some *Cephas*, if *Peter* was their visible Head! for then those that followed not *Peter* or *Cephas*, renounced the Catholike faith. But it appeareth well that *Paul* knew little of our new doctrine, since he handleth *Peter* so rudely, as he not onely compareth but preferreth himselfe vnto him. But our Cardinall proues *Peters* superioritie, by *Pauls* going to visite him. Indeed *Paul* saith, hee went to *Ierusalem* to visite *Peter*, and conferre with him; but he should haue added, and to kisse his feet. 1.Cor.1.12. Galat.2. Galat.1.18.

To conclude then, The trweth is that *Peter* was both in aage, and in the time of CHRISTS calling him, one of the first of the Apostles; In order the principall of the first twelue, and one of the three whom CHRIST for order sake preferred to all the rest. And no further did the Bishop of *Rome* claime for three hundred yeeres after CHRIST: Subiect they were to the generall Councels; and euen but of late did the Councell of *Constance* depose three Popes, and set vp the fourth. And vntill Phocas dayes (that murthered his master) were they subiect to Emperours. But how they are now come to be *Christs* Vicars, nay, Gods on earth, triple-crowned, Kings of heauen, earth and hell, Iudges of all the world, and none to iudge them; Heads of the faith, Absolute deciders of all Controuersies by the infallibility of their spirit, hauing all power both Spirituall and Temporall in their hands; the high Bishops, Monarches of the whole earth, Superiours to all Emperours and Kings; yea, Supreme Vice-gods, who whether they will or not cannot erre: how they are now come (I say) to the toppe of greatnesse, I know not: but sure I am, Wee that are KINGS haue greatest neede to looke vnto it. As for me, *Paul* and *Peter* I know, but these men I know not: And yet to doubt of this, is to denie the Catholique faith; Nay, the world it selfe must be turned vpside downe, and the order of Nature inuerted (making the left hand to haue the place before the Right, and the last named to bee the first in honour) that this primacie may bee maintained. *Bellar. de Rom. Pont. li. 1. cap. 17.*

Thus haue I now made a free Confession of my Faith: And (I hope) I haue fully cleared my selfe from being an Apostate; and as farre from being an Heretike, as one may bee that beleeueth the Scriptures, and the three Creedes, and acknowledgeth the foure first generall Councels. If I bee loath to beleeue too much, especially of Nouelties, men of greater knowledge may well pitie my weakenesse; but I am sure none will condemne me for an Heretike, saue such as make the Pope their God; and thinke him such a speaking Scripture, as they can define Heresie no otherwise, but to bee whatsoeuer Opinion is maintained against the Popes definition of faith. And I will sincerely promise, that when euer any point of the Religion I professe, shalbe proued to be new, and not Ancient, Catholike, and Apostolike (I meane for matter of Faith) I will as soone renounce it; closing vp this head with the *Maxime* of *Vincentius Lirinensis*, that I will neuer refuse to imbrace any opinion in Diuinity necessary to saluation *Libello aduersus hæreses.*

ſaluation, which the whole Catholike Church With an vnanime conſent, haue conſtantly taught and beleeued euen from the Apoſtles dayes, for the ſpace of many aages thereafter without any interruption. But in the Cardinals opinion, I haue ſhewed my ſelfe an Heretike (I am ſure) in playing with the name of *Babylon*, and the Towne vpon *ſeuen hilles*; as if I would inſinuate *Rome* at this preſent to be ſpiritually *Babylon*. And yet that *Rome* is called *Babylon*, both in *Saint Peters* Epiſtle, and in the *Apocalyps*, our Anſwerer freely confeſſeth. As for the definition of the *Antichriſt*, I will not vrge ſo obſcure a point, as a matter of Faith to bee neceſſarily beleeued of all Chriſtians; but what I thinke herein, I will ſimply declare.

1. Pet. 5. 13.

That there muſt be an *Antichriſt*, and in his time a generall Defection; wee all agree. But the *Time*, *Seat*, and *Perſon* of this *Antichriſt*, are the chiefe Queſtions whereupon wee differ: and for that we muſt ſearch the Scriptures for our reſolution. As for my opinion; I thinke S. *Paul* in the 2. to the *Theſſalonians* doeth vtter more clearely that which *Saint Iohn* ſpeaketh more myſtically of the *Antichriſt*.

2. Theſ. 2.

Firſt, that in that place hee meaneth the *Antichriſt*, it is plaine, ſince hee ſaith, *There muſt bee firſt a Defection*; and that in the *Antichriſts* time onely that eclipſe of Defection muſt fall vpon the Church, all the *Romiſh Catholikes* are ſtrong enough: otherwiſe their Church muſt be daily ſubiect to erre, which is cleane contrary to their maine doctrine. Then deſcribing him (hee ſaith) that *The man of Sinne*, *Filius perditionis*, *ſhall exalt himſelfe aboue all that is called God*. But who theſe be whom of the *Pſalmiſt* ſaith *Dixi vos Dij eſtis*, *Bellarmine* can tell. In old Diuinitie it was wont to bee *Kings*; *Bellarmine* will adde *Churchmen*; Let it bee both. It is well enough knowen, who now exalteth himſelfe aboue both the ſwords.

Verſe 3.

Verſe 3, 4.

Pſal. 82. 6.

And after that S. *Paul* hath thus deſcribed the *Perſon*, he next deſcribeth the *Seat*, and telleth that *He ſhall ſit in the Temple of God*, that is, the boſome of the Church; yea, in the very heart thereof. Now where this Apoſtolike Seat is, I leaue to bee gueſſed: And likewiſe who it is that ſitting there, ſheweth himſelfe to be GOD; pardoning ſinnes, redeeming ſoules, and defining Faith, controlling and iudging all men, and to be iudged of none.

2. Theſſ. 2. 4.

Anent the *Time*, S. *Paul* is plaineſt of all: For hee calleth the *Theſſalonians* to memorie, *That when hee was with them, hee told them theſe things*; and therefore *they know* (ſaith hee) *what the impediment was*, *and who did withhold that the man of Sinne was not reuealed*, although *the myſterie of iniquitie was already working*. That the Romane Emperours in *Saint Pauls* time needed no reuealing to the Chriſtians to bee men of Sinne or ſinfull men, no childe doubteth: but the reuelation hee ſpeaketh of was a *myſterie*, a *ſecret*; It ſhould therefore ſeeme that hee durſt not publiſh in his Epiſtle what that impediment was. It may be he meant by the tranſlating of the Seat of the *Romane* Empire, and that the tranſlation thereof ſhould leaue a roume for the man of *Sinne* to ſit downe in. And that he meant not *that man of Sinne* of theſe Ethnicke Emperours in his time, his introduction to this

Verſe 5.
Verſe 6.
Verſe 7.

this discourse maketh it more then manifest. For he saith (fearing they should be deceiued, thinking the day of the Lords second comming to bee at hand) he hath therefore thought good to forewarne them that this generall Defection must first come: Whereby it well appeareth that hee could not meane by the present time but by a future, and that a good long time; otherwise he proued ill his argument, that the Lords comming was not at hand. Neither can the forme of the Destruction of this man of *Sinne* agree with that maner of spoile, that the *Gothes* and *Vandals* made of * *Ethnick Rome*: For our Apostle saith, [1] *That this wicked man shall bee consumed by the Spirit of the Lords mouth, and abolished by his comming.* Now I would thinke that the word of God and the Preaching thereof, should be meant *by the Spirit of the Lords mouth*, which should peece and peece consume and diminish the power of that man of Sinne, till the brightnes of the Lords second comming should vtterly abolish him. And by his expressing the meanes of his working, he doeth likewise (in my opinion) explane his meaning very much: For he saith, *It shall be by a strong delusion, by lying wonders, &c.* Well, what Church it is that vanteth them of their innumerable miracles, and yet most of them contrary to their owne doctrine; *Bellarmine* can best tell you with his hungry Mare, that turned her taile to her prouender and kneeled to the Sacrament: And yet (I am sure) he will be ashamed to say, that the holy Sacrament is ordained to be worshipped by *Oues & Boues, & cætera pecora campi.*

* For so doeth *Tortus* call *Rome* when it was spoiled by them, though it was Christian many yeres before.

[1] Verse 8.

Verse. 8. 9.

Bellar. lib. 3. de Eucharist. cap. 8

Thus haue I prooued out of *S. Paul* now, that the time of the Antichrists comming, and the generall Defection was not to be till long after the time that he wrote in; That his Seat was to be in the Temple and Church of God; and, That his Action (which can best point at his Person) should be to *Exalt himselfe aboue all that were called Gods*. *S. Iohn* indeed doth more amply, though mystically describe this Antichrist, which vnder the figure of a monstrous Beast, with seuen heads and ten hornes, he sets forth in the xiij. chap. and then interpreteth in the xvij. where hee calles her a *Whore sitting vpon many waters*, and *riding vpon the sayd monstrous Beast*; concluding that chapter with calling that Woman, *that great City which reigneth ouer the Kings of the earth.* And both in that Chapter, and in the beginning of the next he calles that great Citie, *Babylon.*

Reuel. 17. v. 1. Vers. 3. Vers 18. Vers. 5. Cap. 18. v. 2.

So as to continue herein my formerly purposed Methode, of the Time, Seat, and Person of Antichrist; this place doth clearely and vndenyably declare that *Rome* is, or shalbe the Seat of that Antichrist. For first, no Papist now denieth that by *Babylon* here *Rome* is directly meant; and that this Woman is the Antichrist, doeth clearely appeare by the time of his working (described by 42. moneths in the xiij. Chap.) which doeth iustly agree with that three yeeres and a halfes time, which all the Papists giue to the Reigne of Antichrist. Besides that, the Beast it selfe with seuen heads and tenne hornes, hauing one of her heads wounded and healed againe, is described iust alike in the xiij. and xvij. Chap. being in the former prooued

Vers. 5.

to

to be the *Antichrist* by the time of her reigne; and in the latter *Rome* by the name of *Babylon*, by the confession of all the Papists; So as one point is now cleare, that *Rome* is the *Seat* of the *Antichrist*.

Neither will that place in the eleuenth Chapter serue to shift off this point, and proue the *Antichrists Seat* to bee in *Ierusalem*; where it is saide; *That the Corpses of the Witnesses shall lie in the great City, spiritually Sodome and Egypt, where our Lord also was crucified.* For the word *spiritually* is applied both to *Sodome*, *Egypt* and *Ierusalem* in that place; And when hee hath named *Sodome* and *Egypt*, hee doeth not subioyne *Ierusalem* with a single *vbi*; but with an *vbi &*, as if hee would say; and this *Antichrists* abomination shall bee so great, as his Seate shall bee as full of Spirituall whoredomes and Idolatries, as *Sodome* and *Egypt* was; nay, and so bloody in the persecution of the Saints, as our Lord shall be crucified againe in his members. And who hath so meanely read the Scriptures (if he haue euer read them at all) that knoweth it not to be a common phrase in them, to call CHRIST persecuted and slaine, when his Saints are so vsed? So did CHRIST say, speaking of the latter day; and in the same style did hee speake to *S. Paul* at his conuersion. And that *Babylon*, or *Rome* (since *Bellarmine* is contented it bee so called) is that great Citie where our Lord was crucified, the last verse of the xviij. Chap. doeth also clearely proue it: For there it is said, That *in that City was found the blood of the Prophets, and of the Saints, and of all that were slaine vpon the earth*; and I hope CHRIST was one of them that were slaine vpon the earth. And besides that it may well bee said that hee was slaine in that great Citie *Babylon*, since by the *Romane* authoritie hee was put to death, vnder a *Romane* Iudge, and for a *Romane* quarrell: for he could not be a friend to *Cæsar*, that was not his enemie.

Chap. 11.8.

Matt. 25.40.

Acts 9.4.

Reuel. 18.24.

This point now being cleared of the *Antichrists Seate*, as I haue already sayd; we are next to find out the *Time* when the *Antichrist* shall reigne, if it be not already come. In the xiij. Chapter *S. Iohn* saith, that this Beast with the seuen heads and tenne hornes, *had one of his heads wounded and healed againe*; and interpreting that in the xvij. he saith, that *these seuen heads are also seuen Kings, whereof fiue are fallen, one is, and an other is not yet come, and when hee commeth hee shall continue a short space. And the Beast that was and is not, is the eight, and yet one of the seuen.* By which Beast hee meaneth the *Antichrist*, who was not then come, I meane in the Apostles dayes, but was to come after. So as betweene the time of the Apostles and the ende of the worlde, must the *Time* of the *Antichrists* comming be; and with this the Papists doe also agree. Whereby it appeareth that *Babylon*, which is *Rome*, shall bee the *Seate* of the *Antichrist*; but not that *Ethnicke Rome* which was in the Apostles dayes (for *Iohn* himselfe professeth that hee is to write of nothing, but that which is to come after his time.) Nor yet that turning *Christian Rome* while shee was in the conuerting, which immediatly followed the Apostles time, glorious by the Martyrdome of so many godly Bishops:

Cha. 13.3.

Chap. 17.10.

Verse 11.

Reuel. 1.1. & chap. 4.1.

Biſhops: But that *Antichriſtian Rome*, when as the Antichriſt ſhal ſet downe his ſeat there, after that by the working of that Myſterie of iniquitie, *Chriſtian Rome* ſhall become to be corrupted; and ſo that deadly wound, which the *Gothes* and *Vandales* gaue Rome, ſhall bee cured in that Head or King, the *Antichriſt*, who thereafter ſhall ariſe and reigne for a long ſpace.

But here it may bee obiected, that the *Antichriſt* cannot reigne a long ſpace; ſince S. *Iohn* ſaith in two or three ſundry places, that the *Antichriſt* ſhall worke but the ſpace of three yeeres and a halfe. Surely who will but a little acquaint himſelfe with the phraſes and Stile of S. *Iohn* in his *Apocalyps*, ſhall finde that he doth ordinarily ſet downe *numerum certum pro incerto*. So doeth hee in his twelue thouſand of euery Tribe that will bee ſafe; ſo doeth he in his Armie of two hundred thouſand, that were ſent to kill the third part of the men; and ſo doeth he in diuers other places. And therefore who will but remember that in all his Viſions in the ſaid Booke, hee directly imitates the faſhions of the Prophet *Ezekiels*, *Daniels*, and *Zacharies* Viſions (borrowing their phraſes that prophecied before CHRIST, to vtter his Prophecies in, that was to ſpeake of the laſt dayes) ſhall finde it very probable that in theſe three dayes and a halfe, hee imitated *Daniels* Weekes, accounting for his Weeke the time betweene CHRISTS firſt and ſecond comming, and making *Antichriſt* to triumph the halfe of that time or ſpirituall Weeke. For as to that literall interpretation (as all the Papiſts make it) of three yeeres and a halfe, and that time to fall out directly the very laſt dayes, ſaue fiue and fourtie, before CHRIST his ſecond comming, it is directly repugnant to the whole New TESTAMENT. For CHRIST ſaith, That in the latter dayes men ſhall be feaſting, marrying, and at all ſuch worldly buſineſſe, when the laſt houre ſhall come in a clap vpon them; One ſhall be at the Mill; One vpon the top of the houſe, and ſo foorth. CHRIST telleth a Parable of the fiue fooliſh Virgins, to ſhew the vnlooked-for comming of this houre, Nay, hee ſaith, the Sonne of man, nor the Angels in heauen know not this time. S. *Peter* biddeth vs WATCH AND PRAY, euer awaiting vpon that houre. And S. *Iohn* in this ſame *Apocalyps* doeth [1] twiſe tell vs, that CHRIST will come as a thiefe in the night; And ſo doeth CHRIST ſay in the [2] *Euangel*. Whereas if the *Antichriſt* ſhall reigne three yeeres and a halfe before the Latter day, and that there ſhall bee but iuſt fourtie fiue dayes of time after his deſtruction; then ſhall not the iuſt day and houre of the Latter day, bee vnknowne to them that ſhall be aliue in the world, at the time of *Antichriſts* deſtruction. For firſt according to the Papiſts doctrine, all the world ſhall know him to be the *Antichriſt*, both by the two Witneſſes doctrine, and his ſudden deſtruction; And conſequently they cannot be ignorant, that the Latter day ſhall come iuſt fourtie fiue dayes after: and ſo CHRIST ſhall not come as a thiefe, nor the world bee taken at vnawares; contrary to all the Scriptures before alleadged, and many more. And thus haue we proued Rome to be the Seat of the *Antichriſt*, and the ſecond halfe of that ſpirituall

Chap. 7. Chap. 9. 16, 18.

Matth. 24. 41. Matth. 25.

[1] Reuel 3 3. and 16. 15.
[2] Matth. 24. 44.

rituall Weeke betweene the first and second comming of CHRIST, to be the time of his Reigne: For in the first halfe thereof the mysterie of iniquitie began to worke; but the man of Sinne was not yet reuealed.

But who these Witnesses should be, is a great question. The generall conceit of the Papists is, that it must bee *Enoch* and *Elias*. And heerein is *Bellarmine* so strong, as hee thinketh him in a great errour (if not an Heretike) that doubteth of it. But the vanitie of the Iewish fable I will in few words discouer.

Bellar. de Rom. Pont. lib.3. cap.6.

The Cardinall, in his booke of Controuersies, bringeth foure places of Scripture for probation of this idle dreame: two in the Old Testament, *Malachie* and *Ecclesiasticus*, and two in the New, CHRIST in *Matthew* (hee might haue added *Marke* too) and *Iohn* in the xj. of the *Apocalyps*. First, for the generall of all those places, I dare boldly affirme, That there is not a word in them, nor in all the rest of the Scriptures that saith, that either *Enoch* or *Elias* shall returne to fight against *Antichrist*, and shall bee slaine by him, nor any such like matter. Next as to euery place in particular, to begin with *Malachie*, I know not who can better interpret him then CHRIST, who twise in *Matthew*, Chap.xj. and xvij. and once in *Marke*, tels both the multitude, and his owne Disciples, that *Iohn Baptist* was that promised *Elias*. And heerein doeth *Bellarmine* deale most vnfaithfully with CHRIST: for in his demonstration that *Antichrist* is not yet come, because *Enoch* and *Elias* are not yet returned; hee, for his probation thereof, citeth these wordes of CHRIST in the xvij of *Matthew*, *Elias shall indeed come, and restore all things*; but omits his very next wordes interpreting the same, *That hee is already come*, in the person of *Iohn Baptist*. Nay, whereby hee taketh vpon him to answere *Biblianders* obiection, that CHRIST did by *Iohn* the *Baptist*, vnderstand the prophecie of *Elias* comming to be accomplished, he picketh out the words, *Qui habet aures, audiat*, in the xj. of *Matthew*, immediatly following that purpose of *Elias*, making of them a great mysterie: and neuer taketh knowledge, that in the xvij. by himselfe before alleaged, CHRIST doeth interpret *Malachie* in the same maner without any subioyning of these words, *Qui habet aures, audiat*; adioyning shamelesly hereunto a foule Paraphrase of his owne, telling vs what CHRIST would haue said; nay, in my conscience, he meant what CHRIST should and ought to haue said, if he had bene a good Catholike, setting downe there a glosse of *Orleance* that destroyes the Text. Thus ye see: how shamefully he abuseth CHRISTS words, who in three sundry places (as I haue said) interpreteth the second comming of *Elias* to be meant by *Iohn* the *Baptist*. He likewise cauils most dishonestly vpon that word *Venturus*. For CHRIST vseth that word but in the repeating their opinion: but interpreting it that he was already come, in the *person of Iohn Baptist*. As if hee had said, The prophecie is indeed trew that *Elias* shall come; but I say vnto you, that *Elias iam venit*, meaning of *Iohn Baptist*: and so he first repeats the words of the prophecie in the future time, as the

Matt.11.14. and 17.12. *Mar.9.13.*

Matt.17.11.

Prophet

Prophet ſpake them; and next ſheweth them to be now accompliſhed in the perſon of *Iohn*, in the preſent time. Neither can theſe words of *Malachie* [*Dies magnus & horribilis*] falſifie CHRISTS Commentarie vpon him. For if that day whereupon the Sauiour of the world ſuffered, when the [1] Sunne was totally obſcured from the ſixt houre to the ninth; the Vaile of the Temple rent aſunder from the top to the bottome; and the earth did quake, the ſtones were clouen, the graues did open themſelues, and the dead aroſe: If that day (I ſay) was not a great and horrible day, I know not what to call a horrible day. Which day no doubt had deſtroyed the whole nation of the *Iewes* without exception by a iuſt *Anatheme*, if the ſaid *Iohn* the fore-runner had not firſt conuerted many by the doctrine of *Repentance* and by *Baptiſme*. But why ſhould I preſume any more to interprete *Malachie*, ſince it is ſufficient that CHRIST himſelfe hath interpreted him ſo? And ſince *Ipſe dixit*; nay, *ter dixit, per quem facta ſunt omnia*, what mortall man dare interprete him otherwiſe; nay, directly contrary?

Malach.4.5. Matth.27.

[1] This obſcuring of the Sunne was ſo extraordinary and fearefull, that *Dionyſius*, onely led by the light of Nature and humane learning, cried out at the ſight thereof, *Aut Deus patitur, aut vices patientis dolet.* Mala.4.6.

Now for that place of *Eccleſiaſticus*; as the ſon of *Sirach* onely borroweth it from *Malachie* (as appeareth by theſe words of his, of *conuerting the ſonnes hearts to their fathers*, which are *Malachies* own words) ſo doth CHRISTS Cõmentary ſerue as well to interprete the one as the other: it being no ſhame for that mortal *Ieſus*, to be commented & interpreted by the immortall and trew IESVS, though to the ſhame & confuſion of the *Ieſuits* hereſies herein.

Ecclus.48.8.

Mala.4.6.

But *Enoch* muſt be ioyned to *Elias* in this errand, onely to beare vp the couples, as I thinke. For no place of Scripture ſpeaketh of his returning againe, onely it is ſaid in *Eccleſiaſticus* the 44. that *Enoch* pleaſed GOD, and was tranſlated to *Paradiſe*, *vt daret Gentibus ſapientiam*, or *pœnitentiam*; ſince they will haue it ſo. And what is this to ſay? marry that *Enoch* ſhall returne againe to this world, and fight againſt the *Antichriſt*. A prettie large Comment indeed, but no right Commentary vpon that Text. When *Bellarmine* was talking of *Elias*; he inſiſted, That *Elias* muſt come to conuert the *Iewes* principally, *reſtituere tribus Iacob*. But when he ſpeaketh here of *Enoch*, he muſt *dare Gentibus pœnitentiam*, and not a word of *Iewes*. Belike they ſhall come for ſundry errands, and not both for one: Or like *Paul* and *Peter*, the one ſhall be Apoſtle for the *Iewes*, and the other for the *Gentiles*. What need ſuch wilde racked Commentaries for ſuch three wordes? Will not the ſenſe ſtand well and clearely enough, that *Enoch* pleaſed GOD, and was tranſlated to *Paradiſe*; that by the example of his reward, the Nations might repent and imitate his Holy footſteps? For what could more mightily perſwade the Nations to repent; then by letting them ſee that holy Man carried quicke vp to Heauen, for reward of his vprightneſſe; whereas all the reſt of the people died and went to corruption? And where Scripture faileth, the Cardinall muſt helpe himſelfe with the Fathers, to prooue both that *Enoch* and *Elias* are yet aliue, and that they ſhall hereafter die; but with the like felicitie, as in his alledging of Scriptures; to vſe his owne words of mee in his [2] pamphlet: For which purpoſe

Ecclus.44.16.

[2] Pag.27.

he citeth fiue Fathers; *Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, *Epiphanius*, *Hierome* and *Auguſtine*. Vpon this they all agree in deed, that *Enoch* and *Elias* are ſtill aliue both, which no Chriſtian (I hope) will denie: For *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Iacob* are all
Matt.22,32. ſtill aliue, as CHRIST telleth vs; for God is *Deus viuentium, non mortuorum*. Much more then are *Enoch* and *Elias* aliue, who neuer taſted of death after the maner of other men. But as to the next point, that they ſhould die hereafter, his firſt two witneſſes, *Irenæus* and *Tertullian* ſay the direct contrary:
Lib.5. For *Irenæus* ſaith, that they ſhall remaine in *Paradiſe*, till the conſummation, *conſpicantes incorruptionem*. Now to remaine there till the conſummation, and to ſee incorruption is directly contrary to their returning to the world againe and ſuffering of death. *Tertullian* likewiſe agreeing hereunto, ſaith
Lib. cont. Iudæos, cap.2. moſt clearely, That *Enoch* hath neuer taſted of death, *vt æternitatis candidatus*: now he is ill priuiledged with eternitie, if he muſt die againe. As for his places cited out of the other three Fathers, they all confirme that firſt point, That they are ſtil aliue but that they muſt die again, they make no mention.

But he ſpeaking of the *Ancient Fathers*, let mee take this occaſion to forewarne you concerning them: That though they miſtake and vnderſtand not rightly many myſteries in the *Apocalyps*, it is no wonder: For the booke
2.Theſſ.2. thereof, was ſtill ſealed in their dayes. And though *the myſterie of iniquitie* was already working, yet was not *the man of Sinne* yet reuealed. And it is a certaine rule in all darke prophecies; That they are neuer clearely vnderſtood, till they be accompliſhed.

And thus hauing anſwered his two places, in the Old *Teſtament*, by his third in the New *Teſtament*, conteining *Chriſts* owne words: which being *luce clariora*, I need ſpeake no more of them. I am now to ſpeake of the fourth place of Scripture, which is in the xj. of the *Apocalyps*: For the two
Reuelat.11. Witneſſes (forſooth) there mentioned, muſt be *Enoch* and *Elias*. But how this can ſtand with any point of Diuinitie or likelihood of reaſon, that theſe two glorified Bodies ſhall come downe out of heauen or Paradiſe, (make it what you will) preach, and fight againſt the *Antichriſt*, bee ſlaine by him after many thouſand yeeres exempted from the naturall courſe of death, riſe againe the third day in imitation of CHRIST, and then (hauing wrought many wonders) to goe vp againe to Heauen, making an ordinary Poſte betwixt Heauen and Earth: how this (I ſay) can agree either with Diuinitie or good Reaſon, I confeſſe it paſſeth my capacitie. And eſpecially that they muſt be clad in Sackcloth, whoſe bodies (I hope) haue bene ſo long agone free from ſinne, as I thinke they ſhall neede no more ſuch maceration for ſinne: For they muſt be now either in Heauen or *Paradiſe*: If in heauen, (as doubtleſſe they are) their bodies muſt bee glorified; for no corruptible
Reuel.21.27. thing can enter there; and conſequently they can no more bee ſubiect to the ſenſible things of this world, eſpecially to death: But if they be in earthly *Paradiſe*, we muſt firſt know where it is.

Bellarmine indeed in his Controuerſies is much troubled to finde out
Lib de Grat. primi hominis. the place where *Paradiſe* is, and whether it bee in the earth, or in the ayre.

But

But theſe are all vanities. The Scriptures tell vs, that *Paradiſe* and the garden of *Eden* therein, was a certaine place vpon the earth, which GOD choſe out to ſet *Adam* into, and hauing thereafter for his ſinne baniſhed him from the ſame, it is a blaſphemie to thinke that any of *Adams* poſteritie came euer there againe. For in *Adam* were all his poſteritie accurſed, and baniſhed from the earthly *Paradiſe*: like as all the earth in generall, and *Paradiſe* in ſpeciall were accurſed in him; the ſecond *Adam* hauing by grace, called a certaine number of them to bee Coheritours with him of the heauenly *Paradiſe* and *Ieruſalem*. And doubtleſly, the earthly *Paradiſe* was defaced at the Flood, if not before: and ſo loſt all that exquiſite fertilitie and pleaſantneſſe, wherein it once ſurpaſſed all the reſt of the earth. And that it ſhould be lifted vp in the ayre, is like one of the dreames of the *Alcoran*. Surely no ſuch miracle is mentioned in the Scriptures, and hath no ground but from the curious fancies of ſome boyling braines, who cannot be content, *Sapere ad ſobrietatem*. Gen.2.8. Rom.12.3.

In heauen then for certaine are *Enoch* and *Elias*: for *Enoch* (ſaith the Text) walked with GOD, and was taken vp, and *Elias* was ſeene caried vp to heauen in a fierie chariot. And that they who haue beene the In-dwellers of Heauen theſe many thouſand yeeres, and are freed from the Lawes of mortalitie; that theſe glorious and incorruptible bodies (I ſay) ſhall come in the world againe, preach and worke miracles, and fighting againſt the *Antichriſt* be ſlaine by him, whom naturall death could not before take hold of: as it is a fabulous inuention, ſo is it quite contrary to the nature of ſuch ſanctified creatures. Eſpecially I wonder, why *Enoch* ſhould bee thought to bee one of theſe two Witneſſes for CHRIST: For it was *Moſes* and *Elias* that were with CHRIST, at the tranſfiguration; ſignifying the Law and the Prophets: which would be the fitteſt witneſſes for conuincing of *Antichriſt*. But why they haue exempted *Moſes*, and put *Enochs* head in the yoake, I cannot conceiue. So as I haue too much laboured in the refuting of this fooliſh, and indeed childiſh fable; which I am ſo farre from beleeuing in any ſort, as I proteſt in GODS preſence, I cannot hold any learned Diuine (in our aage now) to be a Chriſtian, that will beleeue it; but worthy to bee ranked with the Scribes and Phariſes, that raued and dreamed vpon the comming againe of *Elias*, though CHRIST told them the contrary. As for ſome of the Ancients that miſtooke this matter, I doe not cenſure them ſo hardly; for the reaſon that I haue already alleaged concerning them. Gen 5.24. 2.King.2.10, 11.

And hauing now refuted that idle fable; that thoſe two Witneſſes were *Enoch* and *Elias*: it falleth mee next to gueſſe, what in my opinion ſhould bee meant by them. I confeſſe, it is farre eaſier to refute ſuch a groundleſſe fable as this is, contrary to all grounds of Diuinitie and Reaſon; then to ſet downe a trew interpretation of ſo high and darke a Miſtery. And therefore as I will not preſume to bind any other man to my opinion herein, if his owne reaſon leade him not thereunto; ſo ſhall I propone ſuch probable coniectures, as (I hope) ſhall be free from Hereſie, or vnlawfull curioſitie.

In two diuers fashions may the Mysterie of these Witnesses be lawfully and probably interpreted, in my opinion. Whereof the one is, that by these two Witnesses should be meant the Old and New Testaments: For as the *Antichrist* cannot chuse but bee an aduersary to the Word of GOD aboue all things; so will hee omit no endeuour to disgrace, corrupt, suppresse and destroy the same. And now whether this Booke of the two Testaments, or two Witnesses of CHRIST, haue suffered any violence by the *Babylonian Monarchie* or not; I need say nothing; *Res ipsa loquitur*. I will not weary you with recounting those Common Places vsed for disgracing it: as calling it a *Nose of waxe*, a *dead Letter*, a *leaden Rule*, a hundreth such like phrases of reproch. But how farre the Traditions of men, and authoritie of the Church are preferred to these Witnesses, doeth sufficiently appeare in the *Babylonian* doctrine. And if there were no more but that little booke, with that prettie Inscription, *De l'Insuffisance de l'Escriture Sainte*, it is enough to proue it.

Cardinall Peron.

And as to the corrupting therof; the corruptions of the old Latine translation must not be corrected, though it bid *euertere domum* in stead of *euerrere*, for seeking of a penie; and though it say of *Iohn*, *Sic eum volo manere donec veniam*, in place of *Si*, though it be knowne a plaine Lie, and that the very next words of the Text disproue the same. Nay, so farre must wee be from correcting it, as that the Vulgar Translation must be preferred by Catholikes, to the Bible in the owne Originall tongue. And is it a small corrupting of Scriptures to make all, or the most part of the *Apocrypha* of equall faith with the *Canonicall* Scriptures, contrary to the Fathers opinions and Decrees of ancient Councels? And what blasphemous corrupting of Scripture is it, to turne *Dominus* into *Domina* throughout the whole Psalmes? And thus our Ladies Psalter was lately reprinted in *Paris*. Is not this to confound CHRISTS person with hers? And as for suppressing of the Scriptures; how many hundreth yeeres were the people kept in such blindenes, as these Witnesses were almost vnknowne? for the Layicks durst not, being forbidden, and the most part of the Cleargie, either would or could not meddle with them.

Luke 15. 8.

Iohn 21. 22, 23.

Made by *Bonauentura Doctor Seraphicus*.

Thus were these two Witnesses of CHRIST, (whom of himselfe saith, *Scrutamini Scripturas, illæ enim testimonium perhibent de me*) These [1] two Oliues bringing peace to all the beleeuers, euen peace of Conscience: These [2] two Candlesticks standing in the sight of GOD, and giuing light to the Nations; represented by Candlesticks euen in the very order of the *Roman Masse*: Thus were these two Witnesses (I say) disgraced, corrupted and suppressed (nay, so suppressed and silenced, as he was brent for an Heretike that durst presume to looke vpon them) kept close in a strange tongue, that they might not be vnderstood, *Legends* and lying wonders supplying their place in the Pulpits. And so did their *Bodies lie in the streets of the great Citie, spiritually Sodome*, for spiritual fornication which is idolatrie; *spiritually Egypt*, for bringing the Saints of God in bõdage of humane traditions [*Quare one-*

Iohn 5. 39.
[1] Reuel. 11. 4.
[2] Ibid.

See *Expositio Missæ*, annexed to *Ordo Romanus*, set forth by *G. Cassander*.

Verse 8.

Colos. 2. 20.

ramini

ramini ritibus.] So did *their bodies* (I ſay) *lie* 3. *dayes and a halfe*; that is, the halfe of that ſpirituall Weeke betweene CHRIST his firſt and ſecond comming; and as dead carkaſes indeed did the Scriptures then lye without a monument, being layed open to all contempt, cared for almoſt by none, vnderſtood by as few; nay, no man durſt call for them for feare of puniſhment, as I haue already ſaid. And thus lying dead, as it were, without life or vigour (as the Law of GOD did till it was reuiued in *Ioſias* time) The *Inhabitants of the earth*, that is, worldly men *reioyced and ſent gifts to other*, for ioy that their fleſhly libertie was now no more awed, nor curbed by that two edged ſword, for they were now ſure, that do what they would, their purſe would procure them pardons from *Babylon. Omnia venalia Romæ*; ſo as men needed no more to looke vp to heauen, but downe to their purſes to finde Pardons. Nay, what needed any more ſuing to heauen, or taking it by violence and feruencie of zeale; when the Pardons came and offered themſelues at euery mans doores? And diuers ſpirituall men vanted themſelues, that *they neither vnderſtood Old Teſtament nor New.*

Verſe 8.

2. Chro. 34. 14.

Verſe 10.

Thus were theſe 2. *Witneſſes* vſed in the ſecond halfe of this *ſpiritual Weeke*; who in the firſt halfe therof *were clad in ſackcloth*; that is, preached repentance to all nations, for the ſpace of 500. or 600. yeres after *Chriſt*: God making his *Word* or *Witnes* ſo triumph, riding vpo the *white horſe* in the time of the *Primitiue* Church, as that they ouercame al that oppoſed themſelues vnto it, beating downe euery high thing, as *Paul* ſaith; excluding fro heauen al that beleeue not therein: as ſtrongly with the ſpiritual fire thereof, conuincing the ſtif-necked pride of vnbeleeuers, as euer *Moſes* or *Elias* did, by the plagues of *Egypt* and famine, cõuince the rebellious *Egyptians* and ſtif-necked *Iſraelites*.

Verſe 3.

Reuel. 6. 2.

2. Cor. 10. 4.

Neither ſhall it be enough to diſgrace, corrupt and ſuppreſſe them; but *Killed muſt they be* at the laſt. To which purpoſe commeth forth [1] *Cenſura generalis, vt mucrone cenſorio iugulare eas poſſit*; and cutteth their throats indeed: For the author ordaineth al tranſlations, but their owne to be burnt, which is yet cõmonly practiſed: nay he profeſſeth, he commeth not to correct but to deſtroy them, controlling and calling euery place of Scripture *Heretical*, that diſagreeth fro their Traditions (with almoſt as many foule words and railing epithetes, as the *Cardinal* beſtoweth on my *Apologie*) not ruling, nor interpreting Scripture by Scripture, but making their Traditiõs to be ſuch a touchſtone for it, as he condemneth of *Hereſie*, not onely thoſe places of Scripture that he citeth, but layeth the ſame general condemnation vpon al other the like places whereſoeuer they be written in the Scriptures. And yet (praiſed be God) we beginne now with our eyes, as our predeceſſors haue done in ſome aages before, to ſee theſe *Witneſſes* riſe againe, and ſhine in their former glory: GOD, as it were, *ſetting them vp againe vpon their feete*, and *raiſing them to the Heauens* in a triumphall cloud of glory, like *Elias* his fiery chariot. Which exalting of the Goſpel againe, hath bred ſuch *an earthquake* and alteration amongſt many Nations; as *a tenth part*, or a good portion of theſe that were in ſubiection to *that Great Citie*,

Reuel. 11. 7.
[1] Printed at Venice. Anno 1562.

Verſe 11. 12.

13.

to wit, *Babylon*, are fallen from her; *Seuen thousand*, that is, many thousands *hauing bene killed* vpon the occasion of that great alteration; and many other conuerted to the feare of GOD, *and giuing glory to the God of heauen.* This now is one of the wayes, by which (I thinke) this place of Scripture may be lawfully and probably interpreted.

The other is more common, and seemeth more literally to agree with the Text. And this is to interpret, not the *word of God*, but the *Preachers thereof* to bee meant by these *Witnesses*. Few they were that first began to reueale the man of *Sinne*, and discouer his corruptions; and therefore well described by the number of *two Witnesses*: *Nam in ore duorum aut trium testium stabit omne verbum.* And in no greater number were they that began this worke, then the greatnesse of the errand did necessarily require. They *prophesied in sackecloth*, for they preached repentance. That diuers of them were put to cruell deaths, is notorious to the world: And likewise that (in the persons of their Successours in doctrine) [1] *they rose againe*; and that in such power and efficacie, as is more then miraculous: For where it is accounted in the Scriptures a miraculous worke of GOD wrought by his holy Spirit, When the Apostle *Saint Peter* conuerted about three thousand in one day; these *Witnesses* I speake of, by the force of the same Spirit, conuerted many mightie Nations in few yeeres, who still continue praising GOD, that hee hath deliuered vs from the tyrannie of Antichrist, that reigneth ouer that great Citie; and with a full crie proclaiming, *Goe out of her my people, lest yee bee partaker of her sinnes and of her plagues.* Let therefore these Miracle-mongers that surfeit the world, and raise the price of paper daily, with setting foorth old, though new gilded Miracles and Legends of lies, Let such (I say) consider of this great and wonderfull Miracle indeed, and to their shame, compare it with their paultry wares. Thus hauing in two fashions deliuered my coniecture, what I take to bee meant by these two *Witnesses* in the xj. of the *Apocalyps*, there beeing no great difference betweene them: In the one, taking it to bee the Word of GOD it selfe; In the other, the Word of God too, but in the mouthes of his Preachers: It resteth now that I come to the *third* point of the description of *Antichrist*, which is anent his *Person.*

That by the Whore of Babylon that rideth vpon the Beast, is meant a Seate of an Empire, and a successiue number of men sitting thereupon, and not any one man; doeth well appeare by the forme of the description of the *Antichrist* thorowout all the said Booke. For in the last verse of the xvij. Chapter, the *Woman* is expounded to bee, *That great Citie that reigneth ouer the Kings of the earth*; which cannot signifie the onely Person of one man, but a successiue number of men (as I haue already said) whose Seat that great Citie must be: like as in the same Chapter, *The seuen heads of the Beast* are two wayes expounded. First, they are called *seuen Hils*, which is plaine; and next they are called *seuen Kings*, which cannot bee meant by the Kings *that shall giue their power to the Beast*, and bee subiect vnto her, which

Deut.19.15.

Reuel.11.3.

[1] *Sanguis Martyrum est semen Ecclesiæ.*

Verse 11.

Actes 2.41.

Reuel.18.4.

Cap.xvij. Verse 18.

Verse.9.

Verse 13.

which is immediatly after expreſſed by *the tenne hornes*: But rather appeareth to be thoſe ſeuen formes of gouernment of that Seat: fiue of which had already beene and fallen; As *Kings*, *Conſuls*, *Dictators*, *Decemuiri* and *Tribuni militum*. The ſixt was in the time of *S. Iohn* his writing of this booke, which was the *Gouernement of the Emperour*. The ſeuenth which was not yet come, and was to laſt but for a ſhort ſpace, was the [1] *Eccleſiaſticall gouernment by Biſhops*, which was not come vpon the tranſlation of the Empire from *Rome* to *Conſtantinople*; though their gouernment was in a manner ſubſtitute to the Emperours: For though that forme of Gouernement laſted about the ſpace of 276. yeeres; yet was it but ſhort in compariſon of the long time of the reigne of the *Antichriſt* (not yet expired) which ſucceeded immediatly thereunto. And the eight, which is the *Beaſt that was and is not, and is to goe to perdition*, is the ANTICHRIST: the eight forme of Gouernment indeed by his abſoluteneſſe, and yet the ſeuenth, becauſe hee ſeemeth but to ſucceed to the Biſhop in an Eccleſiaſticall forme of Gouernement, though by his greatneſſe hee ſhall make *Babylons* Empire in glory, like to that magnificence wherein that great Citie triumphed, when it moſt flouriſhed: which in *Saint Iohns* time was much decayed, by the factions of the great men, the mutinies of the armies, and the vnworthines of the Emperours. And ſo that flouriſhing ſtate of that great Citie or Beaſt, which it was in before *S. Iohns* time, and being much [2] decayed was but *in a maner* in his time, ſhould be reſtored vnto it againe by *Antichriſt*: who as he aſcendeth out of *the bottomleſſe pit*, ſo muſt he goe *to Deſtruction*. And likewiſe by that great lamentation that is made for the deſtruction of *Babylon* in the eighteenth Chapter, both by the Kings, and by the Merchants of the earth; where it is thrice repeated for aggrauating the pitie of her deſolation, that *That great Citie fell in an houre*: By that great lamentation (I ſay) it well appeareth, That the raigne of *Antichriſt* muſt continue longer then three yeeres and a halfe, or any one mans time: For the Kings that had committed fornication with her, *& in delicijs vixerant*, behoued to haue had a longer time for contracting of that great acquaintance: And the *Merchants of the earth* ſet her forth and deſcribe her at great length, as the very ſtaple of all their riches; which could not be ſo ſoone gathered as in one mans time. And to conclude now this deſcription of the *Antichriſt*; I will ſet downe vnto you all that is ſpoken of him in the *Apocalyps* in a ſhort methode, for the further explaining of theſe three points that I haue already handled.

The *Antichriſt* is foure times (in my opinion) deſcribed by *Iohn* in the *Apocalyps*, in foure ſundry viſions; and a ſhort *Compendium* of him repeated againe in the xx. Chapter. He is firſt deſcribed by a *pale Horſe* in the viſion of the Seales in the ſixt Chapter: For after that CHRIST had triumphed vpon a *white Horſe* in the firſt Seale, by the propagation of the Goſpel; and that the *red Horſe* in the ſecond Seale, is as buſie in perſecution, as CHRIST is in ouercomming by the conſtancie of his Martyrs; and that

Verſe 12.

[1] From the time of Conſtantine the Great, his remouing of the Empire from Rome to Conſtantinople, till the time of Bonifacius the third, to wit, about 276. yeeres.

Verſe 11.

[2] Not in reſpect of the extent, and limites of the Empire: but in regard of the gouernement thereof, and glory of the Citie.

Reuel. 18. Ver. 9. & 11. Ver. 10. 16, 19.

Verſ. 9.

Verſ. 12.

1. Deſcription of Antichriſt. Reuel. cap. 6. Verſe 2.

Verſe 4.

Verse 5. that famine and other plagues signified by the *blacke Horse* in the third Seale, haue succeeded to these former persecutions: Then commeth forth the *Antichrist* vpon a *pale horse* in the 4. Seale, hauing Death for his rider, and Hell for his conuoy; which rider fitted well his colour of paleness: *and he had power giuen* [1] *him ouer the fourth part of the earth* (which is *Europe*) to *kill with the sword*, and vse great persecution; as *Ethnick Rome* did, figured by the *red horse*: and to kill *with* spirituall *hunger* or famine of the trew word of God; as the *black horse* did by corporal famine & *with death*, whereby spiritual death is meant. For the *Antichrist*, signified by this *pale horse*, shal afflict the Church both by persecution and temporal death; as also by alluring the Nations to idolatry, and so to spirituall death: and by the *beast of the earth* shall he procure their spiritual death; for he shall send out the *Locusts* (ouer whom he is King) mentioned in the 9. Chap. of this booke; and the 3 *frogs*, mentioned in the 16. of the same; for intising of al Kings and nations to drinke of the cup of her abominations. That that description now of *Antichrist* endeth there, it is more then plaine: for at the opening of the first Seale, the soules and blood of the murthered Saints cry for vengeance and hasting of iudgment; which in the sixt Seale is granted vnto them by CHRISTS comming at the Latter day; signified by *heauens departing away, like a scroll when it is rolled*: with a number of other sentences to the same purpose.

Verse 8.

[1] Or them, after other Translations, whereby is ioyntly vnderstood the said pale horse, together with his rider and conuoy, Death and Hell.

Verse 9.

Verse 10.

Verse 12.

The second. description.

But because this might seeme a short and obscure description of the *Antichrist*, he describeth him much more largely and specifikely, especially in the vision of the *Trumpets* in the 9. Chapter. For there he saith, at the blowing of the *fift Trumpet*, Heresies being first spread abroad in three of the foure former blasts; to wit, in the first, third, and fourth blast (for I take temporall persecution to be onely signified by the second blast) he then *saw a starre fall from Heauen, to whom was giuen the key of the bottomles pit; which being opened by him, with the smoke thereof came foorth a number of Locusts*, whom hee largely describeth, both by their craft & their strength; and then telleth the name of this their king, who brought them out of the bottomles pit, which is, *Destroyer*. By this *starre fallen from heauen*, being signified, as I take it, some person of great dignitie in the Church, whose duetie being to giue light to the word (as CHRIST saith) doth contrary thereunto fall away like *Lucifer*, and set vp a kingdome, by the sending forth of that noisome packe of craftie cruell vermine, described by *Locusts*: and so is the *Seat* of the *Antichrist* begun to be erected, whose *doctrine* is at length declared in the second *woe*, after the blast of the sixt *Trumpet*; where it is said, That the *remnant of men which were not killed by the plagues, repented not of the workes of their hands, that they should not worship diuels, and idols of gold, and of siluer & of brasse, and of stone, and of wood, which neither can see, heare, nor goe.* (As for *worshipping of diuels*; looke your great *Iesuited* doctour, *Vasques*: and as for *all the rest*, it is the maine doctrine of the *Roman Church.*) And then it is subioyned in this Text, that they repented not of *their murther, their sorcerie, their fornications, nor their theft.*

Rev. Chap. 9. Verse 1.

Verse 2.

Verse 3.

Verse 11.

Matth. 5. 14.

Verse 13.

Verse 20.

Lib de Cultu Adoratio. lib. 3 disp. 1. cap 5.

Verse 21.

By

By *their murther*, their perſecution is meant, and bloody maſſacres. For *their Sorcery* conſider of their *Agnus Dei*, that will ſlocken fire; of the hallowed ſhirts, and diuers ſorts of Reliques; and alſo of Prayers that will preſerue men from the violence of ſhot, of fire, of ſword, of thunder, and ſuch like dangers; And iudge, if this be not very like to Sorcerie and incantation of charmes.

By *their Fornication* is meant both their ſpirituall fornication of Idolatry, and alſo their corporall fornication; which doth the more abound amongſt them, as well by reaſon of the reſtraint of their Churchmen from marriage, as alſo becauſe of the many Orders of idle Monaſtike liues amongſt them, as well for men as women: And continuall experience prooueth, that idleneſſe is euer the greateſt ſpurre to lecherie. And they are guiltie of *Theft*, in ſtealing from GOD the titles and greatnes of power due to him, and beſtowing it vpon their head, the *Antichriſt*: As alſo by heaping vp their treaſure with their iuggling wares and merchandiſe of the ſoules of men, by *Iubiles*, *Pardons*, *Reliques* and ſuch like ſtrong deluſions.

That he endeth this deſcription of *Antichriſt* in the ſame ninth Chapter may likewiſe well appeare, by the Oath that that *Mightie Angell* ſweareth in the ſixt verſe of the tenth Chapter: And after the blaſt of the ſixt *Trumpet*, that *time ſhall bee no more*, and that when the ſeuenth Angell ſhall blow his *Trumpet*, *the myſterie of* GOD *ſhalbe finiſhed*, *as he had declared it to his ſeruants the Prophets*. Onely in the eleuenth Chapter he deſcribeth the meanes whereby the *Antichriſt* was ouercome, whoſe raigne he had before deſcribed in the ix. Chapter; and telleth vs that the *two witneſſes*, after that they haue beene perſecuted by the *Antichriſt* ſhall in the end procure his deſtruction. And in caſe any ſhould thinke, that the *Antichriſt* is onely ſpoken of in the xj. Chapter, and that the Beaſt ſpoken of in the xiij. and xvij. Chapters doth onely ſignifie *Ethnicke Rome*; there needeth no other refutation of that conceit, then to remember them, that the *Antichriſt* is neuer named in all that xj. Chapter, but where he is called in the ſeuenth verſe thereof *the Beaſt that commeth foorth of the bottomeles pit*: which by the deſcription of the place he commeth out of, prooueth it to be the ſame Beaſt which hath the ſame originall in the xvij. Chapter, and in the very ſame words; ſo as it is euer but the ſame *Antichriſt* repeated, and diuerſly deſcribed in diuers viſions.

Cap. 10. ver. 6. Verſe 7. Cap. 11. Verſe 3. Cap. 11. Verſe 7.

Now in the xij. and xiij. Chapters and ſo foorth till the xvij. he maketh a more large and ample propheticall deſcription of the ſtate of the Church, and reigne of the *Antichriſt*: For in the xij. Chap. he figureth the Church by a *Woman* flying from the *Dragon* (the Deuill) to the wilderneſſe; And when the Dragon ſeeth hee cannot otherwiſe ouer-reach her, hee *ſpeweth foorth waters like floods* to *carry her away*; which ſignifieth many Nations, that were let looſe to perſecute and vexe the Church. And in the xiij. Chapter, out of that *Sea* of Nations that perſecuted her, ariſeth that *great Citie* (Queene

The third deſcription. Chap. xij. Verſe 6. Verſe 15. Chap. xiij.

verse 1. Verse 2. (Queene of all the Nations, and head of that persecution) figured by *a Beast with seuen heads and tenne hornes*, like a *Leopard*; as well for the colour because it was full of spots, that is, defiled with corruptions; as also vsing a bastard forme of gouernement, in shew spirituall, but in deed temporall ouer the Kings of the earth; like the Leopard that is a bastard beast betwixt a Lion and a Parde: hauing *feete like a Beare*, to signifie his great strength, and *the mouth of a Lion*, to shew his rauenous and cruell dispositon.

Verse 3. This Beast who had *his power from the Dragon*, and had gotten a *deadly wound in one of his heads*, or formes of gouernment (by the *Gothes and Vandals*) and yet *was healed againe*; *opened his mouth to blasphemies, and made warre against the Saints*: nay, all the world must worship him; which worship *Ethnicke Rome* neuer craued of any, being contented to call their neighbour Kings *Amici & socij populi Romani*. And whether worship or adoration, euen with that same title, he vsed to *Popes* at their creation, our *Cardinall* can best tell you.

Verse 6. Verse 7.

Verse 11. But then commeth *another beast vp out of the earth*, hauing indeed a more firme and setled originall: for she doeth visibly and outwardly succeed to the trew Church, and therefore *she hath two hornes like the Lambe*, in outward shew representing the spouse of CHRIST, and pretending CHRIST to be her defence: But she *speaketh like the Dragon*, teaching damnable and deuilish doctrine. And this *Apostatike* (I should say *Apostolike*) *Church*, after that she hath made her great power manifest to the world, by *doing all that the first Beast could doe*, *In conspectu eius*; that is, by shewing the greatnesse of her power, to be nothing inferiour to the greatnesse of the former *Ethnicke Empire*: she then is mooued with so great a desire to aduance this Beast, now become *Antichrist*, as she *causeth the earth and all that dwell therein, to worship this former Beast* or Roman Monarch; transferring so, as it were, her owne power in his person. Yea, euen Emperours and Kings shall be faine to kisse his feet. And for this purpose shall shee worke great Miracles, wherein she greatly prides her selfe, deceiuing men with lying wonders and efficacie of lyes, as S. *Paul* saith. And amongst the rest of her wonders, she must bring *Fire out of heauen*, *Fulmen excommunications*, which can dethrone Princes: So that all that will not *worship the image of the Beast*, that is, his vnlimited Supremacie, *must be killed* and burnt as Heretikes. Yea, so peremptory will this Beast or false Prophet be (so called in the xvj. Chapter of this booke) for the aduauncement of the other Beast or *Antichrist*; as all sorts and rankes of people must *receiue the marke or name of that Beast in their right hand, or in their forehead*; *without the which it should be lawfull to none to buy, or sell*: by the *Marke in the forehead*, signifying their outward profession and acknowledgement of their subiection vnto her; and by the *Marke in their right hand*, signifying their actuall implicite obedience vnto her, who they thinke cannot erre, though she should commaund them to rebell against their naturall princes; like that *Cæca obedientia*

2. Thes. 2. 9. Verse 13. Verse 15. Verse 17. Verse 16. Verse 12.

whereunto

whereunto all the *Iesuits* are ſworne: and like thoſe *Romiſh* Prieſts in this Countrey, that haue renounced and forſworne againe that *Oath of Allegiance*, grounded vpon their naturall Oath; which though at their taking it, they confeſſed they did it out of conſcience, and as obliged thereunto by their naturall duetie; yet now muſt they forſweare it againe, for obedience to the *Popes* command; to whoſe will their conſcience and reaſon muſt be blindly captiuated. And who euer denied this abſolute power, might *neither buy nor ſell*; for no man was bound to keepe any faith, or obſerue any ciuill contracts with Heretikes: yea, to æquiuocate and commit periury towards them, is a lawfull thing in a Catholike.

Now as to the Myſterie anent the *Number* of his name; whether it ſhalbe vnderſtood by the number compoſed of the Letters in that Greeke word ΛΑΤΕΙΝΟΣ; which word well ſutes with the *Romiſh* Church, *Romiſh* Faith, and *Latine* Seruice: Or whether in reſpect that in the Text it is called *the number of the man*, ye will take it for the number or date of the yeere of GOD, wherein that firſt man liued, that firſt tooke the title of the *Antichriſt* vpon him; I leaue it to the Readers choice. By that *firſt Man*, I meane *Bonifacius tertius*, who firſt called himſelfe *Vniuerſall Biſhop*; which S. *Gregorie*, that liued till within three yeeres of his time, [1] foretold would be the ſtyle of the *Antichriſt*, or his *Præcurſor*: for though he died threeſcore yeeres before the 666. of CHRIST; yet was that Title but fully ſetled vpon his Succeſſors, ſixtie yeeres after his time. Or if ye liſt to count it from *Pompey* his ſpoiling of the Temple, to this ſame Mans time; it will goe very neere to make iuſt vp the ſaid *number 666*.

Verſe 17.

Irenæus aduerſus Hæreſ. lib. 5.

[1] *Epiſt. lib. 6. cap. 30.*

Now the raigne of the *Antichriſt* being thus prophetically deſcribed in the xiij. Chapter, his fall is prophecied in the xiiij. Firſt by the ioyfull and triumphall *New ſong* of the Saints in heauen: And next by the proclamation of three Angels; whereof the firſt hauing *an euerlaſting Goſpel in his hand to preach to all Nations* (the trew armour indeed wherewith the *Witneſſes* fought againſt the *Antichriſt*;) The firſt Angel, I ſay, proclaimed *Feare and glory to* GOD, ſince *the houre of his Iudgement was come*. And the ſecond proclaimed *the fall of Babylon*, which is the deſtruction of the *Antichriſt*. And the third prohibited vnder great paines, euen the paine of eternall damnation, that none ſhould *worſhip the Beaſt*, or receiue *his Marke*. But though that in the reſt of this Chapter the Latter day be againe prophecied, as a thing that ſhall come ſhortly after the reuealing of the man of *Sinne*: yet in the xv. Chap. he telleth of *ſeuen plagues*, vnder the name of *Vials*, that ſhall firſt fall vpon the *Antichriſt* and his kingdome; which, being particularly ſet downe in the xvj. Chapter, he reckoneth among the reſt. In the *fift viall*, the plague of darkeneſſe; yea, ſuch darkeneſſe as the kingdome of *Antichriſt* ſhall be obſcured. Wherby at the powring foorth of the *ſixt Viall*, the *way of the Kings of the Eaſt ſhall be prepared*; the man of *Sinne* being begun to be reuealed, and ſo all impediments remooued that might let the inuaſion of that Monarchie: euen as that great riuer *Euphrates* that runneth by the

Chap. xiiij. Verſe 3.
Verſe 6.
Verſe 7.
Verſe 8.
Verſe 9.
Chap. xv. Verſe 1.
Chap. xvi.
Verſe 10.
Verſe 11.

the literall *Babylon*, guarded it from the Kings of the *East*, the *Medes* and *Persians*, the time of the *Babylonian* Monarchie, till by the drying thereof,
Dan.5.3. or vnexpected passage made through it by *Cyrus*, *Babylon* was wonne, and *Baltasar* destroyed, and his Monarchie ouerthrowne, euen while hee was sitting in that literall *Babylon*, corporally drunken and quaffing in the vessels ordained for GOD's Seruice; and so sitting as it were in the Temple of GOD, and abusing the holy Mysteries thereof.

Verse 13. For remedy whereof, at the powring forth of the *sixt Viall, three vncleane spirits, like frogs, shall then come foorth out of the mouth of the Dragon, that beast, and of the false prophet*; which I take to be as much to say, as that how soone as the kingdome of *Antichrist* shall be so obscured, with such a grosse and a palpable ignorance, as learning shall be almost lost out of the world, and that few of the very Priests themselues shall be able to reade Latine, much lesse to vnderstand it; and so a plaine way made for the Destruction of *Babylon*: Then shall a new sect of Spirits arise for the defence of that falling Throne, called *three* in number, by reason of their three-fold direction; being raised and inspired by the Dragon Sathan, authorized and maintained by the Beast the *Antichrist*, and instructed by the false prophet the Apostatike Church, that hath the hornes like the Lambe, but speaketh like the Dragon. These Spirits indeed, thus sent foorth by this three-fold authoritie for the defence of their Triple-crowned Monarch, are well likened to frogges; for they are *Amphibions*, and can liue in either Element, earth or water: for though they be Churchmen by profession, yet
Verse 14. can they vse the trade of politique Statesmen; going to the Kings of the earth, to gather them to the battell of that Great day of GOD Almightie. What Massacres haue by their perswasion bene wrought through many parts of Christendome, and how euilly Kings haue sped that haue bene counselled by them; all the vnpartiall Histories of our time doe beare record. And whatsoeuer King or State will not receiue them, and follow their aduise, rooted out must that King or State be, euen with Gunpowder ere it faile. And these *frogges* had reason indeed to labour to become learned, thereby to dissipate that grosse mist of ignorance, wherewith the
Verse 17. reigne of *Antichrist* was plagued before their comming forth. Then doeth this Chapter conclude with the last plague that is powred out of the se-
Verse 19. uenth *Viall* vpon the *Antichrist*, which is the day of Iudgement: for then *Babylon* (saith he) *came in remembrance before God.*

The fourth description. Chap.17. Verse 3. But in the 17. Chapter is the former Vision interpreted and expounded; and there is the *Antichrist* represented by a *Woman, sitting vpon that many-headed Beast*; because as CHRIST his trew Spouse and Church is represented by a *Woman* in the twelfth Chapter, so here is the Head of his adulterous spouse or false Church represented also by a woman, but *hauing a cup full of abominations in her hand*: as her selfe is called a *Whoore*, for her
Verse 4. spirituall adulterie, hauing seduced the *Kings of the earth* to be partakers
Verse 1. of her Spirituall fornication: And yet wonderfull gorgious and glorious
Verse 2. was

was ſhe in outward ſhew; but *drunken with the blood of the Saints*, by a violent perſecution of them. And that ſhee may the better bee knowen, hee writeth her name vpon her forehead agreeable to her qualities: A *Myſterie*, that *great Babylon, the Mother of whoredomes and abominations of the earth.* A *Myſterie* is a name that belongeth vnto her two maner of wayes: One, as ſhee taketh it to her ſelfe; another, as ſhee deſerueth indeed. To her ſelfe ſhee taketh it, in calling her ſelfe the viſible Head of the myſticall Body of CHRIST, in profeſſing her ſelfe to bee the diſpenſer of the myſteries of GOD, and by her onely muſt they bee expounded: This great God in earth and Head of the Faith, being a *Myſtes* by his profeſſion; that is, a Prieſt. And if the obſeruation of one be trew, that hee had of old the word *Myſterie* written on his Myter; then is this Prophecie very plainely accompliſhed. Now that indeed ſhee deſerues that name, the reſt of her Title doeth beare witneſſe that ſheweth her to bee *the Mother of all the whoredomes and abominations of the earth*: and ſo is ſhe vnder the pretext of holineſſe, a *Myſtery* indeed of all iniquitie and abominations; vnder the maske of pretended feeding of Soules, deuouring Kingdomes, and making *Chriſtendome* ſwimme in blood.

Verſe 6.

Verſe 5.

Verſ 5.

Now after that this ſcarlet or bloody Beaſt and her Rider are deſcribed, by their ſhape, garments, name and qualities: the Angel doeth next interprete this viſion vnto *Iohn*, expounding vnto him what is ſignified both by the *Beaſt* and *her Rider*; telling him, the ſeuen heads of the Beaſt are *ſeuen Hilles*, meaning by the ſituation of that Citie or ſeat of *Empire*; and that they are alſo *ſeuen Kings* or formes of gouernment in the ſaid Cities, whereof I haue told you my conceit already. As for the *ten Hornes*, which hee ſheweth to be *tenne Kings, that ſhall at one houre receiue their power and kingdome with the Beaſt*, I take that number of *ten* to be *Numerus certus pro incerto*; euen as the number of ſeuen heads and ten hornes vpon the Dragon the Deuill, cannot but be an vncertaine number. And that hee alſo imitates in thoſe ten hornes, the ten hornes of the ſeuen headed Beaſt in the ſeuenth of *Daniel*: and therefore I take theſe ten *Kings* to ſignifie, all the Chriſtian *Kings*, and free *Princes* and *States* in generall, euen you whom to I conſecrate theſe my Labours, and that of vs all he propheſieth, that although our firſt becomming abſolute and free Princes, ſhould be in one houre with the Beaſt; (for great Chriſtian Kingdomes and Monarches did but riſe, and receiue their libertie by the ruines of the *Ethnicke Romane Empire*, and at the deſtruction thereof) and at the very time of the beginning of the planting of the *Antichriſt* there, and that we ſhould for a long time continue to worſhip the Beaſt, hauing *one* Catholike or common conſenting *minde* in obeying her, *yeelding our power and authoritie vnto her*, and kiſſing her feete, drinking with her in her cup of Idolatrie, and *fighting with the Lambe*, in the perſecution of his Saints, at her command that gouerneth ſo many Nations and people: yet notwithſtanding all this, wee ſhall in the time appointed by GOD, hauing thus fought with the

Verſe 9.

Verſe 12.

Verſe 13.

Verſe 14.

Verſe 16.

Verse 16. Lambe, but *being ouercome by him*, that is, conuerted by his Word; wee shall then (I say) *hate the Whore, and make her desolate, and make her naked*, by discouering her hypocrisie and false pretence of zeale; and shall *eate her flesh, and burne her with fire*. And thus *shall the way of the Kings of the East bee prepared*, as ye heard in the sixteenth Chapter. And then doeth hee subioyne the reason of this strange change in vs: for (saith hee) GOD *hath put it in their hearts to fulfill his will, and with one consent to giue their Kingdomes to the Beast, till the words of* GOD *be fulfilled*, according to that sentence of *Solomon*; That *the hearts of Kings are in the handes of* GOD, *to bee turned at his pleasure*. And hauing thus interpreted the Beast or Empire; hee in a word expounds, that by *the Woman* that rode vpon her, or Monarch that gouerned her, was meant *that great Citie that reigned ouer the Kings of the earth*: by the Seate of the Empire pointing out the qualitie of the persons that should sit and domine there.

Reuel. 16. 12.

Verse 17.

Prou. 21. 1.

Verse 18.

Chap. 18. Then is the greatnesse of her fall, and the great lamentation that both the Kings and Merchants of the earth shall make for the same, proclaimed by an other Angel in the eighteenth Chapter. The *Kings* lamenting her fall, because they *liued in pleasure with her*; which no Kings could doe with *Ethnicke Rome*, who conquered them by her sword: for shee honoured them with Titles, and dispensed with their lustes and vnlawfull marriages. And the *Merchants of the earth, and all Shipmasters, and traffikers vpon the Sea*, shall lament the fall of that great Citie, which *neuer had a fellow*, for the losse of their riches and traffique, which they enioyed by her meanes. And there he describeth all sorts of *rich wares*, whereof that great Citie was the Staple: for indeed shee hath a necessary vse for all such rich and glorious wares, as well for ornaments to her Churches and princely Prelates, as for garments and ornaments to her woodden Saints; for the *blessed Virgin* must be dayly clothed and decked in the newest and most curious fashion, though it should resemble the habit of a *Curtizane*. And of all those rich wares, the most precious is last named, which is *the Soules of men*: for so much bestowed vpon Masses, and so much doted to this or that Cloyster of Monkes or Friers, but most of all now to that irregular and incomprehensible order of *Iesuites*; shal both redeeme *his* owne Soule, and all his parents to the hundreth generation, from broyling in the fire of *Purgatory*. And (I hope) it is no small merchandise of Soules, when men are so highly deluded by the hopes and promise of Saluation, as to make a Frier murther his [1] *Soueraigne*; a yong knaue attempt the murther of his next [2] *Successour*; many one to conspire and attempt the like against the late *Queene*; and in my time, to attempt the destruction of a whole *Kingdome* and *State* by a blast of Powder: and hereby to play bankerupt with both the soules mentioned in the Scriptures, *Animus & Anima*.

Chap. 18.

Verse 9. 10.

Verse 11, 15, 16, 17, 18.

Verse 12, 13.

Verse 13.

[1] Henry 3. K. of France.
[2] Henry 4.

But notwithstanding of this their great Lamentation, they are commanded by a voyce from heauen to doe two things: One, *to flee from Babylon, lest they bee partakers of her sinnes, and* consequently *of her punishment*.

Verse 4.

Which

Which warning I pray God that yee all, my *Beloued Brethren* and *Cousins*, would take heed vnto in time, humbly beseeching him to open your eyes for this purpose. The other command is, to *reward her as shee hath rewarded you; yea, euen to the double.* For as she did flie but with your feathers, borrowing as well her Titles of greatnesse and formes of honouring her from you, as also enioying all her Temporall liuing by your liberalities; so if euery man doe but take his owne againe, she will stand vp * naked; and the reason is giuen, because of her pride: For *shee glorifieth her selfe liuing in pleasure*, and *in her heart saith, shee sitteth as a Queene* (outward prosperitie being one of their notes of a trew Church) and is *no Widow*; for her Spouse CHRIST is bound to her by an inuiolable knot (for he hath sworne neuer to forsake her) *and she shall see no mourning*: for she cannot erre, nor the gates of Hell shall not preuaile against her. Verse 6. * *Cornicula Aesopica.* Verse 7.

But though the earth and worldly men lament thus for the fall of *Babylon* in this eighteenth Chapter, yet in the nineteenth, Heauen and all the Angels and Saints therein doe sing a triumphall *Cantique* for ioy of her fall; praising God for the fall of that *great Whore*: Great indeed, for our * Cardinall confesseth, that it is hard to describe what the Pope is, such is his greatnesse. And in the end of that Chapter is the obstinacie of that *Whore* described, who euen *fought* to the vttermost *against him* that *sate on the white Horse, and his armie*; till the *Beast* or *Antichrist* *was taken, and the false Prophet*, or false Church with him, who *by Miracles*, and *lying wonders deceiued them that receiued the marke of the Beast*, and *both were cast quicke into the burning lake of fire and brimstone*; *vnde nulla redemptio.* Like as in the ende of the former Chapter, to describe the fulnesse of the *Antichristes* fall (not like to that reparable wound that Ethnicke *Rome* gate) it is first compared to a *Milstone cast into the sea*, that can neuer rise and fleete againe: And next it is expressed by a number of ioyfull things that shall neuer bee heard there againe, where nothing shall inhabite but desolation. But that the patience and constancie of Saints on earth, and God his Elected may the better bee strengthened and confirmed; their persecution in the latter dayes, is shortly prophesied and repeated againe, after that *Satan hath beene bound*, or his furie restrained, by the worlds enioying of peace for a *thousand yeeres*, or a great indefinite time; their persecuters being named *Gog and Magog*, the secret and reuealed enemies of CHRIST. Whether this be meant of the Pope and the Turke, or not; (who both began to rise to their greatnesse about one time) I leaue to bee guessed; alwayes their vtter confusion is there assuredly promised: and it is said; that the *Dragon, the Beast*, and *the false Prophet*, shall all three bee *cast in that lake of fire and brimstone, to be tormented for euer.* And thereafter is the latter day described againe (*which must be hastened for the Elects sake*) and then for the further comfort of the Elect, and that they may the more constantly and patiently endure these temporall and finite troubles, limited but to a *short* space; in the last two Chapters are the ioyes of the eternall *Ierusalem* largely described. Cap. xix. Verse 1. Verse 2. * *Bellar. in Resp. ad Gerson. consid.* 11. Verse 19. Verse 20. Cap 18. 21. *Ibidem.* Vers. 22, 32. Cap. xx. Verse 2. Verse 8. Verse 9. Verse 10. Verse 11, 12, 13. Matth. 24. 22. Cap. xxj. xxij.

Thus hath the *Cardinals* shameleſſe wreſting of thoſe two places of Scripture, *Paſce oues meas*, and *Tibi dabo claues*, for prooving of the Popes ſupreame Temporall authoritie ouer Princes; animated mee to prooue the Pope to bee THE ANTICHRIST, out of this foreſaid booke of Scripture; ſo to pay him in his owne money againe. And this opinion no Pope can euer make me to recant; except they firſt renounce any further medling with Princes, in any thing belonging to their Temporall Iuriſdiction. And my onely wiſh ſhall bee, that if any man ſhall haue a fancie to refute this my coniecture of the *Antichriſt*; that hee anſwere mee orderly to euery point of my diſcourſe; not contenting him to diſprooue my opinion, except hee ſet downe ſome other Methode after his forme for interpretation of that Booke of the *Apocalyps*, which may not contradict no part of the Text, nor conteine no abſurdities: Otherwiſe, it is an eaſie thing for *Momus* to picke quarrels in another mans tale, and tell it worſe himſelfe; it being a more eaſie practiſe to finde faults, then amend them.

Hauing now made this digreſſion anent the *Antichriſt*, which I am ſure I can better faſten vpon the Pope, then *Bellarmine* can doe his pretended Temporall Superioritie ouer Kings: I will returne againe to ſpeake of this Anſwerer; who (as I haue already told you) ſo fitteth his matter with his manner of anſwering, that as his Style is nothing but a Satyre and heape full of iniurious and reprochfull ſpeaches, as well againſt my Perſon, as my Booke; ſo is his matter as full of lyes and falſities indeed, as hee vniuſtly layeth to my charge: For three lies hee maketh againſt the Oath of Alleagiance, conteined and maintained in my Booke; beſides that ordinary repeated lie againſt my Booke, of his omitting to anſwere my lyes, trattles, iniurious ſpeaches and blaſphemies. One groſſe lye he maketh euen of the Popes firſt *Breue*. One lye of the Puritanes, whom he would gladly haue to be of his partie. And one alſo of the Powder-Traitours, anent the occaſion that mooued them to vndertake that treaſonable practiſe. Three lies hee makes of that Acte of Parliament wherein this Oath of Alleagiance is conteined. Hee alſo maketh one notable lie againſt his owne Catholike Writers. And two, of the cauſes for which two *Ieſuites* haue beene put to death in *England*. And he either falſifies, denies or wreſts fiue ſundry Hiſtories and a printed Pamphlet: beſides that impudent lye that hee maketh of my Perſon; that I was a Puritane in *Scotland*, which I haue already refuted. And for the better filling vp of his booke with ſuch good ſtuffe; hee hath alſo fiue ſo ſtrange and new principles of Diuinitie therein, as they are either new, or at leaſt allowed by very few of his owne Religion. All which lyes, with diuers others, and fiue ſtrange, and (as I thinke) erroneous points of Doctrine, with ſundry falſifications of Hiſtories; are ſet downe in a Table by themſelues in the end of this my Epiſtle, hauing their Refutation annexed to euery one of them.

But as for the particular anſwering of his booke; it is both vnneceſſary

ſary and vncomely for me to make a Reply. Vnneceſſary, becauſe (as I haue already told you) my Booke is neuer yet anſwered, ſo farre as belongeth to the maine queſtion anent the Oath of Alleagiance: the picking of aduantages vpon the wrong placing of the figures in the citations, or ſuch errors in the Print by caſuall addition, or omiſſion of words that make nothing to the Argument; being the greateſt weapons wherewith hee aſſaults my Booke. And vncomely it muſt needs be (in my opinion) for a *King* to fall in altercation with a *Cardinal*, at leaſt with one no more nobly deſcended then he is: That Eccleſiaſticall dignitie, though by the ſloath of Princes (as I ſaid before) it be now come to that height of vſurped honour, yet being in the trew originall and foundation thereof nothing elſe, but the title of the Prieſts and Deacons of the Pariſh Churches in the towne of *Rome*; at the firſt, the ſtile of *Cardinals* being generally giuen to all Prieſts and Deacons of any Cathedral Church, though the multitude of ſuch *Cardinal* Prieſts and Deacons reſorting to *Rome*, was the cauſe that after bred the reſtraining of that title of *Cardinall* Prieſts and Deacons, onely to the Pariſh-prieſts and Deacons of *Rome*. And ſince that it is *S. Gregorie*, who in his Epiſtles ſixe hundreth yeeres after CHRIST, maketh the firſt mention of *Cardinals* (and ſo theſe now *Electours* of the Apoſtolike Sea, beeing long and many hundreth yeeres vnknowen or vnheard of, after the Apoſtolik aage; and yet doeth hee ſpeake of them but in this ſence as I haue now deſcribed) I hope the *Cardinall*, who calleth him the *Apoſtle* of *England*, cannot blame mee that am King thereof, to ackowledge the *Cardinall* in no other degree of honour, then our ſaid Apoſtle did. But how they ſhould now become to bee ſo ſtrangely exalted aboue their firſt originall inſtitution, that from Pariſh-prieſts and Deacons (Prieſts inferiours) they ſhould now come to bee Princes and Peeres to Kings; and from a degree vnder Biſhops (as both [1] *Bellarmine* and [2] *Onuphrius* confeſſe) to bee now the Popes ſole Electours, ſupplying with him the place of a Generall Councell; whereby the conuening of Generall Councels is now vtterly antiquated and aboliſhed; nay, out of their number onely, the Pope to be elected; who claimeth the abſolute Superioritie ouer all Kings: how this their ſtrange vſurped exaltation (I ſay) ſhould thus creepe in and bee ſuffered, it belongeth to all them in our place and calling to looke vnto it; who being GOD his Lieutenants in earth, haue good reaſon to bee iealous of ſuch vpſtart Princes, meane in their originall, come to that height by their owne creation, and now accounting themſelues Kings fellowes. But the ſpeciall harme they do vs, is by their defrauding vs of our common & Chriſtian intereſt in General Councels; they hauing (as I ſaid) vtterly aboliſhed the ſame, by rolling it vp, & making as it were a Monopoly thereof, in their Conclaue with the Pope. Whereas, if euer there were a poſſibilitie to be expected of reducing all Chriſtians to an vniformitie of Religiõ, it muſt come by the meanes of a Generall Councel: the place of their meeting being choſen ſo indifferent, as all Chriſtian Princes, either in their owne Perſons, or their Deputie

[1] *Lib. de Clericis, cap. 16.*
[2] *Lib. de Epiſcopatibus, Titulis & Diaconijs Cardinalium.*

Commissioners, and all Church-men of Christian profession that beleeue and professe all the ancient grounds of the trew, ancient, Catholike, and Apostolike Faith, might haue *tutum accessum* thereunto; All the incendiaries and Noueliſt fire-brands on either side being debarred from the same, as well *Iesuites* as *Puritanes*.

And therefore hauing resolued not to paine my selfe with making a Replie for these reasons heere specified, grounded as well vpon the consideration of the matter, as of the person of the Answerer; I haue thought good to content my selfe with the reprinting of my *Apologie*: hauing in a manner corrected nothing but the Copiers or Printers faults therein, and prefixed this my Epistle of Dedication and Warning thereunto; that I may yet see, if any thing will be iustly said against it: Not doubting but enow of my Subiects will replie vpon these Libellers, and answere them sufficiently; wishing YOV deepely to consider, and weigh your common interest in this Cause. For neither in all my *Apologie*, nor in his pretended Refutation thereof, is there any question made anent the Popes power ouer mee in particular, for the excommunicating or deposing of mee: For in my particular; the Cardinall doeth mee that grace, that hee saith, The Pope thought it not expedient at this time to excommunicate mee by name; our question being onely generall, Whether the Pope may lawfully pretend any temporall power ouer Kings, or no?

That no Church-men can by his rule bee subiect to any Temporall Prince, I haue already shewed you; And what Obedience any of you may looke for of any of them *de facto*, hee plainely forewarneth you of, by the example of *Gregory* the Great his obedience to the Emperour *Mauritius*: not being ashamed to slaunder that great Personages Christian humilitie and Obedience to the Emperour, with the title of a constrained and forced obedience, becauſe hee might, or durst doe no otherwise. Whereby he not onely wrongs the said *Gregory* in particular, but euen doeth by that meanes lay on an heauie slaunder and reproach vpon the Christian humilitie and patience of the whole Primitiue Church, especially in the time of persecution: if the whole glory of their Martyrdome and Christian patience shall bee thus blotted with that vile glosse of their coacted and constrained suffering, becauſe they could or durst doe no otherwise; like the patience and obedience of the Iewes or Turkish slaues in our time, cleane contrary to *Saint Paul* and *Saint Peters* doctrine of obedience for conscience sake; and as contrary to *Tertullians Apologie* for Christians, and all the protestations of the ancient Fathers in that case. But it was good lucke for the ancient Christians in the dayes of Ethnicke Emperours, that this prophane and new conceit was then vnknowen among them: otherwise they would haue beene vtterly destroyed and rooted out in that time, and no man to haue pitied them, as most dangerous members in a Common-wealth; who would no longer be obedient, then till they were furnished with sufficient abilitie and power to resist and rebell.

Rom.13.5. 1.Pet.2.13.

Thus

Thus may ye ſee, how vpon the one part our *Cardinall* will haue all Kings and Monarchs to bee the *Popes Vaſſals*; and yet will not on the other ſide, allow the meaneſt of the *Pope* his vaſſals, to be ſubiect to any Chriſtian Prince. But he not thinking it enough to make the *Pope* our Superior, hath in a late Treatiſe of his (called the *Recognition of his bookes of Controuerſies*) made the people and Subiects of euery one of vs, our Superiors. For hauing taken occaſion to reuiſite againe his bookes of Controuerſies, and to correct or explaine what he findeth amiſſe or miſtaketh in them; in imitation of S. *Auguſtine* his retractions (for ſo he ſaith in his *Preface*) he doth in place of retracting any of his former errours, or any matter of ſubſtance; not retract, but *recant* indeed, I meane ſing ouer againe, and obſtinatly confirme a number of the groſſeſt of them: Among the which, the exempting of all Church-men from ſubiection to any Temporall Prince, and the ſetting vp not onely of the *Pope*, but euen of the People aboue their naturall King; are two of his maine points.

As for the exemption of the Clerickes; he is ſo greedy there to proue that point, as he denieth *Cæſar* to haue beene *Pauls* lawfull Iudge: contrary to the expreſſe Text, and *Pauls* plaine Appellation, and acknowledging him his Iudge; beſides his many times claiming to the Roman priuiledges, and auowing himſelfe a Roman by freedome; and therefore of neceſſitie a Subiect to the Roman Emperour. But it is a wonder that theſe *Romane Catholikes*, who vaunt themſelues of the ancientie both of their doctrine and Church, and reproch vs ſo bitterly of our Nouelties, ſhould not be aſhamed to make ſuch a new inept gloſſe as this vpon S. *Pauls* Text; which as it is directly contrary to the Apoſtles wordes, ſo is it without any warrant, either of any ancient *Councell*, or of ſo much as any one particular *Father* that euer interprets that place in this ſort: Neither was it euer doubted by any Chriſtian in the Primitiue Church, that the Apoſtles, or any other degree of Chriſtians, were ſubiect to the Emperour. Acts.25.10. Actes 22.28.

And as for the ſetting vp of the People aboue their owne naturall King, he bringeth in that principle of Sedition, that he may thereby proue, that Kings haue not their power and authoritie immediatly from God, as the Pope hath his: For euery King (ſaith he) is made and choſen by his people; nay, they doe but ſo transferre their power in the Kings perſon, as they doe notwithſtanding retaine their habituall power in their owne hands, which vpon certaine occaſions they may actually take to themſelues againe. This, I am ſure, is an excellent ground in Diuinitie for all Rebels and rebellious people, who are hereby allowed to rebell againſt their Princes; and aſſume libertie vnto themſelues, when in their diſcretions they ſhall thinke it conuenient.

And amongſt his other Teſtimonies for probation, that all Kings are made and created by the People; he alledgeth the Creation of three Kings in the Scripture, *Saul*, *Dauid* and *Ieroboam*; and though hee bee compelled by the expreſſe words of the Text, to confeſſe, that God by his Prophet

Prophet *Samuel* annointed both [1] *Saul* and [2] *Dauid*; yet will he, by the poſt-conſent of the people, proue that thoſe Kings were not immediatly made by God, but mediatly by the people; though he repeat thriſe that word of *Lott*, by the caſting whereof he confeſſeth that *Saul* was choſen. And if the Election by *Lott* be not an immediate Election from God; then was not *Matthias*, who was ſo choſen and made an Apoſtle, immediatly choſen by GOD: and conſequenly, he that ſitteth in the Apoſtolike Sea cannot for ſhame claime to be immediatly choſen by God, if *Matthias* (that was one of the twelue Apoſtles, ſupplying *Iudas* his place) was not ſo choſen. But as it were a blaſphemous impietie, to doubt that *Matthias* was immediatly choſen by GOD, and yet was hee choſen by the caſting of Lots, as *Saul* was: ſo is it well enough knowen to ſome of you (my louing *Brethren*) by what holy Spirit or caſting of Lots the *Popes* vſe to be elected; the Colledge of *Cardinals*, his electors, hauing beene diuided in two mightie factions euer ſince long before my time; and in place of caſting of Lotts, great fat penſions beeing caſt into ſome of their greedy mouthes for the election of the *Pope*, according to the partiall humours of Princes. But I doe moſt of all wonder at the weakeneſſe of his memorie: for in this place he maketh the poſt-conſent of the people to be the thing that made both theſe Kings, notwithſtanding of their preceding inauguration and anoyntment by the Prophet at GODS commandement; forgetting that in the beginning of this ſame little booke of his, anſwering one that alledgeth a ſentence of S. *Cyprian*, to prooue that the Biſhops were iudged by the people in *Cyprians* time, he there confeſſeth, that by theſe words, the *conſent of the people* to the Biſhops Election muſt be onely vnderſtood. Nor will he there any wayes be mooued to graunt, that the peoples power, in conſenting to or refuſing the Election of a Biſhop, ſhould be ſo vnderſtood, as that thereby they haue *power to elect Biſhops*: And yet do theſe words of *Cyprian* ſeeme to bee farre ſtronger, for granting the peoples power to elect Churchmen, then any words that he alledgeth out of the Scripture are for the peoples power in electing a King. For the very words of *Cyprian* by himſelfe there cited, are, That *the very people haue principally the power, either to chuſe ſuch Prieſts as are worthy, or to refuſe ſuch as are vnworthie*: And, I hope, hee can neuer prooue by the Scripture, that it had beene lawfull to the people of Iſrael, or that it was left in their choiſe, to haue admitted or refuſed *Saul* or *Dauid* at their pleaſure, after that the Prophet had anoynted them, and perſented them vnto them.

Thus ye ſee how little he careth (euen in ſo little a volume) to contradict himſelfe, ſo it may make for his purpoſe; making the *conſent* of the people to ſignifie their *power of Election* in the making of Kings: though in the making of Biſhops, by the peoples *conſent*, their *approbation* of a deed done by others muſt onely be vnderſtood. And as for his example of *Ieroboams* election to bee King; hee knoweth well enough, that *Ieroboam* was made King in a popular mutinous tumult and rebellion; onely permitted

[1] 1.Sam.10.1
[2] 1.Sam.16. 12.13.

Actes 1.

Cyprian.lib. 1.Epiſt.4.

1 King.12.20.

permitted by God, and that in his wrath, both againſt theſe two Kings and their people. But if he will needs helpe himſelfe, againſt all rules of Diuinitie, with ſuch an extraordinary example for proofe of a generall Rule; why is it not as lawfull for vs Kings to oppoſe hereunto the example of *Iehu* his Inauguration to the Kingdome; who vpon the Prophets priuat anointment of him, and that in moſt ſecret manner, tooke preſently the Kings office vpon him, without euer crauing any ſort of approbation from the people? 2.King.9.2,3.

And thus may ye now clearely ſee, how deepe the claime of the Babylonian Monarch toucheth vs in all our common intereſt: for (as I haue already told) the *Pope*, nor any of his Vaſſals, I meane Church-men, muſt be ſubiect to no Kings nor Princes: and yet all Kings and their Vaſſals muſt not onely be ſubiect to the Pope, but euen to their owne people. And now, what a large libertie is by this doctrine left to Church-men, to hatch or foſter any treaſonable attempts againſt Princes; I leaue it to your conſiderations, ſince do what they will, they are accountable to none of vs: nay, all their treaſonable practiſes muſt be accounted workes of pietie, and they (being iuſtly puniſhed for the ſame) muſt be preſently inrolled in the liſt of Martyrs and Saints; like as our new printed Martyrologie hath put *Garnet* and *Ouldcorne* in the Regiſter of Engliſh *Martyrs* abroad, that were hanged at home for *Treaſon* againſt the Crowne and whole State of *England*: ſo as I may iuſtly with *Iſaiah*, pronounce a *Woe to them that ſpeake good of euill, and euill of good; which put light for darkeneſſe, and darkeneſſe for light; which iuſtifie the wicked for a reward, and take away the righteouſnes of the righteous from him.* Iſai 5.20. Verſe 23.

For euen as in the time of the greateſt blindneſſe in Popery, though a man ſhould find his wife or his daughter lying a bed in her Confeſſors armes; yet was it not lawfull for him ſo much as to ſuſpect that the Frier had any errand there, but to Confeſſe and inſtruct her: Euen ſo, though *Ieſuites* practiſing in Treaſon be ſufficiently verified, and that themſelues cannot but confeſſe it; yet muſt they be accounted to ſuffer *Martyrdome* for the Faith, and their blood worke miracles, and frame a *ſtramineum argumentum* vpon ſtrawes; when their heads are ſtanding aloft, withered by the Sunne and the winde, a publike ſpectacle for the eternall commemoration of their treacherie. Yea, one of the reaſons, that is giuen in the Printers Epiſtle of the *Colonian* edition of the Cardinall or his Chaplains pamphlet, why he doth the more willingly print it, is; becauſe that the innocencie of that moſt holy and conſtant man *Henry Garnet*, is declared and ſet forth in that booke; againſt whom, ſome (*he knew not who*) had ſcattered a falſe rumour of his guiltineſſe of the Engliſh treaſon.

But, Lord, what an impudencie or wilfull ignorance is this, that he, who was ſo publikely and ſolemnely conuicted and executed, vpon his owne ſo cleare, vnforced and often repeated confeſſion, of his knowledge and concealing of that horrible Treaſon, ſhould now be ſaid to haue a certaine rumor ſpred vpon him of his guiltineſſe, by *I know not who?* with ſo many attributes

attributes of godlineſſe, conſtancie and innocencie beſtowed vpon him, as if publike Sentences and Executions of Iuſtice, were rumors of *I know not who*. Indeed, I muſt confeſſe, the booke it ſelfe ſheweth a great affection to performe, what is thus promiſed in the Preface thereof: for in two or three places therein, is there moſt honorable lying mention made of that ſtraw-Saint; wherein, though he confeſſe that *Garnet* was vpon the foreknowledge of the Powder-Treaſon, yet in regard it was (as he ſaith) onely vnder the Seale of Confeſſion, he ſticketh not to praiſe him for his concealing thereof, and would gladly giue him the crowne of glory for the ſame: not being aſhamed to proclaime it as a principall head of Catholique doctrine; *That the ſecret of Sacramentall confeſsion ought not to be reuealed, not for the eſchewing of whatſoeuer euill.* But how damnable this doctrine is, and how dangerouſly preiudiciall to all Princes and States; I leaue it to you to iudge, whom all it moſt highly concerneth. For although it bee trew, that when the Schoolemen came to be Doctors in the Church, and to marre the old grounds in Diuinitie by ſowing in among them their Philoſophicall diſtinctions; though they (I ſay) do maintaine, That whatſoeuer thing is told a Confeſſor vnder the vaile of confeſſion, how dangerous ſoeuer the matter be, yet he is bound to conceale the parties name: yet doe none of them, I meane of the old Schoolemen, deny; that if a matter be reuealed vnto them, the concealing whereof may breed a great or publike danger; but that in that caſe the Confeſſor may diſcloſe the matter, though not the perſon, and by ſome indirect means make it come to light, that the danger thereof may be preuented. But that no treaſon nor deuiliſh plot, though it ſhould tend to the ruine or exterminion of a whole Kingdome, muſt be reuealed, if it be told vnder Confeſſion, no not the matter ſo farre indirectly diſcloſed, as may giue occaſion for preuenting the danger thereof: though it agree with the conceit of ſome three or foure new *Ieſuited* Doctors, it is ſuch a new and dangerous head of doctrine, as no King nor State can liue in ſecuritie where that Poſition is maintained.

And now, that I may as well prooue him a lyar *in facto*, in his narration of this particular Hiſtory; as I haue ſhewed him to be *in iure*, by this his damnable and falſe ground in Diuinity: I will trewly informe you of *Garnets* caſe, which is farre otherwiſe then this Anſwerer alleadgeth. For firſt, it can neuer be accounted a thing vnder Confeſſion, which he that reueals it doth not diſcouer with a remorſe, accounting it a ſinne whereof hee repenteth him; but by the contrary, diſcouers it as a good motion, and is therein not diſſuaded by his Confeſſor, nor any penance enioyned him for the ſame: and in this forme was this Treaſon reuealed to *Garnet*, as himſelfe confeſſed. And next, though he ſtood long vpon it, that it was reuealed vnto him vnder the vaile of Confeſſion, in reſpect it was done in that time, while as the partie was making his Confeſſion vnto him; Yet at the laſt hee did freely confeſſe, that the party reuealed it vnto him as they were walking, and not in the time of Confeſſion: But

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(he ſaid) he deliuered it vnto him vnder the greateſt Seale that might bee, and ſo he tooke that he meant by the Seale of Confeſſion; And it had (as he thought) a relation to Confeſſion, in regard that hee was that parties Confeſſor, and had taken his Confeſſion ſometimes before, and was to take it againe within few dayes thereafter. He alſo ſaid, that he pretended to the partie, that he would not conceale it from his Superior. And further it is to be noted, that he confeſſed, that two diuers perſons conferred with him anent this Treaſon; and that when the one of them which was *Catesby*, conferred with him thereupon, it was in the other parties preſence and hearing: and what a Confeſſion can this be in the hearing of a third perſon? And how farre his laſt words (whereof our Anſwerer ſo much vaunts him) did diſproue it to haue bene vnder Confeſſion, the Earle of Northamptons booke doeth beare witneſſe.

Now as to the other parties name, that reuealed the Powder-Treaſon vnto him, it was *Greenewell* the *Ieſuite*; and ſo a *Ieſuite* reuealed to a *Ieſuite* this Treaſonable plot, the *Ieſuite* reuealer not ſhewing any remorſe, and the *Ieſuite* whom-to it was reuealed not ſo much as enioyning him any penance for the ſame. And that ye may know that more *Ieſuits* were alſo vpon the partie, *Owldcorne* the other Powder-Martyr, after the miſgiuing and diſcouery of that Treaſon, preached conſolatory doctrine to his Catholique auditorie; exhorting them not to faint for the miſgiuing of this enterpriſe, nor to thinke the worſe thereof that it ſucceeded not; alleadging diuers Preſidents of ſuch godly enterpriſes that miſgaue in like maner: eſpecially, one of *S. Lewes* King of France, who in his ſecond iourney to the *Holy-land* died by the way, the greateſt part of his armie being deſtroyed by the plague; his firſt iourney hauing likewiſe miſgiuen him by the *Soldans* taking of him: exhorting them thereupon not to giue ouer, but ſtill to hope that GOD would bleſſe their enterpriſe at ſome other time, though this did faile.

Thus ſee ye now, with what boldneſſe and impudencie hee hath belied the publiquely knowne veritie in this errand; both in auowing generally that no *Ieſuite* was any wayes guiltie of that Treaſon, for ſo he affirmeth in his booke; and alſo that *Garnet* knew nothing thereof, but vnder the Seale of Confeſſion. But if this were the firſt lye of the affaires of this State, which my fugitiue Prieſts and Ieſuits haue coyned and ſpread abroad, I could charme them of it, as the prouerbe is. But as well the walles of diuers Monaſteries and *Ieſuites* Colledges abroad, are filled with the painting of ſuch lying Hiſtories, as alſo the bookes of our ſaid fugitiues are farced with ſuch ſort of ſhameleſſe ſtuffe; ſuch are the innumerable ſorts of torments and cruell deathes, that they record their Martyrs to haue ſuffred here; ſome torne at foure Horſes; ſome ſowed in Beares skinnes, and then killed with Dogges; nay, women haue not bene ſpared (they ſay) and a thouſand other ſtrange fictions; the vanities of all which I will in two words diſcouer vnto you.

Firſt,

First, as for the cause of their punishment, I doe constantly maintaine that which I haue said in my *Apologie*: That no man, either in my time, or in the late *Queenes*, euer died here for his conscience. For let him be neuer so deuout a Papist, nay, though he professe the same neuer so constantly, his life is in no danger by the Law, if hee breake not out into some outward acte expresly against the words of the Law; or plot not some vnlawfull or dangerous practise or attempt; Priests and Popish Church-men onely excepted, that receiue Orders beyond the Seas; who for the manifold treasonable practises that they haue kindled and plotted in this countrey, are discharged to come home againe vnder paine of Treason, after their receiuing of the said Orders abroad; and yet, without some other guilt in them then their bare home-comming, haue none of them bene euer put to death. And next, for the cruell torments and strange sorts of death that they say so many of them haue bene put vnto; if there were no more but the Law and continually obserued custome of England, these many hundred yeeres, in all criminall matters, it will sufficiently serue to refute all these monstrous lies: for no tortures are euer vsed here, but the Manacles or the Racke, and these neuer but in cases of high Treason; and all sorts of Traitours die but one maner of death here, whether they be Papist or Protestant Traitors; Queene *Maries* time onely excepted. For then indeede no sorts of cruell deathes were spared vnexecuted vpon men, women and children professing our Religion: yea, euen against the Lawes of God and Nature, women with childe were put to cruell death for their profession; and a liuing childe falling out of the mothers belly, was throwen in the same fire againe that consumed the mother. But these tyrannous persecutions were done by the Bishops of that time, vnder the warrant of the Popes authoritie; and therefore were not subiect to that constant order and formes of execution, which as they are heere established by our Lawes and customes, so are they accordingly obserued in the punishment of all criminals: For all Priestes and Popish Traitours here receiue their Iudgements in the temporall Courts, and so doe neuer exceed those formes of execution which are prescribed by the Law, or approued by continuall custome. One thing is also to bee marked in this case that strangers are neuer called in question here for their religion, which is farre otherwise (I hope) in any place where the *Inquisition* domines.

But hauing now too much wearied you with this long discourse, whereby I haue made you plainely see, that the wrong done vnto mee in particular first by the *Popes Breues*, and then by these Libellers, doth as deepely interest you all in generall, that are *Kings*, free *Princes*, or *States* as it doth me in particular: I will now conclude, with my humble prayers to God, that he will waken vs vp all out of that Lethargike slumber of Securitie, wherein our Predecessors and wee haue lien so long; and that wee may first grauely consider, what we are bound in conscience to doe for the

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planting and ſpreading of the trew worſhip of God, according to his reuealed will, in all our Dominions; therein hearing the voice of our onely Paſtor (*for his Sheepe will know his Voyce*, as himſelfe ſayeth) and not following the vaine, corrupt and changeable traditions of men. And next, that we may prouidently looke to the ſecuritie of our owne States, and not ſuffer this incroching *Babylonian Monarch* to winne ſtill ground vpon vs. And if GOD hath ſo mercifully dealt with vs, that are his Lieutenants vpon earth, as that he hath ioyned his cauſe with our intereſt, the ſpirituall libertie of the Goſpell with our temporall freedome: with what zeale and courage may wee then imbrace this worke: for our labours herein being aſſured, to receiue at the laſt the eternall and ineſtimable reward of felicitie in the kingdome of Heauen; and in the meane time to procure vnto our ſelues a temporall ſecuritie, in our temporall Kingdomes in this world. Iohn 10.27.

As for ſo many of you as are alreadie perſwaded of that Trewth which I profeſſe, though differing among your ſelues in ſome particular points; I thinke little perſwaſion ſhould moue you to this holy and wiſe Reſolution: Our Greatneſſe, nor our number, praiſed bee GOD, being not ſo contemptible, but that wee may ſhew good example to our neighbors; ſince almoſt the halfe of all Chriſtian people and of all ſorts and degrees, are of our profeſſion; I meane, all gone out of *Babylon*, euen from Kings and free Princes, to the meaneſt ſort of People. But aboue all (my louing *Brethren* and *Coſins*) keepe faſt the vnity of Faith among your ſelues; Reiect [1] queſtions of Genealogies and [2] *Aniles fabulas*, as *Paul* ſaith; Let not the fooliſh heate of your Preachers for idle Controuerſies or indifferent things, teare aſunder that Myſticall Body, whereof ye are a part, ſince the very coat of him whoſe members wee are was without a ſeame: And let not our diuiſion breed a ſlander of our faith, and be a word of reproch in the mouthes of our aduerſaries, who make *Vnitie* to be one of the ſpeciall notes of the trew Church.

[1] 1. Tim. 1. 4.
[2] Ibid c. 4. 7.

And as for you (my louing *Brethren* and *Coſins*) whom it hath not yet pleaſed GOD to illuminate with the light of his trewth; I can but humbly pray with *Elizeus*, that it would pleaſe GOD to open your eyes, that yee might ſee what innumerable and inuincible armies of Angels are euer prepared and ready to defend the trewth of GOD: and with *S. Paul* I wiſh, that ye were as I am in this caſe; eſpecially that yee would ſearch the Scriptures, and ground your Faith vpon your owne certaine knowledge, and not vpon the report of others; ſince euery *Man muſt bee ſafe by his owne faith*. But, leauing this to GOD his mercifull prouidence in his due time, I haue good reaſon to remember you, to maintaine the ancient liberties of your Crownes and Common-wealthes, not ſuffering any vnder GOD to ſet himſelfe vp aboue you; and therein to imitate your owne noble *predeceſſors*, who (euen in the dayes of greateſt blindneſſe) did diuers times courageouſly oppoſe themſelues to the incroaching ambition of Popes. Yea, Actes. 26. 29. Abac. 2. 4.

ſome of your Kingdomes haue in all aages maintained, and without any interruption enioyed your libertie, againſt the moſt ambitious Popes. And ſome haue of very late had an euident proofe of the Popes ambitious aſpiring ouer your Temporall power; wherein ye haue conſtantly maintained and defended your lawfull freedome, to your immortall honour. And therefore I heartily wiſh you all, to doe in this caſe the Office of godly and iuſt Kings and earthly Iudges: which conſiſteth not onely in not wronging or inuading the Liberties of any other perſon (for to that will I neuer preſſe to perſwade you) but alſo in defending and maintaining theſe lawfull Liberties wherewith GOD hath indued you: For yee, whom GOD hath ordained to protect your people from iniuries, ſhould be aſhamed to ſuffer your ſelues to be wronged by any. And thus, aſſuring my ſelfe, that ye will with a ſetled Iudgement, free of preiudice, weigh the reaſons of this my *Diſcourſe*, and accept my plainneſſe in good part, gracing this my *Apologie* with your fauours, and yet no longer then till it ſhall be iuſtly and worthily refuted; I end, with my earneſt prayers to the ALMIGHTIE for your proſperities, and that after your happie Temporall Raignes in earth, ye may liue and raigne in Heauen with him for euer.

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A CATALOGVE OF THE LYES OF *TORTVS*, TOGETHER WITH A BRIEFE Confutation of them.

TORTVS. Edit. Politan. pag. 9.

IN the Oath of Allegiance the Popes power to excommunicate euen Hereticall Kings, is expreſly denied.

CONFVTATION.

The point touching the Popes power in excommunicating Kings, is neither treated of, nor defined in the Oath of Allegiance, but was purpoſely declined. See the *wordes of the Oath*, and the *Præmonition. pag.* 292.

TORTVS. pag. 10.

2 *For all Catholike writers doe collect from the wordes of Chriſt*, Whatſoeuer thou ſhalt looſe vpon earth, ſhall be looſed in heauen, *that there appertaineth to the Popes authoritie, not onely a power to abſolue from ſinnes, but alſo from penalties, Cenſures, Lawes, Vowes, and Oathes.*

CONFVTATION.

That all Roman-Catholike writers doe not concurre with this Libeller, in thus collecting from CHRIST'S wordes, *Matth.* 16. To omit other reaſons, it may appeare by this that many of them doe write, that what CHRIST promiſed *there*, that hee did actually exhibite to his Diſciples, *Iohn* 20. when hee ſaid, *Whoſe ſinnes ye remit, they ſhall be remitted*, thereby reſtraining this power of looſing formerly promiſed, vnto looſing from ſinnes, not mentioning any abſolution from Lawes, Vowes and Oathes in this place. So doe *Theophylact, Anſelme, Hugo Cardin. & Ferus in Matt.* 16. So doe the principall Schoolemen, *Alexand. Hales in Summa. part.* 4. *q.* 79. *memb.* 5. *& 6. art.* 3. *Thom. in* 4. *diſt.* 24. *q.* 3. *art.* 2. *Scotus in* 4. *diſt.* 19. *art.* 1. Pope

Hadrian.6.in 4.diſt. q.2. de clauib.pag.302.edit.Pariſien. anno 1530. who alſo alleadgeth for this interpretation, *Auguſtine* and the *interlinear Gloſſe.*

TORTVS. Pag.18.

3 *I abhorre all Parricide, I deteſt all conſpiracies: yet it cannot be denied but occaſions of deſpaire were giuen* [*to the Powder-plotters.*]

CONFVTATION.

That it was not any iuſt occaſion of deſpaire giuen to the Powder-Traitours, as this Libeller would beare vs in hand, but the inſtructions which they had from the Ieſuits, that cauſed them to attempt this bloody deſigne: See the *Premonition, pag.*291. & 335. and the booke intituled, *The proceedings againſt the late Traitours.*

TORTVS. Pap.26.

4 *For not onely the Catholiques, but alſo the Caluiniſt puritanes deteſt the taking of this Oath.*

CONFVTATION.

The Puritanes doe not decline the Oath of Supremacie, but daily doe take it, neither euer refuſed it. And the ſame Supremacie is defended by *Caluin* himſelfe, *Inſtit. lib.*4. *cap.* 20.

TORTVS. Pag.28.

5 *Firſt of all the Pope writeth not, that he was grieued at the calamities which the Catholikes did ſuffer for the keeping of the Orthodox faith in the time of the late Queene, or in the beginning of King* Iames *his reigne in England, but for the calamities which they ſuffer at this preſent time.*

CONFVTATION.

The onely recitall of the wordes of the Breue will ſufficiently confute this Lye. For thus writeth the Pope, *The tribulations and calamities which ye haue continually ſuſteined for the keeping of the Catholique faith, haue alway afflicted vs with great griefe of minde. But foraſmuch as we vnderſtand, that at this time all things are more grieuous, our affliction hereby is wonderfully increaſed.*

TORTVS. Pag.28.

6 *In the firſt article* [*of the Statute*] *the Lawes of Queene* Elizabeth *are confirmed.*

CONFVTATION.

There is no mention at all made of confirming the Lawes of Queene *Elizabeth*, in the firſt article of that Statute.

TORTVS. Pag.29.

7 *In the* 10. *Article* [*of the ſaid Statute*] *it is added, that if the* [*Catholicks*] *refuſe the third time to take the Oath being tendered vnto them, they ſhall incurre the danger of looſing their liues.*

CON-

CONFVTATION.

There is no mention in this whole Statute either of offering the Oath the third time, or any indangering of their liues.

TORTVS. Pag. 30.

8 *In the 12. Article, it is enacted, that whosoeuer goeth out of the land to serue in the warres vnder forreine Princes, they shall first of all take this Oath, or els be accounted for Traitours.*

CONFVTATION.

It is no where said in that Statute, that they which shall thus serue in the warres vnder forraine Princes, before they haue taken this Oath, shall be accounted for Traitors, but onely for Felons.

TORTVS. Pag. 35.

9 *Wee haue already declared, that the* [Popes] *Apostolique power in binding and loosing is denied in that* [*Oath of Alleageance.*]

CONFVTATION.

There is no Assertory sentence in that Oath, nor any word but onely conditionall, touching the power of the Pope in binding and loosing.

TORTVS. Pag. 37.

10 *The* Popes *themselues, euen will they, nill they, were constrained to subiect themselues to* Nero *and* Diocletian.

CONFVTATION.

That Christians without exception, not vpon constraint but willingly and for conscience sake, did subiect themselues to the Ethnicke Emperors, it may appeare by our *Apologie, pag.* 255, 256. and the *Apologetickes* of the ancient Fathers.

TORTVS. Pag. 47.

11 *In which words* [*of the* Breues *of* Clement the 8.] *not onely* Iames *King of Scotland, was not excluded, but included rather.*

CONFVTATION.

If the *Breues* [of *Clement*] did not exclude mee from the Kingdome, but rather did include me, why did *Garnet* burne them? why would he not reserue them that I might haue seene them, that so hee might haue obteined more fauour at my hands for him and his Catholikes?

TORTVS. Pag. 60.

12 *Of those* 14. *Articles* [*conteined in the Oath of Alleagiance*] *eleuen of them concerne the Primacie of the Pope in matters Spirituall.*

CONFVTATION.

No one Article of that Oath doeth meddle with the *Primacie* of the *Pope* in matter Spirituall: for to what end should that haue bene, since we haue an expresse Oath elsewhere against the *Popes Primacie* in matters Spirituall?

TORTVS. Pag.64.

13 *Amongſt other calumnies this is mentioned, that* Bellarmine *was priuie to ſundry conſpiracies againſt* Q. Elizabeth, *if not the author.*

CONFVTATION.

It is no where ſaid [in the *Apologie*] that *Bellarmine* was either the Authour, or priuie to any conſpiracies againſt Queene *Elizabeth*; but that he was their principall inſtructer and teacher, who corrupted their iudgement with ſuch dangerous poſitions and principles, that it was an eaſie matter to reduce the generals into particulars, and to apply the dictates which hee gaue out of his chaire, as opporunitie ſerued, to their ſeuerall deſignes.

TORTVS. Pag.64.

14 *For he* [Bellarmine] *knoweth, that* Campian *onely conſpired againſt Hereticall impietie.*

CONFVTATION.

That the trew and proper cauſe of *Campians* execution, was not for his conſpiring againſt Hereticall impietie, but for conſpiring againſt Queene *Elizabeth* and the State of this Kingdome, it was moſt euident hy the iudiciall proceedings againſt him.

TORTVS. Pag.65.

15 *Why was* H. Garnet, *a man incomparable for learning in all kindes, and holineſſe of life, put to death, but becauſe he would not reueale that which he could not doe with a ſafe conſcience.*

CONFVTATION.

That *Garnet* came to the knowledge of this horrible Plot not onely in confeſſion as this Libeller would haue it, but by other meanes, neither by the relation of one alone, but by diuers, ſo as hee might with ſafe conſcience haue diſcloſed it; See the *Premonition*, *pag.*334, 335, &c. and the Earle of *Northamptons* booke.

TORTVS. Pag.71.

16 *Pope* Sixtus 5. *neither commanded the French King to bee murthered, neither approoued that fact, as it was done by a priuate perſon.*

CONFVTATION.

The falſehood of this doeth eaſily appeare by the Oration of *Sixtus* 5.

TORTVS. Pag.91.

17 *That which is added concerning* Stanley *his Treaſon, is neither faithfully nor trewly related: for the Apologer* (*as his maner is*) *doeth miſerably depraue it, by adding many lyes.*

CONFVTATION.

That which the *Apologie* relateth concerning *Stanley* his Treaſon, is word for word recited out of Cardinall *Allens* Apologie for *Stanleys* treaſon: as it is to be ſeene there.

TOR-

TORTVS. Pag.93.

18 *It is very certaine that* H. Garnet *at his arraignement, did alwayes constantly auouch, that neither hee nor any Iesuite either were authors, or compartners, or aduisers, or consenting any way* [*to the Powder-Treason.*] And a little after. *The same thing hee protested at his death in a large speach, in the presence of innumerable people.*

CONFVTATION.

The booke of the proceedings against the late Traitours, and our *Premonition, pag.* 334,335, &c. doe clearely prooue the contrary of this to bee trew.

TORTVS. Pag.97.

19 *King* Iames *since he is no Catholike, neither is he a Christian.*

CONFVTATION.

Contrary: I am a trew Catholike, a professor of the trewly ancient, Catholike, and Apostolike Faith: and therefore am a trew Christian. See the confession of my faith in the *Premonition, pag.* 302.303, &c.

TORTVS. Pag.98.

20 *And if the reports of them which knew him most inwardly, be trew, when hee was in Scotland, he was a Puritane, and an enemie to Protestants: Now in England he professeth himselfe a Protestant, and an enemie to the Puritans.*

CONFVTATION.

Contrary; and what a Puritane I was in *Scotland*: See my ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ and this my *Premonition, pag.* 305,306.

HIS FALSIFICATIONS IN HIS ALLEDGING OF HISTORIES,

together with a briefe declaration of their falshood

THE WORDS OF TORTVS. Pag.70.

1 IT *was certaine that he* [Henry 4. *the Emperour*] *died a naturall death.*

CONFVTATION.

It was not certaine: since sundry Historians write otherwise, that he died vpō his imprisonment by his sonne *Henry* 5. either with the noysomnesse and loathsomnesse of the prison, or being pined to death by hunger. Read *Fasciculus temporum* at the yeere 1094. *Laziardus epitom. vniuersal. Histor. c.* 198. *Paulus Langius in Chronico Citizensi* at the yeere 1105. and *Iacobus Wimphelingus epitome Rerum Germanic. c.*28.

TOR-

TORTVS. Pag.83.

2 Henry 4. *The Emperour feared indeed, but not any corporall death, but the censure of Excommunication, from the which that he might procure absolution, of his owne accord, he did thus demissely humble himselfe* [*before* Gregory 7.]

CONFVTATION.

That *Henry* 4. thus deiected himselfe before the Pope, it was neither of his owne accord, neither vpon any feare of the Popes Excommunication, which [in this particular] hee esteemed of no force, but vpon feare of the losse of his Kingdome and life, as the records of antiquitie doe euidently testifie. See *Lambertus Schafnaburg.* at the yeere 1077. *Abbas Vrspergen.* at the yeere 1075. The Author of the life of *Henry* 4. *Bruno* in his History of the Saxon warre. *Laziard. in epitom. vniuersal. Histor. c.* 193. *Cuspinian. in Henr.* 4. *Sigonius de Regno Italiæ lib.* 9.

TORTVS. Pag.83.

3 *The trewth of the History* [*of* Alexander 3. *treading vpon the necke of* Frederick Barbarossa *with his foot*] *may be iustly doubted of.*

CONFVTATION.

But no Historian doubteth of it; and many do auouch it, as *Hieronym. Bard. in victor. Naual. ex Bessarion. Chronico apud Baron. ad an.* 1177. *num.* 5. *Gerson de potestate Ecclesiæ consid.* 11. *Iacob Bergom. in supplem. Chronic. ad an.* 1160. *Nauclerus Gener.* 40. *Petrus Iustinian. lib.* 2. *Rerum Venetar. Papirius Masson. lib.* 5. *de Episcop. vrbis.* who alledgeth for this *Gennadius* Patriarch of *Constantinople.* Besides *Alphonsus Ciacconius de vit. Pontif. in Alexand.* 3. and *Azorius* the Iesuite: *Instit. Moral. part. lib.* 5. *c.* 43.

TORTVS. Pag.83.

4 What other thing feared *Frederick Barbarossa* but excommunication?

CONFVTATION.

That *Frederick* feared onely Pope *Alexander* his Excommunication, no ancient Historian doth testifie. But many do write, that this submission of his was principally for feare of loosing his Empire and Dominions. See for this, *Martin Polon. ad an.* 1166. *Platina in vita Alexan.* 3. *Laziard. in epitom. Historiæ vniuersal. c.* 212. *Naucler. Generat* 40. *Iacobus Wimphelingus in epitom. Rerum Germanic. c.* 32.

TORTVS. Pag.88.

5 *Adde heereunto, that* Cuspinian. [*in relating the history of the Turkes brother who was poysoned by* Alexander 6.] *hath not the consent of other writers to witnesse the trewth of this History.*

CONFVTATION.

The same History, which is reported by *Cuspinian*, is recorded also by sundry other famous Historians. See *Francis Guicciardin. lib.* 2. *Histor. Ital. Paulus Iouius lib.* 2. *Hist. sui temporis. Sabellic. Ennead.* 10. *lib.* 9. *Continuator Palmerij*, at the yeere. 1494.

THE.

THE NOVEL DOCTRINES,
WITH A BRIEFE DECLARATION
of their Noueltie.

NOVEL DOCTRINE. Pag. 9.

1 *IT is agreed vpon amongst* all, *that the Pope may lawfully depose Hereticall Princes, and free their Subiects from yeelding obedience vnto them.*

CONFVTATION.

Nay, *all* are so farre from consenting in this point, that it may much more trewly be auouched, that *none* entertained that conceit before *Hildebrand*: since he was the first brocher of this new doctrine neuer before heard of, as many learned men of that aage, and the aage next following (to omit others of succeeding aages) haue expresly testified. See for this point, the Epistle of the whole Clergie of *Liege* to Pope *Paschal* the second. See the iudgement of many Bishops of those times, recorded by *Auentine* in his historie, *lib.5. fol.579.* Also the speech vttered by *Conrade* bishop of *Vtretcht*, in the said fifth booke of *Auentine, fol.582.* And another by *Eberhardus*, Archbishop of *Saltzburge. Ibid.lib.7.p.684.* Also the iudgement of the Archbishop of *Triers, in constitut. Imperialib. à M. Haimensfeldio editis pag.47.* The Epistle of Walthram Bishop of *Megburgh* which is extant in *Dodechine* his Appendix to the Chronicle of *Marianus Scotus*, at the yeere 1090. *Benno* in the life of *Hildebrand.* The author of the booke *De vnitate Ecclesiæ*, or *the Apologie* for *Henry* the fourth. *Sigebert* in his Chronicle, at the yeere 1088. *Godfrey* of *Viterbio* in his History entituled *Pantheon, part.17. Ottho Frisingensis, lib.6. c.35. & præfat. in lib.7. Frederick Barbarossa. lib.6. Gunther. Ligurin. de gestis Frederici.* and *lib.1. c.10.* of *Raduicus de gestis eiusdem Frederici. Vincentius in speculo historiali lib.15. c.84.* with sundry others.

NOVEL DOCTRINE. Pag. 51.

2 *In our supernaturall birth in Baptisme wee are to conceiue of a secret and implied oath, which we take at our new birth, to yeeld obedience to the spirituall Prince, which is Christes Vicar.*

CONFVTATION.

It is to bee wondred at, whence this fellow had this strange new Diuinitie, which surely was first framed in his owne fantasticall braine. Else let him make vs a Catalogue of his Authors, that hold and teach, that all Christians, whether infants or of aage, are by vertue of an oath taken in their Baptisme, bound to yeeld absolute obedience to CHRISTS Vicar the Pope, or baptized in any but in CHRIST.

NOVEL

NOVEL DOCTRINE. Pag.94.

3 *But since that Catholike doctrine doth not permit for the auoidance of any mischiefe whatsoeuer, to discouer the secret of Sacramentall confession, he* [Garnet] *rather chose to suffer most bitter death, then to violate the seale of so great a Sacrament.*

CONFVTATION.

That the secret of Sacramentall confession is by no meanes to bee disclosed, no not indirectly, or in generall, so the person confessing bee concealed, for auoydance and preuention of no mischiefe, how great soeuer: Besides that it is a position most dangerous to all Princes and Commonwealths, as I shew in my *Præmonition, pag.*333,334. It is also a Nouell Assertion, not heard of till of late dayes in the Christian world: Since the common opinion euen of the Schoolemen and Canonists both old and new, is vnto the contrary; witnesse these Authors following: *Alexander Hales part.*4.*qu.*78.*mem.*2.*art.*2. *Thom.*4.*dist.*21.*qu.*3.*art.* 1.*ad* 1. *Scotus in* 4.*dist.*21.*qu.*2. *Hadrian.* 6.*in* 4.*dist. vbi de Sacramen. Confes. edit. Paris.* 1530. *pag.*289. *Dominic. Sot. in* 4.*dist.*18.*q.*4.*art.*5. *Francis. de victor. summ. de Sacram. n.*189. *Nauar. in Enchirid. c.* 8. *Ioseph. Angles in Florib. part.*1. *pag.*247. *edit. Antuerp. Petrus Soto lect.* 11. *de confess.* The Iesuites also accord hereunto, *Suarez. Tom.*4.*disp. in* 3.*part. Thom. disp.*33.§3. *Gregor. de Valentia. Tom.*4.*disp.*7.*q.*13. *punct.*3. who saith the common opinion of the Schoolemen is so.

NOVEL DOCTRINE. Pag.102.

4 *I dare boldly auow, that the Catholikes haue better reason to refuse the Oath* [*of Allegeance*] *then* Eleazar *had to refuse the eating of Swines flesh.*

CONFVTATION.

This assertion implieth a strange doctrine indeede, that the Popes *Breues* are to be preferred before Moses Law: And that Papists are more bound to obey the Popes decree, then the Iewes were to obey the Law of God pronounced by Moses.

NOVEL DOCTRINE. Pag.135.

5 *Churchmen are exempted from the Iurisdiction of secular Princes, and therefore are no subiects to Kings: yet ought they to obserue their Lawes concerning matters temporall, not by vertue of any Law, but by enforcement of reason, that is to say, not for that they are their Subiects, but because reason will giue it, that such Lawes are to be kept for the publike good, and the quiet of the Common-wealth.*

CONFVTATION.

How trew friends the Cardinall and his Chaplen are to Kings that would haue so many Subiects exempted from their power: See my *Præmonition, Pag.*296,297. Also, Pag,330.331.&c. But as for this and the like new *Aphorismes*, I would haue these cunning Merchants to cease to vent such stuffe for ancient and Catholike wares in the Christian world, till they haue disprooued their owne *Venetians*, who charge them with Noueltie and forgerie in this point.

* * *

A DE-

A DECLARATION CONCERNING THE PROCEEDINGS WITH THE STATES GENERALL, OF THE VNITED PROVINCES OF THE LOW COVNTREYS,

In the cause of D. CONRADVS VORSTIVS.

TO

TO THE HONOVR OF OVR LORD AND SAVIOVR *IESVS CHRIST*,

THE ETERNALL SONNE
OF THE ETERNALL
FATHER,

THE ONELY ΘΕΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΣ,
MEDIATOVR, AND RECONCILER
OF MANKIND,

IN SIGNE OF THANKFVLNES,

HIS MOST HVMBLE, AND
MOST OBLIGED SERVANT,
IAMES BY THE GRACE OF GOD,
KING OF GREAT BRITAINE,
FRANCE AND IRELAND,
Defender of the FAITH,

Doeth DEDICATE, and CONSECRATE
this his DECLARATION.

That

That it is one of the principall parts of that duetie which appertaines vnto a Chriſtian King, to protect the trew Church within his owne Dominions, and to extirpate hereſies, is a Maxime without all controuerſie; in which reſpect thoſe honourable Titles of *Cuſtos & Vindex vtriuſque Tabulæ, Keeper and Auenger of both the Tables of the Law*, and *Nutritius Eccleſiæ, Nurſing Father of the Church*, do rightly belong vnto euery Emperour, King, and Chriſtian Monarch. But what intereſt a Chriſtian King may iuſtly pretend to meddle *in alienâ Repub. within another State or Common wealth* in matters of this nature (where Strangers are not allowed to be too curious) is the point in queſtion, and whereof we meane at this time to treate.

For our zeale to the glory of God, being the onely motiue that induced vs (as he who is the ſearcher of the heart and reines can witneſſe) to make ſundry Inſtances and Requeſts vnto the States Generall of the *Vnited Prouinces*, for the baniſhment of a wretched *Heretique*, or rather *Athieſt*, out of their Dominions, named D. *Conradus Vorſtius*, hath bene ſo ill interpreted, or rather wreſted to a peruerſe ſence, by a ſort of people, whoſe corrupted ſtomacke turnes all good nouriſhment into bad and pernitious humors, (as if it had bene ſome vanitie and deſire of vaine glory in vs, or elſe an Ambition to encroach by little and little vpon the libertie of their State, which had caried vs headlong into the buſineſſe) As both to cleare our owne honour from the darke miſts of theſe falſe and ſcandalous imputations, as alſo to make it trewly appeare vnto the Chriſtian world, in what ſort wee haue proceeded herein; Wee haue thought good to publiſh this preſent Declaration, containing as well the diſcourſe of our whole Negotiation hitherto with the States in this cauſe, as alſo the reaſons which haue mooued vs to take it ſo to heart, and to perſeuere therein as we haue done, and will doe (God willing) vntill it pleaſe him, to bring it to ſome good and happy end.

In Autumne laſt, about the end of Auguſt, being in our hunting Progreſſe, there came to our hands two bookes of the ſaid *Vorſtius*, the one intituled *Tractatus Theologicus de Deo*, dedicated to the Lantgraue of *Heſ-*

sen, imprinted in the yeere 1610. the other his *Exegesis Apologetica* vpon that booke, dedicated to the States, and printed in the yeere 1611. Which books, assoone as we had receiued, and (not without much horror and detestation) cast our eye onely vpon some of the principall Articles of his disputations conteined in the first booke, and his Commentary thereupon in the second, God is our witnesse, that the zeale of his glory did so transport vs, as (to say with S. *Paul*) We stayed not one houre, but dispatched a Letter presently to our Ambassadour resident with the States, to this purpose following.

TRustie and welbeloued, &c. *You shall repaire to the* States Generall, *with all possible diligence in our name, telling them, that wee doubt not, but that their Ambassadours which were with vs about two yeeres since, did informe them of a forewarning, that we wished the said Ambassadours to make vnto them in our name, to beware in time, of seditious and hereticall Preachers, and not to suffer any such to creepe into their State. Our principall meaning was of* Arminius, *who though himselfe were lately dead, yet had hee left too many of his disciples behinde him. Now according to that care which wee continually haue of the weale of their State, wee haue thought good to send vnto them a new aduertisement vpon the like occasion, which is this: That there is lately come to our handes a piece of worke of one* Vorstius, *a Diuine in those parts, wherein hee hath published such monstrous blasphemie and horrible Atheisme, as out of the care that a Christian Prince, and Defender of the Faith, (as we haue euer bene) ought to haue of the good of the Church, wee hold not onely such a scandalous booke worthy to bee burnt, but euen the Authour himselfe to bee most seuerely punished. This notwithstanding wee are informed, that the States are so farre from beeing sensible of so great a scandall to the Church, as that the most part of them haue already yeelded him their free consents and voyces, for the obteining of the place of Diuinitie Reader in the Vniuersitie of* Leyden, *which the aboue-named* Arminius *of little better stuffe, lately enioyed: and though himselfe be dead, hath left his sting yet liuing among them. Hauing therefore vnderstood, that the time of Election will be about Michaelmas next, and holding our selues bound in honour and conscience, as a Christian Prince, and one who hath vouchsafed the States our Royall fauour and support in respect of their Religion, to preuent so great a mischiefe so farre as we are able: Wee will and require you to let them vnderstand, how infinitely wee shall bee displeased if such a Monster receiue aduancement in the Church. And if it bee alleadged, that hee hath recanted his Atheisticall opinions, and that thereupon he may be capable of the place, you shall tell them, that wee thinke his Recantation so slender a satisfaction for so fowle an offence, as that wee hold him rather worthy of punishment, or at least to be debarred from all promotion: Wherein though wee*

*Wee assure our selfe, that they will of their owne discretions eschew such a viper, who may make a fearefull rent not onely in their Ecclesiasticall, but also in their Politique State, yet notwithstanding all this, if they will continue their resolution to preferre him, you shall then make a protestation to them in our name, That wee will not faile to make knowen to the world publikely in print, how much wee detest such abominable Heresies, and all allowers and tolerators of them: And because the States shall know vpon what reasons we haue grounded this our Admonition, you shall receiue herewith a * Catalogue of his damnable Positions, of which no one page of the booke is free.*

Giuen vnder our Signet, &c.

* *This Catalogue is here purposely omitted for auoyding a needlesse repetition, seeing the principall points thereof are conteined in a little Collection annexed at the end of our second letter written to* Wynwood.

For obseruing, that so prodigious a Monster began to liue among them, We could do no lesse (considering the infinite obligations which wee owe vnto God) then to make Our zeale appeare against such an enemie to the Essence of the Deity. Besides, the charitie, which Wee beare to the said States Our neighbors and Confederates, professing the same Religion that we do, did enforce Vs to admonish them, to eschew and preuent in time so dangerous a contagion, which dispersing it selfe, might infect, not onely the bodie of their State, but all Christendome also; the danger whereof was so much greater to our Dominions then to many others, by how much the *Prouinces* of the said States are neerer vnto Vs in their situation.

Our Ambassadour therefore hauing sufficiently acquitted himselfe of that which Wee gaue him in charge, by exhorting them in Our Name, timely to preuent the danger which might ensue by enterteyning such a guest as VORSTIVS, (which at that time they might easily haue done, seeing he was not yet setled at *Leyden*, neither was he lodged in the house appointed for the publique Reader, nor were his wife and family yet arriued, and therefore much more easie for them to haue rid him out of their countrey, sending him backe to the place from whence he came, according to the old Prouerbe,

Turpiùs eijcitur, quàm non admittitur hospes.

It is more honest to refuse a guest, then when you haue once receiued him, to thrust him out of doores.) Yet notwithstanding all the diligence that Our Ambassadour could vse, and the oportunity which at that time was offered them to discharge him, all the answere he could procure from them, was but this, that,

Whereas a Proposition was made on the behalfe of his Maiestie of Great Britaine, *in the assembly of the Lords States Generall of the* Vnited Prouinces *by Sir* Ralph Winwood *his Maiesties Ambassadour and Councellour in the* Councel *of* State *in those countreys, exhibited in writing the* 21. *of the moneth precedent (the substance thereof being first amply debated by the Deputies of the States of* Holland *and* West-Frizeland, *and thereupon mature deliberation had) The said*

Lords States Generall in anſwere to the ſaid Propoſition, haue moſt humbly requeſted, and by theſe preſents doe humbly requeſt his Maieſtie to beleeue, that as, for preſeruation of the libertie, rights and priuiledges of the Low-Countreys, againſt the vniuſt, tyrannicall and bloody courſes contrary thereunto, practiſed for many yeeres vpon the conſciences, bodies and fortunes of the good Inhabitants of all qualities of thoſe Countreys by the Spaniards and their Adherents, they haue bene conſtrained after a long patience, many Remonſtrances, Requeſts and other ſubmiſſiue proceedings vſed in vaine, to take armes for their neceſſary defence, (when they ſaw no other remedy,) as alſo to craue the aſſiſtance of his Maieſtie particularly, and of other Kings, Princes and Common wealths, by whoſe fauor, but principally by his Maieſties, they haue ſince continually ſuſteined for many yeeres, with an exceeding great conſtancie and moderation as well in proſperitie as in aduerſity, a heauie, chargeable and bloody warre, many terrible and cruell encounters, notable Battailes both by land and ſea, matchleſſe Sieges of a number of Townes, Ruines, and deuaſtation of Cities and Countreys, and other difficulties incident to the warre: So doe their Lordſhips alwayes confeſſe, that in ſpecie the chiefe and principall reaſon which hath moued them at firſt to entertaine, and ſince to maintaine the ſaid reſolution, hath beene the foreſaid tyrannie exerciſed vpon the conſciences, bodies, and goods of their people, by introduction of the Inquiſition and conſtraint in matter of Religion: For which reſpects their Obligation to his Maieſtie is greatly increaſed, in that after ſo many demonſtrations of affection, fauours, and aſſiſtances in the purſuite of their iuſt cauſe, his Maieſtie is yet pleaſed, like a louing Father, to aſſure vnto them the continuance of the ſame Royall affection and aſſiſtance, by taking care that the trew Chriſtian reformed Religion bee purely and ſincerely taught within their Countreys, aſwell in Churches as in Schooles; For which the Lords States Generall doe moſt humbly thanke his Maieſtie, and will for their parts by all lawfull meanes, endeuour ſo to ſecond his ſincere and Chriſtian intention in this particular, as his Maieſtie ſhall receiue all good contentment.

As concerning the buſineſſe of Doct. Vorſtius, principally handled in the foreſaid Propoſition, the Lords States Generall (to make the matter more plaine) haue informed themſelues, Firſt that the Curators of the Vniuerſitie of Leyden (according to their duetie, and the ancient cuſtome euer ſince the foundation of that Vniuerſitie,) hauing diligently made inquirie for ſome Doctor to bee choſen into the place of Diuinitie Profeſſor there, at that time voyd, after mature deliberation were giuen to vnderſtand, that at Steinford within the Dominions of the Counts of Tecklenbourg, Bentem, &c. (who were of the firſt Counts that in Germanie had caſt off the yoke of the Papacie, Idolatrie, and impure religion, and imbraced the reformed Religion, which to this day they maintaine) there did remaine one Doct. Conradus Vorſtius, who had continued in that place about fifteene yeeres a Profeſſor of trew Religion, and a Miniſter; and that the ſaide Conradus Vorſtius for his learning and other good parts was much ſought after by Prince Maurice, Lantgraue of Heſſen, with intent to make him Diuinitie Profeſſor in ſome Vniuerſitie of his Countrey. Moreouer, that hee had ſufficiently, and to the great contentment, euen of thoſe that are now become his greateſt aduerſaries, ſhewed with a Chriſtian moderation his learning and puritie

ritie in the holy knowledge of Diuinity, against the renowned Iesuite Bellarmine: And that the sayd Conradus Vorstius was thereupon sent for by the Curators aforesayde, about the beginning of Iuly, 1610. which message beeing seconded by letters of recommendation from his Excellencie, and from the deputy Councelors for the States of Holland and Westfrizeland, vnto the sayd Counts of Tecklenburg, did accordingly take effect. In the moneth of August following, the said Election and Calling was countermined by certaine persons, to whose office or disposition the businesse did nothing at all belong: which being perceiued, and the sayd Vorstius charged with some vnsoundnesse of doctrine, the Curators did thereupon thinke fit, with the good liking of Vorstius himselfe, that as well in the Vniuersitie of Leyden, as at the Hage, he should appeare in his owne iustification to answere all accusers and accusations whatsoeuer. At which time there was not any one that did offer to charge him. In the moneth of May following, sixe Ministers did vndertake to prooue, that VORSTIVS had published false and vnsound doctrine, who afterward beeing heard in full assembly of the States of Holland and Westfrizeland, (in the presence of the Curators, and sixe other Ministers) on the one part, and Vorstius in his owne defence on the other part; and that which could bee said on either side to the seuerall points in their seuerall refutations respectiuely: The said Lords States hauing grauely deliberated vpon the allegations as well of the one part as of the other, as also heard the opinions of the said Ministers (after the maner and custome of the sayd assembly) could not see any reason, why the execution of that which was done by the Curators lawfully, and according to order, ought to bee hindred or impeached. In August following there being sent ouer hither certaine other Articles, wherewith Vorstius was charged, and dispersed in little printed Pamphlets amongst the people, the sayd Lords States entred into a new consultation, and there resolued, that Vorstius (according both to Gods Law, the Law of Nature, and the law written; as also according to the laudable vse and customes of their country,) should be heard against his new accusers, concerning those Articles there layed to his charge. And moreouer, it was generally declared by the States of Holland and Westfrizeland there assembled, (as euery one of them likewise in his owne particular, and the Curators and Bourgmasters of Leyden for their parts did specially declare:) That there was neuer any intention to permit other Religion to bee taught in the Vniuersity of Leyden, then the Christian Religion reformed and grounded vpon the word of God: And besides, that if the sayd Vorstius should bee found guilty in any of the aforesayd points whereof hee was accused, that they would not admit him to the place of Professour. The Deputies of the sayd Lords States of Holland and Westfrizeland further declaring, that they doe assuredly beleeue, that if his Maiesty of Great Britaine were well informed of the trew circumstances of this businesse, and of their sincere intention therein, hee would (according to his high wisedome, prudence, and benignitie) conceiue fauourably of them, and their proceedings: whereof the Lords States Generall are no lesse confident; and the rather, for that the said Deputies haue assured them, that the Lords States of Holland and Westfrizeland their Superiors would proceede in this businesse (as in all others) with all due reuerence, care, and respect vnto his Maiesties serious admonition, as becommeth them.

And the Lords States Generall, doe request the said Lord Ambassadour to recommend this their Answere vnto his Maiestie with fauour.

Giuen at the Hage, in the Assembly of the said Lords States Generall.
1. *October.* 1611.

BVt before wee had receiued this answere from the States, some of *Vorstius* books were brought ouer into *England*, and (as it was reported) not without the knowledge and direction of the Authour. And about the same time one *Bertius*, a scholler of the late *Arminius*, (who was the first in our aage that infected *Leyden* with Heresie) was so impudent, as to send a Letter vnto the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with a Booke intituled, *De Apostasia Sanctorum*. And not thinking it sufficient to auow the sending of such a booke, (the title whereof onely, were enough to make it worthy the fire) hee was moreouer so shameless, as to maintaine in his Letter to the Archbishop, that the doctrine conteined in his booke, was agreeable with the doctrine of the Church of *England*. Let the Church of CHRIST then iudge, whether it was not high time for vs to bestirre our selues, when as this Gangrene had not onely taken holde amongst our neerest neighbours; so as *Non solùm paries proximus iam ardebat*: not onely the next house was on fire, but did also begin to creepe into the bowels of our owne Kindome; For which cause hauing first giuen order, that the said bookes of *Vorstius* should be publikely burnt, as well in *Pauls* Church-yard, as in both the Vniuersities of this Kingdome, wee thought good to renew our former request vnto the States, for the banishment of *Vorstius*, by a Letter which wee caused our Ambassadour to deliuer vnto them from vs at their Assembly in the *Hage*, the fifth of Nouember; whereunto they had referred vs in their former answere, the tenor of which Letter was as followeth:

HIgh and mightie Lords, *Hauing vnderstood by your answere to that Proposition which was made vnto you in our name by our Ambassadour there resident, That at your Assembly to bee holden in Nouember next, you are resolued then to giue order concerning the businesse of that wretched* D. Vorstius, *Wee haue thought good (notwithstanding the declaration which our Ambassadour hath already made vnto you in our name touching that particular,) to put you againe in remembrance thereof by this Letter, and thereby freely to discharge our selues, both in point of our duetie to wards God, and of that sincere friendship which wee beare towards you.*

First We assure Our selues that you are sufficiently perswaded that no worldly respect could moue Vs to haue thus importuned you in an affaire of this nature, being drawen into it onely through Our zeale to the glory of God, and the care which Wee haue that all occasion of such great scandals as this is, vnto the trew reformed Church of

of God, might bee in due time foreseene and preuented. Wee are therefore to let you vnderstand, that Wee doe not a little wonder, that you haue not onely sought to prouide an habitation in so eminent a place amongst you, for such a corrupted person as this Vorstius is, but that you haue also afforded him your license and protection to print that Apologie which he hath dedicated vnto you; A booke wherein he doeth most impudently maintaine the execrable blasphemies, which in his former hee had disgorged; The which wee are now able to affirme out of our owne knowledge, hauing since that Letter which wee wrote vnto our Ambassadour, read ouer and ouer againe with our owne eyes (not without extreme mislike and horrour) both his bookes, the first dedicated to the Lantgraue of Hessen, and the other to you. We had well hoped, that the corrupt seed which that enemie of God Arminius did sowe amongst you some few yeeres since (whose disciples and followers are yet too bold and frequent within your Dominions) had giuen you a sufficient warning, afterwards to take heed of such infected persons, seeing your owne Countrey men already diuided into Factions vpon this occasion, a matter so opposite to vnitie (which is indeed the onely prop and safetie of your State next vnder God) as of necessitie it must by little and little bring you to vtter ruine, if wisely you doe not prouide against it, and that in time.

It is trew that it was Our hard hap not to heare of this Arminius before he was dead, and that all the Reformed Churches of Germanie had with open mouth complained of him. But assoone as Wee vnderstood of that distraction in your State, which after his death he left behind him, We did not faile (taking the opportunitie when your last extraordinary Ambassadors were here with Vs) to vse some such speeches vnto them concerning this matter, as We thought fittest for the good of your State, and which we doubt not but they haue faithfully reported vnto you; For what need We make any question of the arrogancie of these Heretiques, or rather Atheisticall Sectaries amongst you, when one of them at this present remaining in your towne of Leyden, hath not onely presumed to publish of late a blasphemous Booke of the Apostasie of the Saints, but hath besides beene so impudent, as to send the other day a copie thereof, as a goodly present, to Our Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, together with a letter, wherein he is not ashamed (as also in his Booke) to lie so grossely, as to auowe, that his Heresies conteined in the said Booke, are agreeable with the Religion and profession of Our Church of England. For these respects therefore haue Wee cause enough very heartily to request you, to roote out with speed those Heresies and Schismes, which are beginning to bud foorth amongst you, which if you suffer to haue the reines any longer, you cannot expect any other issue thereof, then the curse of God, infamy throughout all the reformed Churches, and a perpetuall rent and distraction in the whole body of your State. But if peraduenture this wretched Vorstius should denie or equiuocate vpon those blasphemous poynts of Heresie and Atheisme, which already hee hath broached, that perhaps may mooue you to spare his person, and not cause him to bee burned (which neuer any Heretique better deserued, and wherein we will leaue him to your owne Christian wisedome) but to suffer him vpon any defence or abnegation, which hee shall offer to make, still to continue and to teach amongst you, is a thing so abominable, as we assure our selues it will not once enter into any of your thoughts: For admit hee would proue himselfe innocent (which neuertheless

theleſſe he cannot doe) in moſt of thoſe points wherewith hee is charged; yet were it but the ſcandall of his perſon, which will ſtill remaine, it were cauſe more then enough for you to remooue him out of your Dominions. You know what is written of Cæſars wife, that it was not ſufficient for her to be innocent, but ſhe muſt alſo bee free from all occaſion of ſuſpicion: how much more then ought you to bee warie and cautious in a matter of ſo great importance as this, which concerneth the glory of God, the ſaluation of your ſoules, the ſoules of your people, and the ſafetie of your State; and not to ſuffer ſo dangerous a ſparke to lie kindling amongſt you? For a man may eaſily coniecture, that feare and the horrour of his owne actions will make him boldly denie that poyſon which boyleth at his heart: For what will not hee denie, that denieth the Eternitie and Omnipotencie of God? And howbeit hee were innocent (as we haue ſaid before) the Church of God is not ſo ill furniſhed with men of ſufficiencie for that place, as that you need bee vnprouided of ſome other, who ſhall not be ſubiect to that ſcandall, wherewith hee is ſo tainted, as it muſt bee a long penance, and many yeeres of probation, that muſt weare it away. But eſpecially ought you to bee very carefull, not to hazard the corruption of your youth in ſo famous an Vniuerſitie by the doctrine of ſo ſcandalous a perſon, who (it is to bee feared) when hee findeth himſelfe once well ſetled there, will returne againe to his ancient vomite.

We will therefore conclude with this requeſt vnto you, that you will aſſure your ſelues, that the affection onely which wee beare vnto your State, hath enforced vs to vſe this libertie towards you, not doubting for our part, but that, as this which wee haue written vnto you proceedes from the ſinceritie of our conſcience, ſo our good God will bee pleaſed to giue you a due apprehenſion thereof, and that your reſolution in a matter of ſo great conſequence, may tend to his glory, to your owne honour and ſafetie, to the extirpation of theſe ſpringing Atheiſmes and Hereſies, and to the ſatisfaction, not onely of vs, but of all the reformed Churches, who haue bene hitherto extremely ſcandalized therewith: But if on the contrary part, we faile of that wee expect at your hands (which God forbid) and that you ſuffer hereafter ſuch peſtilent Heretiques to neſtle among you, who dare take vpon them that licentious libertie, to fetch againe from Hell the ancient Hereſies long ſince condemned, or elſe to inuent new of their owne braine, contrary to the beliefe of the trew Catholike Church, wee ſhall then bee conſtrained (to our great griefe) publikely to proteſt againſt theſe abominations: and (as God hath honoured vs with the Title of Defender of the Faith) not onely to depart and ſeparate our ſelues from the vnion of ſuch falſe and heretical Churches, but alſo to exhort all other reformed Churches to ioyne with vs in a common Councel, how to extinguiſh and remand to hell theſe abominable Hereſies, that now newly begin to put foorth againe. And furthermore for our owne particular, we ſhall be enforced ſtrictly to inhibite the youth of our Dominions from repairing to ſo infected a place, as is the Vniuerſitie of Leyden. Sed meliora ſperamus & ominamur, We hope and expect for better, aſſuring our ſelues in the mercie of our good God, that as he hath a long time preſerued you from your temporall enemies, and at this time is beginning to eſtabliſh your Eſtate to the contentment of all your friends, (but eſpecially to ours, who haue neuer beene wanting to aſſiſt you vpon all occaſions) that the ſame God will not leaue you for a prey to your ſpirituall aduerſaries, who

Who gape at nothing but your vtter destruction. And in this confidence wee will recommend you and the prosperitie of your affaires to the protection of God, remaining as we haue euer beene,

Your good friend IAMES R.

Giuen at our Pallace of Westminster the 6. of October. 1611.

Wee writ likewise at the same time, another Letter to our Ambassadour, for his direction in the whole businesse; the Copie whereof is this which followeth:

TRustie and welbeloued. *Perceiuing by the States their answere to your Proposition deliuered to them in our name, concerning the matter of* Vorstius, *that they haue taken time for their proceeding with him; and hauing some reason to thinke that his fauourers amongst them are stronger then were to bee wished, Wee haue thought good to renew our Admonition vnto them in this matter, by a Letter of our owne, written at good length, and in earnest maner, which you shall heerewith receiue, and at the time of their meeting for this purpose, present vnto them in our name: Insisting with them with all the earnestnesse you can, both for the remooving of this blasphemous Monster, as also that they may now at least take some such solid order, as this licentious libertie of disputing or arguing such vnprofitable questions (whereby new opinions may bee dayly set abroach against the grounds of Diuinitie) may hereafter bee restrained as well at* Leyden, *as in all the rest of their Dominions. And for the better strengthening of this motion, wee doe herewith send you a Note of some of the most speciall Atheisticall points, wherewith his booke is full farced. But if contrary to our expectation, all our labour cannot moone them to giue satisfaction, not to vs, but to the whole Church of God in this case; Then are you (if no better may be) to renew our Protestation vnto them, which wee sent you in our former Letter, assuring them, that our first labour shall be to publish to the world their defection from the Faith, and trew Church of Christ: Wee meane the defection of them, whom they maintaine and harbour in their bosomes: though wee purposely omitted this point in our Letter vnto them for being too harsh, except all other remedies were desperate. But we both wish and hope for better.*

Theobaldes. 6. October. 1611.

BVt before our Ambassadour had opportunitie to deliuer our Letter to the States, there were not onely certaine people more cunning then zealous, who caused a rumour to bee spread amongst the States, that we were become exceeding cold in the businesse, nay that wee had almost quite giuen it ouer; but also in the meane time, the said *Vorstius* was setled at *Leyden*, lodged in the qualitie of a publike Reader, and his wife,

wife, & his familie there arriued, as he himselfe witnesseth in his Booke called *Christiana, & modesta respõsio.* For his own words in his preface are these, *Quum igitur Diuinâ vocatione sic ferente in eâ vrbe ac Prouinciâ sedem fixerim, cunq; domo totâ nunc habitem, quæ supremam in terrâ iurisdictionem vestram agnoscit, &c.* That is to say, Since therefore (God so disposing of me,) I haue setled my selfe, and with my whole family do now inhabite in that City and prouince, which acknowledgeth your supreme authority on earth, &c. Our Ambassador therefore hauing on the one side consideration of that false report which was spred abroad of our coldnes in the busines, and on the other side obseruing how *Vorstius* was established at *Leyden* after our first Admonition and request made vnto the *States*, but before their Assembly on the fift of Nouember, hee then resolued first to present vnto them our Letter, making likewise himselfe a remonstrance to the same purpose, which We haue here set downe, together with an extract of certaine passages, collected out of the said Bookes of *Vorstius*, which We sent vnto our Ambassadour, and was by him then shewed vnto the *States*, that they might discerne the Lyon by his pawe.

MY Lords: *If euer the King of* Great Britaine *my Master hath merited any thing of this State, (and how much he hath merited in respect of his great fauours, and Royall assistances, your Lordships acknowledging them with all gratitude can best witnesse, and best iudge) he hath surely merited at this present hauing by his Letters full of zeale and pietie, which he hath written vnto you, endeuoured to procure the establishment of that Religion onely within your Prouinces, which the Reformed Churches of* Great Britaine, France *and* Germanie, *by a mutuall consent, haue generally embraced. For what is it to his Maiestie, whether* D. Vorstius *be admitted Professor in the Vniuersitie of* Leyden, *or not? or whether the doctrine of* Arminius *bee preached in your Churches? sauing that as a Christian Prince, he desires the aduancement of the Gospel, and as your best friend and allye, the strengthening of your Commonwealth, whose first foundations were cymented with the blood of his subiects, and which in his iudgement can no way subsist, if wittingly and willingly you suffer the Reformed Religion to be either by the practises of your Doctors sophisticated, or by their malice depraued.*

If therefore Religion be as it were the Palladium *of your Common wealth, and that to preserue the one in her glory and perfection, bee to maintaine the other in her puritie, let your selues then be iudge, in how great a danger the State must needs bee at this present, so long as you permit the Schismes of* Arminius *to haue such vogue as now they haue in the principall Townes of* Holland, *and if you suffer* Vorstius *to be receiued Diuinitie Professour in the* Vniuersitie *of* Leyden *(the Seminarie of your Church) who in scorne of the* Holy word of GOD, *hath after his owne fancie, deuised a new Sect, patched together of seuerall pieces of all sorts of ancient and moderne Heresies.* The foole said in his heart, There is no God: *but hee that with open mouth, of set purpose, and of prepensed malice, hath let his penne runne at randome, to disgorge so many blasphemies against the* Sacred Maiestie of GOD, *this*

this fellow shall weare the garland of all that euer yet were heard of, since by the meanes of the Gospel, the light of Christian Religion hath shined vnto the world. If any man doubt of it, for a proofe, see here what his Maiestie with his owne hand hath collected out of his writings.

Out Of His Annotations.

CÆterùm, nihil vetat Deo etiam corpus ascribere, si vocabulum corporis in significatione latiore sumamus. Pag.210.

But there is nothing forbids vs to say, that God hath a Body, so as we take a body in the largest signification.

Non satis igitur circumspectè loquuntur, qui Deum vt essentiâ, sic etiam voluntate prorsus immutabilem esse affirmant. Pag.212.

They therefore doe not speake circumspectly enough, who say, that God is altogether as vnchangeable in his will, as he is in his essence.

Nusquam scriptum legimus Dei substantiam simpliciter immensam esse, immò non pauca sunt, quæ contrarium sensum habere videntur. Pag.232.

We finde it no where written, That the substance of God is simply immense: nay, there are many places, which seeme to cary a contrary meaning.

Magnitudo nulla actu infinita est: ergo nec Deus. Pag.237.

No Magnitude is actually infinite, and therefore God is not actually infinite.

Et sanè si omnia, & singula rerum euenta, præcisè & ab æterno definita fuissent, nihil opus esset continua rerum inspectione, & procuratione, quæ tamen Deo passim tribuitur. Pag.308.

And surely, if all and euery euent of things were precisely set downe, and from eternitie, there needed not then that continuall inspection and procuration, which neuertheless is euery where attributed vnto God.

Pleniùs tamen respondere videntur, qui certam quidem in genere vniuersalem Dei scientiam esse docent; Sed ita tamen, vt plures certitudinis causas in visione præsentium, ac præteritorum, quàm in visione futurorum contingentium agnoscant. Pag.441.

They therefore, who teach that there is in God a certaine vniuersall knowledge *in genere*, doe seeme to answere more fully; but so as they doe confesse likewise that there bee more causes of certaintie in the vision of things present, then in the vision of things future contingent.

Omnia etiam decreta quæ semel apud se præcisè definiuit, vno modo & actu, post factam definitionem accuratissimè nouit: sed de alijs omnibus, & singulis, quæcunque sunt & fiunt, seorsim, & per se consideratis, hoc affirmari non potest; quippe quæ non modò Pag.271.

modò succesſiuè in tempore, verumetiam contingenter, & ſæpe conditionaliter exiſtunt.

All things which GOD hath once decreed, and preciſely determined, *vno modo & actu*, he doth after ſuch his determination exactly know them: But this cannot be affirmed of all and euery other thing, which are, or come to paſſe, being conſidered ſeuerally and by themſelues, becauſe they haue their exiſtence, not onely ſucceſſiuely in time, but alſo contingently, and oftentimes conditionally.

OVT OF HIS APOLOGIE.

Pag 38. *PAter peculiarem quandam entitatem, ſeu quaſi limitatam, & reſtrictam eſſentiam habere putandus eſt.*

It is to be vnderſtood that the Father hath a certaine peculiar being, or as it were a limitted and bounded eſſence.

Pag.43. *Vnde porrò non difficulter efficitur, etiam interna quædam accidentia in Deo, hoc eſt, in ipſâ (vt ſic dicere liceat) proæreticâ Dei mente, ac voluntate, reuerâ exiſtere.*

From whence it is eaſily prooued, that there are really certaine internall accidents in God, that is to ſay, (if it be lawfull to vſe ſuch a word) in the very fore-electing minde and will of God.

In the 16. Chapter, he doeth dangerouſly diſſent from the receiued opinion of Diuines, concerning the Vbiquitie of Gods preſence.

In the 19. Chapter, pag. 99. he doth attribute vnto God, Magnitude and Quantitie.

Theſe are in part the opinions of that great Diuine, whom they haue choſen to domineere in the Chaire at Leyden: *In oppoſition whereunto, I meane not to ſay any thing elſe, then that which the Romane Oratour did once pronounce in the like caſe:* Mala eſt & impia conſuetudo contrà Deum diſputandi, ſiuè ſeriò id fit, ſiuè ſimulatè: « *It is an euill and a wicked cuſtome* (ſaith hee) *to diſpute againſt* « *God, whether it be in earneſt, or in ieſt.*

Now my Lords, I addreſſe my ſelfe vnto your Lordſhips, and according vnto the charge which I haue receiued from the King my Maſter, I coniure you by the amitie that is betwixt his Kingdomes and your Prouinces, (the which on his part will continue alwayes inuiolable) to awaken your ſpirits, and to haue a carefull eye at this Aſſembly of Holland, (*which is already begunne*) ne quid Reſpublica detrimenti « capiat, *That the Common wealth take no harme: which vndoubtedly, at one time or other, will be turned vpſide downe, if you ſuffer ſuch a dangerous contagion to harbour ſo neere you, and not remoue it out of your Prouinces aſſoone as poſsibly you may. The diſciples of* Socinus (*with whoſe doctrine he hath bene ſuckled in his childhood*) doe

doe seeke him for their Master, and are ready to embrace him. Let him goe, hee is a Bird of their owne feather: Et dignum sanè patellâ operculum; A couer fit for such a dish.

On the other side, the Students in Diuinitie at Leyden to the number of 56. by a duetiful Remonstrance presented vnto the States of Holland the 16. of October the last yeere, did most humbly beseech the said States, not to vse their authoritie in compelling them to receiue a Professor, who both by the attestations of the Diuinitie Colledges at Basil and Heydelberg, as also by manifest euidence out of his owne writings, is conuinced of an infinite number of Heresies.

These reasons therefore, namely, the proofes of so many enormous and horrible Heresies maintained in his Bookes, the instance of his Maiestie grounded vpon the welfare and honour of this Countrey, the requests either of all, or of the most part of your Prouinces, the petitions of all the Ministers (excepting those onely which are of Arminius Sect) should me thinkes preuaile so farre with my Lords the States of Holland, and (we hope) will so farre preuaile, as they will at the last apply themselues to the performance of that, which both the sinceritie of Religion, and the seruice of their Countrey requireth at their hands. Furthermore, I haue commandement from his Maiestie to mooue you in his Name, to set downe some certaine Reglement in matters of Religion throughout your Prouinces, that this licentious freedome of disputation, may by that meanes be restrained, which breeds nothing but Factions, and part-taking; and that you would absolutely take away the libertie of Prophecying, which Vorstius doeth so much recommend vnto you in the dedicatorie Epistle of his Anti-Bellarmine, the Booke whereof his Patrons doe boast so much.

To conclude, his Maiestie doeth exhort you, seeing you haue heretofore taken Armes for the libertie of your consciences, and haue so much endured in a violent and bloody warre, the space of fourtie yeeres, for the profession of the Gospel, that now hauing gotten the vpper hand of your miseries, you would not suffer the followers of Arminius, to make your actions an example for them to proclaime throughout the world, that wicked doctrine of the Apostasie of the Saints.

To bee short, the account which his Maiestie doeth make of your amitie appeares sufficiently by the Treaties which hee hath made with your Lordships, by the succours which your Prouinces haue receiued from his crownes, by the deluge of blood, which his subiects haue spent in your warres. Religion is the onely sowder of this Amitie: For his Maiestie being, by the Grace of GOD, Defender of the Faith, (by which Title hee doeth more value himselfe, then by the Title of King of Great Britaine) doeth hold himselfe obliged to defend all those, who professe the same Faith and Religion with him. But if once your zeale begin to grow colde therein, his Maiestie will then straightwayes imagine, that your friendship towards him and his subiects will likewise freeze by little and little. Thus much I had in charge to adde vnto that which his Maiestie in his owne letters hath written vnto you. You may bee pleased to consider of it, as the importance of the cause doeth require, and to resolue thereupon, that which your Wisedomes shall thinke fittest for the honour and seruice of your Countrey.

But our Ambassadour hauing, after a delay for the space of diuers

weekes, receiued this cold and ambiguous answere vnto our Letter and Proposition, that is to say, That, *The Lords States Generall hauing seriously deliberated vpon the Proposition which was made vnto them by our Ambassadour the fift of Nouember, as also vpon our Letters of the sixt of October deliuered vnto them at the same time, did very humbly giue vs thankes for the continuance of our Royall affection toward the welfare of their Countreys, and the preseruation of the trew reformed Christian Religion therein; And that the said States Generall, as also the States of* Holland *and* Westfrizeland *in their seuerall assemblies respectiuely, hauing entred into consultation (with all due reuerence and regard vnto vs) concerning those Articles wherewith* Doctor Conradus Vorstius *was charged, the Curators of the Vniuersitie of* Leyden *did thereupon take occasion to make an order prouisionall, that the said* Vorstius *should not bee admitted to the exercise of his place, which was accordingly performed; So as vpon the matter, hee was then in the Citie of* Leyden, *but as an inhabitant or Citizen. And that in case the said* Vorstius *should not bee able to cleare himselfe from those accusations which were layd to his charge, before, or in the next Assembly of the States of* Holland *and* Westfrizeland (*which was to bee holden in February following*) *the Lords States Generall did then assure themselues, that the States of* Holland *and* Westfrizeland *would decide the matter with good contentment. And therefore forasmuch as at that time there could be no more done in the cause, without great inconuenience and distaste to the principall Townes of the said Prouinces, our Ambassadour was required to recommend thus much in the best manner he could vnto vs, and with the most aduantage to the seruice of their Countrey.*

Vpon the coldnesse therefore of this Answere, (which hee feared would giue vs no satisfaction) hee thought it was now high time to consider what the last remedy might bee, whereof vse was to bee made for the aduancement of this businesse: and perceiuing that hee had already performed all the rest of our commandements, excepting onely to Protest in case of refusall, and esteeming such a cold answere, accompanied with so many delayes, to be no lesse in effect then an absolute refusall, hee thereupon resolued to make this Protestation in their publique assemblie, which hereafter followeth.

MY Lords; *The Historiographers, who haue diligently looked into the Antiquities of* France, *doe obserue, that the Aduocates there in times past, were accustomed to begin their pleadings with some Latine Sentence taken out of the holy Scriptures: I shall at this time follow their example, and my Sentence shall be this*: Si peccauerit in te frater tuus, argue eum inter te & ipsum solum; si audiuerit te, lucratus es fratrem tuum; si non audiuerit te, adhibe vnum atque alterum, vt in ore duorum vel trium stet omne verbum: si non audiuerit eos, dic Ecclesiæ. *If thy brother trespasse against thee, goe and tell him his fault betweene him and thee alone; if he heare thee, thou hast wonne thy brother; but if hee heare thee not, take yet with thee one or two, that by the mouth of two or three*

three witnesses euery word may bee confirmed: and if hee refuse to heare them, tell it vnto the Church.

There is not any one of you (as I suppose) in this Assemblie, that will not acknowledge the brotherly loue wherewith the King my Master hath alwayes affected the good of your Prouinces, and the fatherly care which hee hath euer had to procure the establishment of your State. In which respect, his Maiestie hauing vnderstood, that my Lords the States of Holland were determined to call vnto the place of Diuinitie Professour in the Vniuersitie of Leyden, one Doctor Conradus Vorstius, a person attainted by many witnesses, iuris & facti, of a number of Heresies (the shame whereof would light vpon the Church of God, and consequently vpon his Maiesties person and Crownes) is therewith exceedingly offended: And for the more timely preuention of an infinitie of euils, which necessarily would thereupon ensue, did giue mee in charge by expresse Letters to exhort you (which I did the 21. of September last) to wash your hands from that man, and not to suffer him to come within your Countrey. To this exhortation, your answere was, that in the carriage of this businesse, all due obseruance and regard should be had vnto his Maiestie. Neuertheless so it is, that his Maiestie hath receiued so little respect heerein, as that in stead of debarring Vorstius from comming into the Countrey (which euen by the lawes of friendship his Maiestie might haue required) the proceedings haue beene cleane contrary; for he is suffered to come vnto Leyden, hath beene receiued there with all honour, hath there taken vp his habitation, where he is treated and lodged in the qualitie of a publique Professour. His Maiestie then perceiuing, that his first motion had so little preuailed, thought good to write himselfe a Letter vnto you, to the same purpose, full of zeale and affection, perswading you by many reasons there set downe at length, not to staine your owne honour, and the honour of the reformed Churches, by calling vnto you that wretched and wicked Atheist. These Letters were presented in this Assembly the fifth of Nouember, a great number of the Deputies of the Townes of Holland being then present; At which time (as I was commanded by his Maiestie) I vsed some speach my selfe to the same effect. Some sixe weekes after, I receiued an Answere to my Proposition, but an Answere confused, ambiguous and wholly impertinent, by which I haue reason to conceiue, that there is no meaning at all to send Vorstius away, who is at this present in Leyden, receiued and acknowledged, respected and treated as publique Professour, whether it be to grace that Vniuersitie in stead of the deceased Ioseph Scaliger, I cannot tell, or whether it bee to giue him meanes to doe more mischiefe in secret, which perhaps for shame hee durst not in publique: For these reasons, according vnto that charge, which I haue receiued from the King my Master, I doe in his name, and on his behalfe Protest in this Assembly, against the wrong, iniurie, and scandall done vnto the reformed Religion by the receiuing and reteining of Conradus Vorstius in the Vniuersitie of Leyden, and against the violence offered vnto that Alliance which is betwixt his Maiestie and your Prouinces; the which beeing founded vpon the preseruation and maintenance of the reformed Religion, you haue not letted (so much as in you lies) absolutely to violate in the proceeding of this cause. Of which enormous indignities committed against the Church of GOD, and against his Maiesties person, in preferring the presence of Vorstius, before his Amitie and Alliance, the

King my Maſter holds himſelfe bound to bee ſenſible, and if reparation thereof bee not made, and that ſpeedily, (which cannot be by any other meanes then by ſending Vorſtius *away) his Maieſtie will make it appeare vnto the world by ſome ſuch Declaration, as he will cauſe to be printed and publiſhed how much he deteſts the Atheiſmes and Hereſies of* Vorſtius, *and all thoſe that maintaine, fauour and cheriſh them. This is my charge, which if I had failed to performe, I had failed in my duetie, both towards the Seruice of* GOD, *which is now in queſtion, as alſo toward the honour of the King my Maſter, who will alwayes bee ready to maintaine the puritie of the reformed Religion, though it were with the profuſion of his owne blood, the blood of his children, and ſubiects.*

This Proteſtation being made, the States after ſome deliberation, framed vs an anſwere in theſe termes: *That howſoeuer His Maieſtie of* GREAT BRITAINE *had not yet receiued that contentment which Hee might expect in this buſineſſe of* Vorſtius, *neuertheleſſe, they did not doubt, but that at the Aſſembly of the States of* Holland *in February next, His Maieſtie ſhould receiue entire ſatisfaction.* Which anſwere gaue ſome life to our hope, that at the ſaid aſſembly of the States, to bee holden the fifteenth day of the next moneth of Februarie, GOD will vouchſafe ſo to open the eyes of thoſe of *Holland*, as that they may be able to diſcerne, what a Cockatrice egge they hatch within their boſome, and that (ſeeing the ſmooth ſpeaches of *Vorſtius* doe but verifie the old Prouerbe, *Latet anguis in herbâ*, There lurkes a ſnake in the graſſe,) they will at that aſſembly reſolue to purge their Territories from the poiſon of his Hereſie. Wee mention *Holland*, becauſe the other Prouinces, namely *Frizeland* and *Zeland*, and ſome part of *Holland* likewiſe, are already ſo diſtaſted with his Hereſies, as of themſelues they haue deſired *Holland* to baniſh him out of the Countrey.

And certainely wee are no leſſe ſorie, then amazed, that the *Curators* of *Leyden*, (as appeareth by a long letter which they haue written to the States Ambaſſador reſident with vs) can haue their vnderſtanding ſo ſtupified, as to haue made choice of the perſon of *Vorſtius* for a man well qualified, to appeaſe the Schiſmes and troubles of their Church and Vniuerſitie, and as an apt inſtrument of peace. For to ſhew their blindneſſe in this, they need no other anſwere, then, *Exitus acta probat*, The iſſue tries the action; Seeing to our great griefe it cannot bee denied, but that there hath bene more diſtraction of ſpirits, and a greater diuiſion in their State ſince the comming of *Vorſtius*, then was for many yeeres before: witneſſe ſo many Bookes and Accuſations written againſt him, and his anſweres thereunto; witneſſe alſo the proteſtation of a great number of Profeſſors of *Leyden* againſt him, and many of the principall members, as well Prouinces as Townes of the Vnited body of that State, who haue accuſed him as before we haue ſaid. So as if for that purpoſe onely, they brought him vnto their Vniuerſitie, they muſt needes acknowledge it hath had a very vnhappie ſucceſſe.

Hauing

HAuing now finiſhed the diſcourſe of our whole proceeding in this cauſe, from the beginning vntill this preſent, It remaineth that we ſet downe the reaſons which perſwaded vs to ingage our ſelues in *alienâ republicâ* in a buſineſſe of this nature. But wee haue done that already, although but ſummarily, and by the way: For in that place where wee make mention of the bookes of *Vorſtius* which were brought into our Kingdome, wee yeeld three Reaſons, which mooued vs to take this cauſe to heart: Firſt, the zeale of Gods glory, to whom we are ſo much bound: Secondly, charity towards our next neighbours and Allies: and Thirdly, the iuſt reaſon we had to feare the like infection within our owne Dominions.

As concerning the Glory of God; If the ſubiect of *Vorſtius* his Hereſies had not bene grounded vpon Queſtions of a higher qualitie then touching the number and nature of the Sacraments, the points of Iuſtification, of Merits, of Purgatorie, of the viſible head of the Church, or any ſuch matters, as are in controuerſie at this day betwixt the Papiſts and vs; Nay more, If hee had medled onely with the nature and workes of GOD *ad extra*, (as the Schoolemen ſpeake,) If (wee ſay) hee had ſoared no higher pitch (although wee ſhould haue bene very ſory to ſee ſuch Hereſies begin to take roote amongſt our Allies and ancient confederates;) Neuertheleſſe, wee doe freely profeſſe, that in that caſe wee ſhould neuer haue troubled our ſelues with the buſineſſe in ſuch faſhion, and with that feruencie as hitherto we haue done. But this *Vorſtius* mounting aloft like an *Anti-S. Iohn* with the wings of the Eagle, vp to the Heauens, and to the Throne of GOD, diſputing of his Sacred and ineffable Eſſence, *Quæ tremenda & admiranda eſt, ſed non ſcrutanda*, Which is to be trembled at, and admired, but not to be ſearched into; confounding *infinitie*, (one of the proper attributes of GOD,) and *immenſitie*, (ſometime applied to creatures,) the *eſſence* and *ſubſtance*, with the *hypoſtaſis*, diſputing of a firſt and ſecond *creation*, *immediate* and *mediate*, making GOD to be *quale* and *quantum*, changing *eternitie*, into *euiternitie*, teaching *eternitie* to conſiſt of a number of aages, and in the end as a ſworne enemie not onely to Diuinitie, but euen to all Philoſophie, both humane and naturall, denying God to be *Actus purus*, and void of qualities, but hauing in ſome ſort (with horror be it ſpoken) *aliquid diuerſitatis aut multiplicitatis in ſe ipſo, etiam principium cuiuſdam mutabilitatis*; That is to ſay, Some kind of diuerſitie or multiplicitie in himſelfe, yea euen a beginning of a certaine mutabilitie: Let the world then iudge whether we had not occaſion herevpon, to be moued, not onely as one that maketh profeſſion of the reformed Religion, but as a Chriſtian at large; yea, euen as a *Theiſt*, or a man that acknowledgeth a GOD, or as a *Platonique* Philoſopher at the leaſt.

Secondly, for the Charitie which we owe to our neighbours and Allies; the Charitie of euery Chriſtian ought to extend to all men, but *eſpecially towards them that be of the Houſhold of faith.* The States then being not onely our confederates, but the principall bond of our coniunction being our vniformitie in the trew Religion, we had reaſon to admoniſh them, not to permit ſuch dangerous Hereſies to ſpring, and take roote amongſt them, which being once ſuffered, could produce no other effects, then the danger of their ſoules, a rent betwixt them and all other Chriſtian Churches, and at the laſt a rupture and diuiſion in their Temporall State, which (next vnder God) can be maintained by nothing but Vnitie. To which reſolution we were the rather induced by the example of diuers other Prouinces vnder the dominion of the ſaid States, who did accuſe *Vorſtius*, and perſwaded *Holland* to ſend him away out of their countrey, as before we haue declared.

It is trew, that if *Vorſtius* had beene a natiue of *Holland*, as *Iohn* of *Leyden* was, it had beene ſufficient for vs to haue giuen them a generall warning of the danger, and then to haue referred it vnto themſelues, to take ſuch courſe therein, as to them ſhould ſeeme conuenient: But this *Vorſtius* being a ſtranger, and ſent for out of another Countrey to inſtruct their youth, hee can challenge no ſuch priuiledge by reaſon of his birth, but that the States may lawfully diſcharge him, whenſoeuer they pleaſe. And for his profeſſion, it is (without doubt) leſſe dangerous, to ſuffer a thouſand Lay Heretiques to liue in a Common wealth (for that is but matter of policie, ſo long as they offend not in their ſpeach, and ſeduce not others,) then to haue ſo much as one Doctour that may poiſon the youth: For, *Quo ſemel eſt imbuta recens ſeruabit odorem Teſta diu*; The veſſell will taſte a long time after of that liquor wherewith it is firſt ſeaſoned; And what ſhall become of the litle brookes, if their Fountaine be corrupted?

And from hence is deriued our third reaſon which perſwaded vs to meddle in this buſineſſe. For if generally the youth of thoſe Countreys our neereſt neighbours ſhould happen to be infected, in what danger then were wee? eſpecially ſeeing ſo many of the yonger ſort of our Subiects doe repaire for learning ſake to the Vniuerſitie of *Leyden*: an Vniuerſitie of long time famous, but ſo much the more renowned, for that, within our remembrance, it hath beene adorned with thoſe two excellent perſonages *Scaliger* and *Iunius*. It is furthermore to bee noted, that the ſpirituall infection of *Hereſie*, is ſo much more dangerous, then the bodily infection of the plague, by how much the ſoule is more noble then the body, which cauſed the *Apoſtle* S. *Iohn*, when, entring into a Bath, he met there by chance *Cerinthus* the Heretique, to turne backe againe vpon the ſuddaine for feare of infection. Now if that great *Apoſtle* the beloued of Chriſt did ſo much feare the infection of *Hereſie*, as himſelfe hath giuen vs a warning in one of his Epiſtles, *Ne dicas illi, Aue*; Bid him not God ſpeed: haue not we then much more cauſe to feare the corruption of the youth of our owne Kingdomes?

But

But we very well know, that ſome will ſay *Vorſtius* is not rightly vnderſtood; that ſome conſequences are violently wreſted out of his words, contrary to the intention of the Author; that thoſe things which he propounds ſcholaſtically by way of queſtion, ſhould not bee taken for his owne reſolution; and admit pearaduenture hee may haue ſpoken in ſome phraſes *minùs cautè*, not warily enough, yet that is but *Logomachie*, contention about words, and ought not to bee imputed vnto him for *Hereſie*; and beſies that, in his laſt works he hath ſufficiently purged himſelfe from all calumnies, and renounced all manner of *Hereſies*.

To the firſt Obiection wee anſwere, that we neuer accuſed him by conſequences, but that we find his owne words and ſentences full of *Hereſies*.

To the ſecond, concerning his queſtions or diſquiſitions (as he termeth them) wee ſay, that in doubtfull matters, and where a man may reſolue either one way or other, without danger of making ſhipwracke of Faith, it is not onely tolerable, but very commendable to propound queſtions or arguments, at leaſtwiſe in Schooles: But to deuiſe new queſtions vpon the principall Articles of our Faith, to enter not onely into the ſecret Cabinet of GOD, but to intrude our ſelues into his Eſſence, to prie into his moſt inward parts, and like the Phyſicians of *Pantagruel*, to viſite with torch-light all the moſt hidden places in the Eſſence of GOD, wee may boldy pronounce, *Omnia hæc ad deſtructionem, planè nihil ad ædificationem*; All theſe things tend to deſtruction, and nothing ſurely to edification. S. *Auguſtine* ſpeaketh againſt the curioſitie of thoſe people, who would needs know what GOD did before hee made the Fabrique of the world. The Iewes during their integritie, did beare another maner of reuerence to the Diuinitie, who thought themſelues dead, if once they ſhould ſee GOD. And their great Law-giuer *Moyſes* could obtaine no more (notwithſtanding his humble and inſtant requeſt) then to ſee the hinder parts of GOD. So as to call into queſtion, or to make doubts of theſe high points of the Eſſence of GOD, of the *Trinitie*, of the *hypoſtaticall* Vnion in the perſon of CHRIST, or to ſpeake of them in other termes then the Church of GOD hath vniformely eſtabliſhed, and in all aages ſucceſſiuely approued, as it is conteined in all the Orthodox Creeds, and declared in the foure firſt Councels, is by no meanes lawfull: And to make any queſtion or diſquiſition vpon theſe high myſteries, is as much in effect, as to make a contrary concluſion; and ſuch a diſquiſition deſerues the puniſhment of the Inquiſion. *Non eſt bonum ludere cum Sanctis, multò minùs ergo cum Deo*; It is not good to ieſt with Saints, much leſſe therefore with GOD: and one of the firſt verſes which our little children are taught, is this: *Mitte arcana Dei, cœlúmque inquirere quid ſit*; Let the ſecrets of God alone, and be not too curious to enquire into heauen. For what difference is there I pray you, to ſay, It may be that ſuch a Lady is a whore; or that there be probable arguments to perſwade vs that ſhe is ſuch a one; or to ſay abſolutely that ſhee is a whore? And (wee imagine) *Vorſtius* would not hold him

him for his friend, that ſhould ſay it were a matter very diſputable whether *Vorſtius* were a damnable Heretique, and ſhould goe quicke to Hell, yea or no: not that he did beleeue him to bee ſuch a one, but that there were many arguments probable enough to perſwade a man to take him for no leſſe. The nature of man, through the tranſgreſſion of our firſt parents hath loſt free-will, and reteineth not now any ſhadow thereof, ſauing an inclination to euill, thoſe onely excepted whom God of his meere grace hath ſanctified and purged from this originall Leproſie; Inſomuch as it is a very perillous thing to ſet abroach theſe new and dangerous queſtions, although they bee accompanied with good anſweres: For the greateſt part of the world, following the footſteps of our firſt Parents, are naturally enclined to chooſe the euill, and to leaue that which is good, and therefore the Diuine Poet *Du Bartas*, ſpeaking of the deſtruction of *Sodome*, and loath to name the ſinne for which it was deſtroyed, ſaith thus;

De peur qu' en offençant des ſaincts l' oreille tendre,
Ie ne les ſemble plus enſeigner, que reprendre.

For feare that in offending of good peoples tender eare,
I rather ſeeme to teach them, then to wiſh them to forbeare.

And there is a report, (I know not how trew it is) that *Bellarmines* bookes of Controuerſies, are not very well receiued in *Italy*, becauſe his obiections are too ſtrong, and his anſweres too weake. In which qualitie, as alſo in one other, whereof we will ſpeake anon, *Vorſtius* hath a certaine tincture of *Bellarmine*.

To the third obiection, where it is alleadged, that perhaps hee hath not bene warie ynough in ſome of his phraſes of ſpeach, and that it is but contention for wordes. To that we anſwere, as before we haue ſaid, That it is in no ſort lawfull to ſpeake of thoſe great Myſteries of the *Eſſence* of God, of the *Trinitie*, of the *Hypoſtaticall* vnion of natures in the Perſon of *Chriſt*, or any ſuch high points, vnleſſe wee vſe the ſame phraſes and maner of ſpeech, which the Church of GOD hath alwayes vſed in ſpeaking of the ſaid Myſteries. They that will talke of *Chanaan*, muſt vſe the language of *Chanaan*. And the ſonnes of *Aaron* were ſeuerely puniſhed, for preſuming to bring ſtrange fire vnto the Altar. By the difference of leſſe then one letter, betweene *Siboleth* and *Shiboleth*, the ten Tribes of Iſrael could diſcerne their friends from their foes, and that by the pronuntiation onely: And the like difference of one little letter betwixt *homoouſion*, and *homoiouſion*, ſerued to make a diſtinction betwixt the enemies of *Chriſt* in the Eaſt Church, and the Church *Orthodoxall*.

As concerning the fourth and laſt excuſe; namely, that *Vorſtius* hath in his laſt Bookes ſufficiently purged himſelfe from theſe calumnies, and renounced all Hereſies: Our anſwere is, That we would very heartily requeſt the States in their next Aſſembly, ſeriouſly and aduiſedly to conſider and obſerue the ſtyle which he vſeth in his writings and excuſes, and then

ſhall

ſhall they be able to iudge what kind of ſpirit it is that guideth his penne.

For, to beginne with the Preface of his Booke, intituled his *Chriſtian and modeſt Anſwere*, he makes there ſo light reckoning of his queſtions before-mentioned, as if it were but about the tale of *Tobies* dogge. For in the ſecond page of his ſaid Preface, theſe be his wordes: *Omnis homo eſt mendax, immò vanitate ipſâ vanior, ſolus verò Deus eſt verax, &c. Quod cùm in omnibus magni momenti negotijs, tum maximè in ſanctiſſimâ fidei cauſâ humiliter nobis ſemper agnoſcendum eſt: ne videlicet quidquam quod primâ fronte nobis nouum, immò falſum, & abſurdum videatur, facilè damnemus, nec contra quicquid vulgò receptum eſt, (in rebus præſertim abſtruſis ac perplexis, nec tamen ad ſalutem ſcitu neceſſarijs) & quidem cum opinione præciſæ neceſſitatis, ſtatim approbemus. In his talibus, ſi quis Regem, aut Principem, alioqui pientiſſimum, immò Reges, & Principes eiuſmodi complures, (addo & Epiſcopos, ſeu Doctores Eccleſiæ, non diſſimiles) aliquantulum errare dixerit, nihil opinor aduerſus Regiam Maieſtatem, nihil aduerſus Principum, aut Epiſcoporum dignitatem reuerâ peccauerit, modò ſemper rationes ſuorum dictorum modeſtè reddere paratus ſit.* That is to ſay, Euery man is a lyer, yea, more vaine then vanity it ſelfe, God onely is trew, &c. Which ſeeing wee ought euer humbly to acknowledge in all great and weighty cauſes, moſt of all ought we to confeſſe it in the moſt holy cauſe of our Faith: inſomuch as we ſhould not therefore eaſily condemne euery thing which at the firſt ſeemes ſtrange, yea falſe and abſurd vnto our eares, nor on the contrary ſide, ought wee foorth-with to approoue, and that with an opinion of preciſe neceſſitie, whatſoeuer is commonly receyued, eſpecially in matters abſtruſe and intricate, whereof the knowledge is not neceſſarie to ſaluation. In ſuch poynts as theſe, if any man ſhall ſay, that ſuch a King, or Prince, howſoeuer otherwiſe moſt godly and religious, yea that many ſuch Kings, and Princes (nay, I will not except Biſhops, or the like Doctors of the Church) haue in ſome ſort erred, I am of opinion, hee ſhall not giue any iuſt cauſe of offence, either to the Maieſtie of Kings, or to the dignitie of Princes and Biſhops, ſo as hee bee alwaies ready modeſtly to yeeld a reaſon for that which hee ſhall affirme. In which words, hee maintaineth two Principles: Firſt, that euery man is a lyar, aſwell in matter of Faith, as in any thing elſe; and next, that wee muſt not euer eſteeme the vulgar opinion, and that which is generally receiued in matter of Faith to be the treweſt, nor alwayes condemne euery opinion for abſurd, which at the firſt ſeemes vnto vs vncouth, and new. Now we pray you obſerue, that this man is not accuſed of ſmall ſcapes, and therefore beeing not charged with leſſer *peccadillos*, then thoſe which before wee haue mentioned, it neceſſarily followes, that in his excuſe hee muſt vnderſtand the ſame points whereof he is accuſed. And wee hope by the mercy of GOD, that no Chriſtian (wee ſpeake in this particular, as well for the Papiſts, as for our ſelues) ſhall euer be found to erre in any of thoſe maine points: at the leaſt wee will anſwere, (by the grace of God,) for one of thoſe Kings whom he names in general. And as for his new opinions,

pinions, which he would ſo gladly vent abroad, the ancient Faith needes not be changed like an old garment, either in ſubſtance, or faſhion.

Furthermore, in the third page of his Preface, hee vſeth theſe words, *Sed neque plures vno aliquo ſemper hîc ditiores ſunt. Nemo igitur vnus ſibi arroget omnia. Nec numero plures vni alicui, ſingulare quidquam inuideant.* Neither are many men alwayes richer [*in knowledge*] then ſome one man. Let not therefore any one man arrogate all things to himſelfe. Nor let the greater multitude enuie a particular man, for hauing ſome ſingularitie more then his fellowes. The trew principle and foundation of the error of the *Anabaptiſts*, taking away by this meanes, all maner of gouernment from the Church: For hauing firſt ouerthrowen the Monarchicall power of the Pope, he ſweepes away next all manner of power both Ariſtocraticall and Democraticall from the Church, cleane contrary to the Apoſtles inſtitution, which ordeineth, that *the ſpirits of the Prophets ſhould bee ſubiect to the Prophets.* For if one particular man may take vpon him ſuch a ſingularitie as this, how ſhall he bee ſubiect to Generall, Nationall, and Synodicall Councels? For ſtraight will he ſay vnto them; Sirs, yee haue no authoritie to iudge mee, for I haue a ſingular gift aboue you all. And in the fift Page, theſe are his words: *Planiſsimè enim perſuaſus ſum, Sereniſsimo Regi nunquam in animo fuiſſe, nunquam in animo fore, alienæ conſcientiæ (quod ne Apoſtoli quidem ſibi vnquam arrogârunt) ſiue directè, ſiue indirectè, ſiue per ſeipſum, ſiue per alios vllatenùs dominari, vel fidem noſtram vlli humanæ authoritati alligare velle.* For I am abſolutely perſwaded, that it was neuer his Maieſties meaning, nor euer will bee, either directly, or indirectly, by himſelfe, or by others, in any ſort to ouer-rule another mans conſcience, (which euen the Apoſtles neuer challenged to themſelues) nor did, or will his Maieſtie euer ſeeke to tie our Faith to any humane authoritie. Whereby hee is plainely diſcouered, to bee reſolued not to bee ſubiect in any ſort to the iudgement of the Church, in thoſe matters whereof hee is accuſed. For hee knowes too well, that the ancient Church hath eſtabliſhed vpon neceſſary conſequences drawen from the holy Scripture, both a forme of beliefe, and a forme of ſpeach concerning the holy Myſteries aforeſaid: And this is the reaſon why hee will not in theſe points ſubmit himſelfe to the iudgement of any mortall man; But vpon this occaſion in the ſeuenth page of his Preface, maintaines his Chriſtian libertie in this maner: *Qui quidem humanas deciſiones à Diuinis myſterijs ſcrupulo ſegregem; & præſertim in audaces Scholarum hypotheſes, pro Chriſtiana libertate interdum diligentiùs inquiram;* I, who curiouſly make a ſeparation betwixt the iudgements of men and the Diuine myſteries, and eſpecially according to Chriſtian libertie, doe ſometimes more narrowly looke into the bold ſupoſitions of the Schoolemen. As if the Schoole Diuines had bene too ventrous, to explaine and to defend the Articles aforeſaid, already ſo eſtabliſhed by the Church. But we may trewly wiſh in that point, as *Bellarmine* did touching *Caluin*: *Vtinam ſemper ſic erraſſent Scholaſtici*; Would God

God the Scholemen had alwayes ſo erred: For in the maine grounds of Chriſtian Religion, they are worthy of all commendation. Reade *Aquinas* againſt the *Gentiles*. But in matters of controuerſie, where they were to flatter the Pope in his reſolutions, and to auow the new ordinances and traditions of their Church, there they yeelded (alas) vnto the iniquitie of the time, and the myſterie of iniquitie, which was euen then in working, got likewiſe the vpper hand ouer them. And as for this Chriſtian libertie, which he doeth vrge ſo much, certainely he doeth it with no other intention, but onely vnder this faire pretext, to haue the better meanes, and with more ſafetie to abuſe the world: For Chriſtian libertie is neuer meant in the holy Scripture, but onely in matters indifferent, or when it is taken for our deliuerance from the thraldome of the Law, or from the burden of humane traditions, and in that ſenſe S. *Paul* ſpeaketh in his Epiſtle to the *Coloſsians*, *Quare oneramini ritibus?* Why are ye burdened with traditions? But to abuſe Chriſtian libertie, in preſuming to propound a new doctrine vnto the world, in point of the higheſt and holieſt myſteries of GOD, is a moſt audacious raſhneſſe, and an impudent arrogancie: Concerning which S. *Paul* ſaith, *Though an Angel from heauen, preach vnto you otherwiſe then that which we haue preached vnto you, let him bee accurſed.* And *Saint Iohn* likewiſe commandeth vs, that wee ſhould not ſo much as ſay, *God ſpeed* to that man, which ſhall bring vs any other doctrine, as wee haue obſerued before.

Now to ſhew that he is a forger of new opinions, by which he would faine make himſelfe ſingular, ſee but his wordes immediately preceding thoſe which a little before wee mentioned, where hee boaſteth, and is wonderfully in loue with a new name which he hath taken vpon himſelfe, that is to ſay, *Purus putus Euangelicus*, A mainely pure Goſpeller; although indeed the word *pure* was neuer yet taken in a good part. For amongſt the ancient *Heretiques*, there was a Sect that called themſelues *Catharoi*, and there was alſo another Sect among the *Anabaptiſts*, that were called *Puritanes*, from whence the *Preciſians* of our Kingdomes, who out of ſelfe-will and fancie refuſe to conforme themſelues to the Orders of our Church, haue borrowed their name. And for the word *Goſpeller*, although it hath bene aſſumed in diuers places by ſome of our Religion, yet hath it this ill fortune, that it is more vſually receiued in thoſe parts of *Hungary* and *Boheme*, where there are ſuch infinite diuerſities of Sects (agreeing in nothing but in their Vnion againſt the *Pope*) then in any other place. The holy Scripture it ſelfe in the *Actes of the Apoſtles*, mentioneth the name of *Chriſtians*: and the ancient *Primitiue* Church did attribute vnto the faithfull, the names of *Catholique* and *Orthodox*. So as for ſuch a fellow as *Vorſtius*, to affect new Titles for his Religion, it hath ſurely no good reliſh: his intention without doubt being no other, then by this meanes to make a diſtinction, and in time a rupture betwixt himſelfe, and the *Orthodox* profeſſors of our Religion. And for proofe that hee is ſtedfaſtly reſolued to perſiſt in

in all theſe nouelties, and not to retract any thing of that which he hath written, ſee what hee ſaith in the laſt page ſaue one of his ſaid Preface. *Opinor enim ipſe (vt magni illius Eraſmi verba hìc æmuler) in libris meis nihil reperiri, quo deterior quiſpiam reddi poſsit.* For I am of opinion (to vſe the words of that great *Eraſmus*) that there is nothing to be found in my Bookes, that can make any man the worſe that reads them.

As for his Booke which followes this Preface, it verifies the Prouerbe, *Dignum patellà operculum*, A couer fit for ſuch a diſh. For it is ſo full of diſtinctions, and ſophiſticall euaſions, ſo ſtuft with *As it were*, *in ſome ſorts*, *in my ſence*, and ſuch words as theſe, as euen in that poynt hee hath alſo a tincture of *Bellarmine*. But God is *Vnity* it ſelfe, and *Veritie* is *One*, and naked, and in our vſuall manner of ſpeech, we call it *the ſimple Verity*, but neuer was it yet called, *the double Veritie*.

Wee haue thought good to ſet downe here two places of his ſayd Booke, that thereby the Reader may iudge of the reſt; whereof one is in the twelfth page, in theſe words, *Argumenta quæ adferuntur à Patribus, vel à recentioribus Theologis pro æterna Chriſti generatione, aut fallacia ſunt, aut friuola.* The arguments which are vſed both by the Fathers and by the moderne Diuines, for the eternall generation of *Chriſt*, are either ſophiſticall or friuolous. Theſe words (as he ſaith) he is charged to haue vſed, and he cannot bethinke him of any other euaſion, but to adde the word *Quædam*, ſome arguments, &c. Now wee ſhall deſire thee (good Reader) here to obſerue, that this man condemning ſome arguments which the Fathers had gathered out of the holy Scripture, to prooue the eternall generation of Chriſt, as deceitfull and friuolous, hee will bee ſure howſoeuer not to alleadge any other arguments, either out of the Fathers, or of his owne brayne, which ſhall be ſtronger then thoſe which he hath reiected. And in the ſame faſhion he behaues himſelfe throughout his whole Booke: for we ſhew you this but for a ſcantling. In the other place, he directly denies, that euer he affirmed in his other Booke, that *Feare* and *Deſperation* were incident to God: his wordes are theſe in the eighth page, *Nam metum & deſperationem ne quidem vſpiàm nominaui.* For I did neuer ſo much as name *Feare* and *Deſperation*, in any place. And yet neuertheleſſe, let any man looke vpon his other Booke, *pag.* 114. and *pag.* 450. and hee ſhall find two ſeuerall Diſcourſes of a good length, concerning theſe two points. Herein hauing no other ſhift, he betakes himſelfe to an abſolute and flat Negatiue. But to the intent, that the Reader may iudge of his maner of ſpeaking through his whole laſt Booke intituled, *A Chriſtian and modeſt Anſwere*, and how he playes the Sophiſter therein; we haue ſet downe diuers of his phraſes (in manner of a Table) which we haue cauſed to be extracted out of his ſaid Booke.

Tract. Theol. de Deo.

¶ 1. *Eſtne*

¶ 1. *Estne Deus essentialiter immensus, & vbiq; presens?*

[1] *NVsquam disertè scriptum est, substantiam Dei simpliciter, seu quouis modo, immensam & infinitam esse.* [2] *Et non pauca in S. Literis occurrunt, quæ contrarium, non dico clarè asserunt, sed tamen asserere videntur. Interim aliud est videri, aliud reuerâ esse. Respondeo tamen ex sensu meo.*

1 *Quoad Thesin, seu rem ipsam est.*

Tametsi non quoad [2] *specialem modum, seu* [3] *hypothesin scholasticam.*

4 *Quæ tamen falsa non est, verùm aliquatenùs hactenus infirmiùs asserta, & sic aliquatenùs dubia.*

[1] Pag. 16. lin. 16.
[2] Pag. 16. lin. 23.

[1] Pag. 22. lin. 23.
[2] Pag. 4. l. 19.
[3] Pag. 22. l. 26.
[4] Pag. 23. l. 1.

Is God essentially immense, *and euery where present?*

It is in no place clearely set downe, that the substance of God is simply, and euery way immense, and infinite. And there be many places in the holy Scripture, which (I doe not say, clearely affirme) yet seeme to affirme the contrary. In the meane time, it is one thing to seeme, and another thing to be indeed. Yet in mine owne sense I answere thus:

Simply, and positiuely it is.

Howsoeuer, not in that speciall maner and sort as the Scholemen hold.

Which opinion, neuertheless, I doe not say is false, but I say it hath hitherto bene somewhat weakely proued, & therefore in some sort doubtful.

¶ 2. *Estne in Deo quantitas?*

Est, sed [1] *non physica.*
Verùm [2] *hyperphysica.*
Attamen [3] *nobis planè imperceptibilis, & merè spiritalis.*

[1] Pag. 2. l. 28.
[2] Pag. 23. l. 12.
[3] Pag. 2. l. 29.

Is there Quantitie *in God?*

There is, but not a naturall Quantitie:

But a supernaturall.

Neuertheless, not possible to be perceiued by vs, but meerely spirituall.

¶ 3. *Estne Deus infinitus?*

[1] *Omnia Entia certam & definitam essentiam habent, id quod Deo ipsi aliquatenus aptare licet.* [2] *Deum quolibet sensu rectè infinitum dici non posse, quum infinitudo illa quæ definitioni certæ oponitur in Deum reuerâ non cadat.*

[1] Pag. 3. l. 16.
[2] Pag. 3. l. 18.

Is God infinite?

Euery thing that hath a being hath a certaine and definite Essence, which may be applied in some kinde vnto God. That God cannot rightly in euery sence be said to be infinite, seeing that infiniteness which is opposite to certaine definiteness, cannot indeed be attributed vnto God.

¶ 4. *Estne Deus in aliquo loco?*

Est, sed non [1] *physico;*
Verùm in spatio abstractissimè sumpto, quod Deus suo diuino modo adimplet.

[1] Pag. 31. l. 22, 23.

Is God in a place?

He is, but not in a naturall place;

But *in spatio abstractissimè sumpto*, which God after his Diuine maner doeth fill.

¶ 5. *Estne Deus corporeus?*

[1] Pag.3.l.34. [1] *Propriè loquendo minimè corporeus est.*

[2] Pag.15.l.6. [2] *Sed tamen nihil absurdi erit, si Deo (impropriè loquendo) corpus ascribamus,*

[3] Pag.4.l.3. [3] *nempè quatenus vocabulum Corporis impropriè & latissimè pro verâ substantiâ*

[4] Pag.15.l.14. [4] *non prorsus absurdè sumitur,* [5] *iuxta latam significationem, quæ figurata, & impropria, seu mauis catachrestica est.*

[5] Pag.15.l.10.&3.

Hath God a body?

If we will speake properly, he hath none.

Yet is it no absurditie, speaking improperly, to ascribe a body vnto God, that is to say, as the word Body is taken improperly and generally, (and yet not very absurdly) for a trew substance, in a large signification which is figuratiue, and improper, or (if you will) abusiue.

¶ 6. *Estne Deus compositus è materiâ & formâ?*

[1] Pag.5.l.3. [1] *Nullo modo, propriè loquendo. Est tamen in sensu quodam improprio, vel, si mauis, per* κατάχρησιν *quandam, per quam vocabulum Corporis, item quasi materiæ & formæ, seu quasi compositionis ex genere & differentiâ, aliquando eidem attribui posse non immeritò alicui videatur.*

Is God compounded of matter *and* forme?

By no meanes, speaking properly: Although it bee trew in a certaine improper sence, or (if you please) by a certaine *Catachresis*, by the which the word *Body*, and as it were *materia & forma*, or as it were a Composition *ex genere & differentia*, may sometimes seeme to some (and not without cause) to be fitly attributed to God.

¶ 7. *Estne Deus immutabilis, vt essentiâ, sic voluntate?*

[1] Pag.15.l.15. *Non est* [1] *vt essentiâ, sic voluntate; Id est, non est æqualiter.*

Is God vnchangeable *in his* Will, *as he is in his* Essence?

He is not vnchangeable in his will, as he is in his Essence. That is, not alike vnchangeable in the one, as he is in the other.

¶ 8. *Estne Deus subiectus accidentibus?*

[1] Pag 7.l.8. [1] *Non vllis veris.*

[2] Pag.7.l.9. [2] *Tamet si per liberam voluntatem quædam accidentia latissimè sic dicta, tum ad se, tum in se recipit Deus.*

Is God subiect to accidents?

Not to any trew accidents.

Although God doeth by his Free will take to himselfe, and into himselfe, certaine accidents, so called in the largest sense.

¶ 9. *An*

¶ 9. *An Deus per discursum conijcit de futuris?*

Interdum, [1] *aliquatenus,* [2] *discursum quendam instituit, & quasi de incertis conijcit,* [3] *sed impropriè & metaphoricè, citraque omnem imperfectionem.*

[4] *Conijcit autem non coniecturâ qualis hominum esse solet, sed planè diuinâ.*

[1] Pag.7.l.24.
[2] Pag.8.l.9.
[3] Pag.7.l.22.
[4] Pag.8.l.2.

Doeth God coniecture *of things to come by* discourse?

Sometimes in some sort, he frameth to himselfe a certaine discourse, and doeth (as it were) coniecture of things vncertaine, but improperly and metaphorically, and without all imperfection.

And he doeth coniecture not in such sort as men doe, but after a meerely diuine maner.

¶ 10. *Affectus amoris, odij, &c. Deone propriè attribuuntur?*

Propriè; sed [1] *vt pro veritate potiùs, quàm pro vsitatâ nobisque notâ proprietate accipiendum sit.*

[1] Pag.8.l.16.

[2] *Nulli affectus cum humanâ infirmitate coniuncti propriè Deo attribuuntur; verè tamen, & suo modo propriè, hoc est, pro suæ, non pro naturæ nostræ proprietate.*

[2] Pag.9.l.1.

The affections *of* loue, hatred, *&c. be they properly attributed vnto God or not?*

Yes, but so as ye take it rather for a veritie, then for that property which is vulgarly vnderstood and knowne vnto vs.

No affections accompanied with humane infirmitie are properly attributed vnto God: yet trewly, and in his owne kinde properly, that is to say, as they are proper to his nature, and not to ours.

¶ 11. *Pater, habetne peculiarem quandam, seu quasi restrictam essentiam?*

[1] *Vox essentiæ, perinde vt Entis, amplissimam significationem habet, & sic nihil omninò vetat vtramque non minùs ad personas diuinas, quàm ad ipsam Deitatis naturam in sano sensu referri.*

[1] Pag.21.l.13.

Hath the Father *a certaine* peculiar, *or (as it were) limited* Essence?

The word *Essence*, as well as *Ens*, hath a very large signification, and we may apply both of them safely, in a good sence, as well to the Diuine persons, as to the nature of the Deitie it selfe.

¶ 12. *Suntne Patrum argumenta friuola, pro æternâ Christi generatione?*

Siquidem [1] *vnica vox* [*quædam*] *ab initio inseratur, argumenta à Patribus hactenùs aptata, aut fallacia, aut friuola sunt.*

[1] Pag.14.l.3.

Be those arguments *which the Fathers haue vsed to proue the* Eternall generation *of Christ friuolous or no?*

If this one word [*quædam*, some,] were added to the beginning of that position, it were then trew, that the arguments which the Fathers haue at any time applied to prooue the Eternall generation of *Christ*, are either deceitfull, or friuolous.

¶ [13] *Eſtne in Deo viſio præſentium, & præteritorum magis certa, quàm futurorum præuiſio?*

[1] Pag. 18. l. 19, 20.

[1] *Nota modeſtiam meam in verbo* [*videntur,*] *opinionem duntaxat probabilem hîc afferri, non autem dogmaticam aſſertionem.*

[2] Pag. 18. l. 29.

Futura [2] *contingentia* (*comparatiuè loquendo*) *etiam coram Deo dici poſſunt minus certa quàm præterita, & præſentia.*

Whether doeth God ſee things paſt *and* preſent, *more certainely then things* to come?

Note here my modeſtie in this word [*videntur*] for in this place I deliuer onely a probable opinion, and not a dogmaticall aſſertion.

Things future contingent (ſpeaking comparatiuely) may be ſaid to bee leſſe certaine, euen vnto God, then things paſt, and preſent.

By this may the Reader manifeſtly diſcerne, that there is nothing which a man, ſpeaking in this faſhion ſhall not be able to maintaine, and by this meanes eaſily prooue *quidlibet ex quolibet*. And certainely his manner of excuſes and euaſions are framed iuſt after the mould of the ancient Heretiques, and namely of *Arrius*, and *Paulus Samoſatenus*, when they ſaw themſelues pinched with the Arguments of the *Orthodoxe* Church, and had no power to reſiſt. The ſame alſo doeth more plainely appeare by an other little booke which he hath publiſhed, intituled, *Theologicall poſitions*, which booke he hath made of purpoſe to blinde the world withall; becauſe they are indeed but the ſame *Theſes* or *Poſitions*, vpon which he hath diſputed in his firſt wicked booke, that beareth the title *Of God and his Attributes*. For in the *Theſes* themſelues there is but little harme, but in his diſputations thereupon are couched all the horrible Hereſies: And therefore in this booke hath hee publiſhed onely his *Theſes* which are iuſtifiable; and left out his diſputations vpon the *Theſes*, wherein all the poiſon is conteined. It is moreouer ſomewhat ſuſpicious in ſuch a tainted perſon as he is, that in an Appendix which hee hath placed at the end of his *Theſes*, he taketh occaſion to name a number of Heretiques who are aduerſaries to the doctrine of his *Theſes*, and thoſe eſpecially who haue erred concerning the Diuinitie, Humanitie, Perſon, or Office of CHRIST, as the *Ebionites, Cerinthians, Arrians, Praxians, Sabellians, Marcionites, Manichees, Docites, Apollinariſts, Mennonites, Swenkfeldians, Neſtorians, Monothelites, Eutychians, Monophyſites, Iewes, Millenaries, Papiſts*. Amongſt which rabble he doeth not once make mention of *Paulus Samoſatenus*, nor of *Photinius*, who ſucceeded him as well in his Biſhopricke as in his errour: Yet neuertheleſſe it is reported, that *Vorſtius* in his heart is not very farre from their erronious opinion.

Now in the Preface of this little booke hee hath taken vpon him very ſuccinctly to make anſwere to fiue Articles which he confeſſeth were layd to his charge, by which anſwere, in our opinion, hee diſcouers himſelfe very plainely.

The

The firſt point is, That hee was once accuſed (as himſelfe ſaith) of the *Samoſatenian* Hereſie, becauſe he had ſometime both written and receiued letters from diuers of that Sect; which he confeſſeth he did indeed in his youth, to this end, that by that meanes hee might the more eaſily come by ſome of their bookes, but that afterward hee did forbeare all correſpondencie with them. Firſt of all then, we would be glad to know why hee forgot the Hereſie of *Samoſatenus* in his *Appendix*, where he names ſo many others, and yet confeſſeth in the Preface of his ſaid booke, that he himſelfe was accuſed of that errour. Secondly, to what end had hee in his youth ſo great traffique with theſe Heretiques? was it to enable him the better to confute them? We heare him not ſay ſo much, as indeed it was neuer his end. Surely this fellow would be an excellent cleanſer of a Peſthouſe, for he feares no infection: *Picem contrectare non timet*, he dares handle any pitch: And yet for all that, the Prouerbe is trew, *Qui ambulat in Sole, colorabitur*; He that walketh in the Sun-ſhine, ſhall bee Sun-burnt. It followes then, ſeeing his intention was not to arme himſelfe againſt them, that it muſt be of neceſſitie to make himſelfe worthy of their Schoole, the which hee almoſt confeſſeth in the laſt words of his Anſwere to that point, where he ſaith thus; *Non enim (quod multi ſolent) alienis ſenſibus hîc fidendum putaui, aut temerè quidquam in cauſa Fidei damnandum*: For I doe not thinke it fit (as many others doe) to relie in theſe caſes vpon other mens conſtructions, or raſhly to condemne any thing which concernes matter of Faith.

To the ſecond Article of his Accuſation, hee confeſſeth that hee gaue ſome of his *Samoſatenian* bookes vnto his ſchollers; Surely, a goodly gift: But the caution was prettie which he gaue withall vnto them when he deliuered them the bookes; which was that they ought to reade them with iudgement, not raſhly reiecting the doctrine commonly receiued. What an Epithite is heere for our holy *Orthodoxe* Faith, to terme it no otherwiſe then the doctrine commonly receiued? And as for his caution, not raſhly to forſake the old doctrine, it is no more then the Turkes would giue vnto any Chriſtian, that ſhould ſuddenly offer to become a Mahometiſt. Nay what Chriſtian did euer ſollicite a Pagan, or Heretique to bee conuerted, but with this caution? Who Would perſwade a man to receiue the holy Sacrament raſhly? S. *Paul* commands euery man to examine himſelfe diligently, before hee come to that holy Table. But on the other ſide, an *Orthodoxe* Chriſtian would in this caſe haue ſaid to his ſchollers: If you will reade theſe wicked bookes, reade them with horrour and deteſtation, and with an intent to arme your ſelues againſt ſuch wiles and ſubtilties of Sathan, and withall pray vnto GOD to keepe you conſtant in the holy Catholique and *Orthodoxe* Faith, that theſe Hereſies may haue no power once to moouе you, truſting in his mercy, and not in your owne ſtrength.

To the third Article, he confeſſeth that his ſchollers did publiſh bookes of the *Socinian* Hereſie; and his excuſe is, that it was without his know-

ledge: But howſoeuer, he condemnes them not for hauing done it: onely this he ſaith, That they declared vpon their oathes, they did not fauour the Hereſie.

To the fourth point, he confeſſeth that about ten yeeres ſince, he wrote a booke *De Filiatione Chriſti*, (for which Title onely, an Authour, ſo ſuſpected as he, is worthy of the fagot,) and all his excuſe is, That he wrote an Epitome vpon *Bellarmine*. Wee doubt not but hee did it for his recreation. Forſooth, a prety conceit. Yet it appeares not by his wordes, that he deteſts the ſubiect of that Booke: but ſaith, That no man can thereby coniecture what his opinion is of that argument, no more then they can vpon his Epitome of *Bellarmine*, which was likewiſe his worke. For to condemne it, had beene contrary to that which hee auowed in his other booke, neuer to repent himſelfe of any thing that he hath once written, as already we haue obſerued.

As for the fift and laſt point, he will neither confeſſe, nor deny the accuſation: onely hee ſaith, That a certaine booke intituled *Dominicus Lopez*, which is (as we haue heard) a very blaſphemous Treatiſe, was ſuppreſſed by him *pacis ergò*, for peace ſake; but he is ſo farre from condemning it, as that he alleadgeth, the booke hath bene maintained by others, which in time ſhall appeare. Two things are here to bee obſerued; Firſt, that hee ſuppreſſed it *pacis ergò*, for quietneſſe ſake; Not therefore for the wickedneſſe of the ſubiect; The next, that in his due time: the trewth thereof ſhall appeare. In which laſt point onely, we will willingly ioyne with him, beſeeching our good GOD, for his CHRISTS ſake, that hee will bee pleaſed to diſcouer the trewth of this mans intentions, as well for his owne Glory, as to purge the ſcandall, and to auoyd the danger which may enſue vnto Chriſtendome, by the darnell of Hereſies which he hath ſowne.

It is therefore to bee noted, That to all theſe fiue Articles his anſweres are ſo ſilly and weake, as in three of them we haue found him *planè confitentem reum*, plainely pleading guiltie; blanching it onely with ſome poore excuſes. And to the other two points his anſwers are doubtfull; yet neither condemning the act of his ſchollers, nor the laſt wicked booke called *Dominicus Lopez*.

Hauing now therefore briefly laied open the ſubtilties, friuolous diſtinctions, and excuſes of the ſaid *Vorſtius*, we will conclude this point with this proteſtation; That if he had bene our owne Subiect, we would haue bid him *Excrea*, ſpit out: and forced him to haue produced, and confeſſed thoſe wicked Hereſies, that are rooted in his heart. And in caſe he ſhould ſtand vpon his Negatiue, we would enioyne him to ſay (according to the ancient cuſtome of the Primitiue Church in the like caſes of Heretiques) *I renounce and from my ſoule deteſt them: Anathema, Maranatha* vpon ſuch and ſuch Hereſies; And not to ſay, *For peace ſake I cauſed this booke to be ſuppreſſed, And theſe bookes are to bee read with great iudgement and diſcretion. S. Hierome* liketh not that any man ſhould take it patiently, to be ſuſpected of Hereſie.

And

And now to make an end of this Diſcourſe, we doe very heartily deſire all good Chriſtians in generall, and My Lords the States in particular (to whom the managing of this affaire doeth moſt ſpecially belong) to conſider but two things: Firſt what kinde of people they be that ſlander vs, and our ſincere intention in this cauſe: And next, what priuate intereſt wee can poſſibly haue (in reſpect of any worldly honour or aduancement) herein to engage our ſelues in ſuch ſort as we haue done.

Concerning the firſt point, There are but three ſorts of people, that ſeeke to calumniate vs vpon this occaſion: That is to ſay; either ſuch as are infected with the ſame, or the like Hereſies, wherewith *Vorſtius* is tainted, *& ideo fouent conſimilem cauſam*, and therefore doe maintaine the like cauſe: or elſe ſuch as be of the Romane Religion, who in this confuſion, and libertie of propheſying would thruſt in for a part; conceiuing it more reaſonable, that their doctrine ſhould be tolerated by thoſe of our Religion, then the doctrine of *Vorſtius*: or elſe ſuch, as for reaſon of State enuie peraduenture the good amitie and correſpondencie which is betwixt vs, and the Vnited Prouinces.

Touching our owne intereſt, the whole courſe of our life doeth ſufficiently witneſſe, that we haue alwayes bene contented with that portion which GOD hath put into our hands, without ſeeking to inuade the poſſeſſions of any other. Beſides, in two of our bookes, as well in our ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ, as in the Preface to our *Apologie*, we haue ſhewed the ſame inclination. For in the firſt booke, ſpeaking of warre, we ſay that a King ought not to make any inuaſion vpon anothers Dominions, vntill Iuſtice be firſt denied him. And in the other booke, hauing ſhewed the vſurpation of the Pope, aboue all the Kings and Princes of Chriſtendome, our concluſion is, that we will neuer goe about to perſwade them to aſſault him within his Dominions, but onely to reſume, and preſerue their owne iuſt Priuiledges from his violent intruſion. So as (thankes be to GOD) both our *Theorique* and *Practique* agree well together, to cleare vs from this vniuſt and ſlanderous imputation. And as for the States in particular, it is very vnlikely that we (who haue all our life time held ſo ſtrict an amitie with them, as for their defence wee haue bene contented to expoſe the liues of many of our Subiects of both Nations,) would now practiſe againſt their State, and that vpon ſo poore a ſubiect as *Vorſtius*: eſpecially, that ſo damnable a thing could euer enter into our heart, as vnder the vaile and pretext of the glory of GOD, to plot the aduancement of our owne priuate deſeignes.

The reaſons which induced vs to meddle in this buſineſſe, we haue already declared. We leaue it now to his owne proper Iudges to conſider what a nurſling they foſter in their boſome: A ſtranger, bred in the *Socinian Hereſie* (as it is ſaid;) often times accuſed of *Hereſie* by the Churches of *Germanie*; one that hath written ſo wicked and ſcandalous bookes; maintaining and ſeriouſly proteſting in the preface of his *Apologie* to the States, for

for the libertie of prophecying; and twice or thrice inſiſting vpon that libertie in the Preface of his *Modeſt Anſwere* (a dangerous and pernitious libertie, or rather licentiouſneſſe, opening a gap to all rupture, Schiſme, and confuſion in the Church;) yea hauing had ſome diſciples that be Heretiques themſelues, and others that accuſe him of Hereſie. And though there were no other cauſe then the ſilly and idle ſhifts wherewith hee ſeekes to defend himſelfe in his laſt bookes, it were enough to conuince him, either to haue maintained a bad cauſe, and in that reſpect worthy of a farre greater puniſhment then to be put by his place of *Profeſſour*; or at the leaſt to be a perſon vnworthy of the name of a *Profeſſour* in ſo famous an Vniuerſitie, for hauing ſo weakely maintained a cauſe that is iuſt. For our part, GOD is our witneſſe, we haue no quarrell againſt his perſon; he is a Stranger, borne farre from our dominions: he is a *Germane*, and it is well knowen, that all *Germanie* are our friends, and the moſt part of the great Princes there, be either neerely allied vnto vs, or our Confederates: he doth outwardly profeſſe the ſame Religion which we do: he hath written againſt *Bellarmine*: and hath not mentioned vs, either in ſpeach or writing (for any thing we know) but with all the honour and reſpect that may be. GOD knowes, the worſt that we do wiſh him is, that he may ſincerely returne into the high beaten path-way of the *Catholique*, and *Orthodoxall* Faith.

And for my Lords the States (ſeeing wee haue diſcharged our conſcience) we will now referre the managing of the whole Action vnto their owne diſcretions. For wee are ſo farre from preſcribing them any rule herein, as we ſhall be very well contented (ſo as the buſineſſe be well done) that there be euen no mention at all made of our interceſſion, in their publique Acts or Records. Their maner of proceeding, we leaue abſolutely to their owne Wiſedomes. *Modò prædicetur Chriſtus*, ſo as CHRIST bee preached, let them vſe their owne formes in the Name of GOD. For we deſire that GOD ſhould ſo iudge vs at the laſt Day, as we affect not in this Action any worldly glory, beſeeching the Creatour ſo to open their eyes, to illuminate their vnderſtandings, direct their reſolutions, and, aboue all, to kindle their zeale, ſanctifie their affections, & at the laſt ſo to bleſſe their Actions and their proceedings in this cauſe, as the iſſue thereof may tend to his Glory, to the comfort and ſolace of the Faithfull, to the honour of our Religion, to the confuſion and extirpation (at the leaſt, profligation) of Hereſies, and, in particular, to the corroboration of the Vnion of the ſayd Prouinces.

A RE-

A REMONSTRANCE FOR THE RIGHT OF KINGS, AND THE INDEPENDANCE OF THEIR CROVVNES,

AGAINST AN ORATION OF THE MOST ILLVSTRIOVS CARD. OF PERRON, PRONOVNCED IN THE Chamber of the third Eſtate.

IAN. 15. 1615.

THE PREFACE.

I Haue no humour to play the Curious in a forraine Common wealth, or, vnrequeſted, to carry any hand in my neighbours affaires It hath more congruitie with Royall dignitie, whereof God hath giuen mee the honour, to preſcribe Lawes at home for my Subiects, rather then to furniſh forraine Kingdomes and people with counſels. Howbeit, my late entire affection to K. Henry IV. *of happy memorie, my moſt honoured brother, and my exceeding ſorrow for the moſt deteſtable parricide acted vpon the ſacred perſon of a King, ſo complete in all heroicall and Princely vertues; as alſo the remembrance of my owne*

owne dangers, incurred by the practise of conspiracies flowing from the same source, hath wrought mee to sympathize with my friends in their grieuous occurrents: no doubt so much more dangerous, as they are lesse apprehended and felt of Kings themselues, euen when the danger hangeth ouer their owne heads. Vpon whom, in case the power and vertue of my aduertisements be not able effectually to worke, at least many millions of children and people yet vnborne, shall beare me witnesse, that in these dangers of the highest nature and straine, I haue not bene defectiue: and that neither the subuersions of States, nor the murthers of Kings, which may vnhappily betide hereafter, shall haue so free passage in the world for want of timely aduertisement before. For touching my particular, my rest is vp, that one of the maynes for which God hath aduanced me vpon the loftie stage of the supreme Throne, is, that my words vttered from so eminent a place for Gods honour, most shamefully traduced and vilified in his owne Deputies and Lieutenants, might with greater facilitie be conceiued.

Now touching France, *faire was the hope which I conceiued of the States assembled in Parliament at* Paris: *That calling to minde the murthers of their Noble Kings, and the warres of the League which followed the Popes fulminations, as when a great storme of haile powreth downe after a Thunder-cracke, and a world of writings addressed to iustifie the parricides, and the dethronings of kings, they would haue ioyned heads, hearts, & hands together, to hammer out some apt and wholesome remedy against so many fearefull attempts and practises. To my hope was added no little ioy, when I was giuen to vnderstand the third* Estate *had preferred an Article or Bill, the tenor and substance whereof was concerning the meanes whereby the people might bee vnwitched of this pernicious opinion;* That Popes may tosse the French King his Throne like a tennis ball, *and* that killing of Kings is an acte meritorious to the purchase of the crowne of Martyrdome. *But in fine, the proiect was encountred with successe cleane coutrary to Expectation. For this Article of the third Estate, like a sigh of libertie breathing her last,*

serued

ſerued onely ſo much the more to inthrall the Crowne, and to make the bondage more grieuous and ſenſible then before. Euen as thoſe medicines which worke no eaſe to the patient, doe leaue the diſeaſe in much worſe tearmes: ſo this remedy inuented and tendred by the third Eſtate, did onely exaſperate the preſent malady of the State; for ſo much as the operation and vertue of the wholeſome remedy was ouermatched with peccant humours, then ſtirred by the force of thwarting and croſsing oppoſition. Yea much better had it bene, the matter had not bene ſtirred at all, then after it was once on foot and in motion, to giue the Trewth leaue to lye gaſping and ſprawling vnder the violence of a forraine faction. For the opinion by which the Crownes of Kings are made ſubiect vnto the Popes will and power, was then auowed in a moſt Honourable Aſſembly, by the auerment of a Prelate in great authoritie, and of no leſſe learning: He did not plead the cauſe as a priuate perſon, but as one by repreſentation that ſtood for the whole body of the Clergie; was there applauded, and ſeconded with approbation of the Nobilitie; no reſolution taken to the contrary, or in barre to his plea. After praiſes and thankes from the Pope, followed the printing of his eloquent harangue or Oration, made in full Parliament: a ſet diſcourſe, maintaining Kings to be depoſeable by the Pope, if he ſpeake the word. The ſaid Oration was not onely Printed with the Kings priuiledge, *but was likewiſe addreſſed to mee by the Author and Orator himſelfe; who preſuppoſed the reading thereof would forſooth driue me to ſay,* Lord Cardinall, in this high ſubiect your Honour hath ſatisfied me to the full. *All this poyſed in the ballance of equall iudgement, why may not I trewly and freely affirme, the ſaid Eſtates aſſembled in Parliament, haue ſet Royall Maieſtie vpon a doubtfull chance, or left it reſting vpon vncertaine tearmes: and that now if the doctrine there maintained by the Clergie ſhould beare any pawme, it may lawfully be doubted, who is King in* France? *For I make no queſtion, hee is but a titular King that raigneth onely at an others diſcretion, and whoſe Princely head the Pope hath power to bare of his Regall Crowne.*

In

In temporall matters, how can one be Soueraigne, that may be fleeced of all his Temporalties by any superiour power? But let men at a neere sight marke the pith and marrow of the Article proposed by the third Estate, and they shall soone perceiue the skilfull Architects thereof aymed onely to make their King a trew and reall King, to bee recognised for Soueraigne within his owne Realme, and that killing their King might no longer passe the muster of workes acceptable to God.

But by the vehement instance and strong current of the Clergie and Nobles, this was borne downe as a pernicious Article, as a cause of Schisme, as a gate which openeth to all sorts of Heresies: yea, there it was maintained tooth and naile, that in case the doctrine of this Article might goe for currant doctrine, it must follow, that for many aages past in sequence, the Church hath beene the kingdome of Antichrist, and the synagogue of Satan. The Pope vpon so good issue of the cause, had reason, I trow, to addresse his Letters of triumph vnto the Nobilitie and Clergie, who had so farre aprrooued themselues faithfull to his Holinesse; and to vaunt withall, that hee had nipped Christian Kings in the Crowne, that hee had giuen them checke with mate, through the magnanimous resolution of this courageous Nobilitie, by whose braue making head, the third Estate had beene so valiantly forced to giue ground. In a scornefull reproach hee qualified the Deputies of the third Estate, nebulones ex fœce plebis, a sort or a number of knaues, the very dregges of the base vulgar, a packe of people, presuming to personate well affected Subiects, and men of deepe vnderstanding, and to reade their masters a learned Lecture. *Now it is no wonder, that, in so goood an office and loyall cariage towards their King, the third Estate hath outgone the Clergie. For the Clergie denie themselues to haue any ranke among the Subiects of the King: they stand for a Soueraigne out of the Kingdome, to whom as to the Lord Paramount they owe suite and seruice: they are bound to aduance that Monarchie, to the bodie whereof they properly apperteine as parts or members, as elsewhere I haue written*

I haue receiued aduertisement from diuers parts, that in the Popes letters to the Nobitie these wordes were extant, howsoeuer they haue bin left out in the impression, & rased out of the copies of the said letters.

written more at large. But for the Nobilitie, the Kings right arme, to prostitute and set as it were to sale the dignitie of their King, as if the arme should giue a thrust vnto the head; If say for the Nobilitie to hold and maintaine euen in Parliament, their King is liable to deposition by any forreine power or Potentate, may it not passe among the strangest miracles and rarest wonders of the world? For that once granted, this consequence is good and necessarie; That in case the King, once lawfully deposed, shall stand vpon the defensiue, and hold out for his right, he may then lawfully be murthered. Let mee then here freely professe my opinion, and this it is: That now the French Nobilitie may seeme to haue some reason to disrobe themselues of their titles, and to transferre them by resignation vnto the third Estate. For that body of that third Estate alone hath caried a right noble heart: in as much as the could neither be tickled with promises, nor terrified by threatnings, from resolute standing to those fundamentall points and reasons of State, which most concerne the honour of their King, and the securitie of his person.

Of all the Clergie, the man that hath most abandoned, or set his honour to sale, the man to whom France is least obliged, is the Lord Cardinall *of* Perron: *a man otherwise inferiour to few in matter of learning, and in the grace of a sweete style. This man in two seuerall Orations, whereof the one was pronounced before the Nobilitie, the other had audience before the third Estate, hath set his best wits on worke, to draw that doctrine into all hatred and infamie, which teacheth Kings to be indeposeable by the Pope. To this purpose hee termes the same doctrine, a breeder of Schismes, a gate that openeth to make way, and to giue entrance vnto all hereses; in briefe, a doctrine to bee held in so high a degree of detestation, that rather then he and his fellow-Bishops will yeeld to the signing thereof, they will bee contented like Martyrs to burne at a stake. At which resolution, or obstinacie rather in his opinion, I am in a manner amased, more then I can be mooued for the like* brauado *in many other: forasmuch as hee was many yeeres together, a follower of the late King, euen when*

the King followed a contrary Religion, and was deposed by the Pope: as also because not long before, in a certaine Assemblie holden at the Iacobins in Paris, hee withstood the Popes Nuntio to his face, when the said Nuntio laboured to make this doctrine, touching the Popes temporall Soueraigntie, passe for an Article of Faith. But in both Orations, hee singeth a contrary song, and from his owne mouth paßeth sentence of condemnation against his former course and profession. I suppose, not without sollide iudgemen; as one that heerein hath well accommodated himselfe to the times: For as in the reigne of the late King, hee durst not offer to broach this doctrine (such was his fore-wit;) so now he is bold to proclaime and publish it in Parliament vnder the reigne of the said Kings sonne; whose tender yeeres and late succession to the Crowne, doe make him lie the more open to iniuries, and the more facill to be circumuented: Such is now his afterwisedome.

Of these two Orations, that made in presence of the Nobilitie he hath, for feare of incurring the Popes displeasure, cautelously suppressed. For therein he hath beene somewhat prodigall in affirming this doctrine maintained by the Clergie, to bee but problematicall; and in taking vpon him to auouch, that Catholikes of my Kingdome are bound to yeeld me the honour of obedience: Whereas on the other side, he is not ignorant, how this doctrine of deposing Princes and Kings, the Pope holdeth for meerely necessarie, and approoueth not by any meanes Alleagiance to bee performed vnto mee by the Catholikes of my Kingdome. Yea if credit may be giuen vnto the abridgement of his other Oration published, wherein he paralells the Popes power in receiuing honours in the name of the Church, with the power of the Venetian Duke in receiuing honours in the name of that most renowned Rebublike; no marueile that when this Oration was dispatched to the presse, he commanded the same to be gelded of this clause and other like, for feare of giuing his Holinesse any offensiue distaste.

His pleasure therefore was, and content withall, that his Oration imparted to the third Estate, should be put in Print, and of his courtesie he vouchsafed to addresse vnto me a copie of the same.

Which

Which after I had perused, I foorthwith well perceiued, what and how great discrepance there is betweene one man that perorateth from the ingenuous and sincere disposition of a sound heart, and an other that flaunteth in flourishing speech with inward checkes of his owne conscience: For euery where he contradicts himselfe, and seemes to be afraid lest men should picke out his right meaning.

First, he grants this Question is not hitherto decided by the holy Scriptures, or by the Decrees of the ancient Church, or by the analogie of other Ecclesiasticall proceedings: and neuertheleſse hee confidently doeth affirme, that whosoeuer maintaine this doctrine to be wicked and abhominable, that Popes haue no power to put Kings by their supreame Thrones, they teach men to beleeue, there hath not bene any Church for many aages past, and that indeed the Church is the very Synagogue of Antichrist.

In 12. seuerall passages the L. Card. seemeth to speake against his owne conscience. Pag. 85.

Secondly, he exhorts his hearers to hold this doctrine at least for problematicall, and not necessary: and yet herein he calls them to all humble submission vnto the iudgement of the Pope and Clergie, by whom the cause hath bene already put out of all question, as out of all hunger and cold.

Thirdly, he doeth auerre, in case this Article be authorized, it makes the Pope in good consequence to bee the Antichrist: and yet he grants that many of the French are tolerated by the Pope to dissent in this point from his Holineſse; prouided, their doctrine be not proposed as necessary, and materiall to faith; As if the Pope in any sort gaue toleration to hold any doctrine contrary to his owne, and most of all that doctrine which by consequence inferres himselfe to be the Antichrist. Pag. 99.

Fourthly, he protesteth forwardneſse to vndergoe the flames of Martyrdome, rather then to signe this doctrine, which teacheth Kings Crownes to sit faster on their heads, then to be stirred by any Papal power whatsoeuer: and yet saith withall, the Pope winketh at the French, by his toleration to hold this dogmaticall point for problematicall. And by this meanes, the Martyrdome that hee affecteth in this cause, will prooue but a problematicall Martyrdome, whereof question might grow very well, whether it were to

be mustered with grieuous crimes, or with phreneticall passions of the braine, or with deserued punishments.

Fiftly, he denounceth Anathema's, discharget maledictions like haile-shot, against parricides of Kings: and yet elsewhere hee layes himselfe open to speake of Kings onely so long as they stand Kings. But who doeth not know that a King deposed is no longer King? And so that limme of Satan, which murthered Henry *the* III. *then vn-king'd by the Pope, did not stabbe a King to death.*

Sixtly, he doeth not allow a King to be made away by murder: and yet he thinks it not much out of the way, to take away al meanes whereby he might be able to stand in defence of his life's.

Pag. 95. 97. *Seuenthly, hee abhorreth killing of Kings by apposted throat-cutting, for feare lest body and soule should perish in the same instant: and yet he doth not mislike their killing in a pitcht field, and to haue them slaughtered in a set battaile's: For he presupposeth, no doubt out of his charitable mind, that by this meanes the soule of a poore King so dispatched out of the way, shall instantly flie vp to heauen.*

Eightly, he saith a King deposed, retaineth stil a certaine internal habitude and politike impression, by vertue and efficacie whereof he may, being once reformed and become a new man, be restored to the lawfull vse and practise of Regalitie's. Whereby hee would beare vs in hand, that when a forraine Prince hath inuaded and rauenously seised the kingdome into his hands, he will not onely take pittie of his predecessour to saue his life, but will also proue so kind-hearted, vpon sight of his repentance, to restore his kingdome without fraud or guile's.

Ninthly, he saith euery where in his Discourse, that he dealeth not in the cause, otherwise then as a problematicall discourser, and without any resolution one way or other: and yet with might and maine hee contends for the opinion, that leaues the States and Crownes of Kings controulable by the Pope's: refutes obiections, propounds the authoritie of Popes and Councils, by name the Lateran Councill vnder Innocent. III. *as also the consent of the Church. And to crosse the Churches iudgement, is, in his opinion*

to

to bring in ſchiſme, and to leaue the world without a Church for many hundred yeeres together: which (to my vnderſtanding) is to ſpeake with reſolution, and without all heſitation.

Tenthly, he acknowledgeth none other cauſe of ſufficient validitie for the depoſing of a King, beſides hereſie, apoſtaſie, and infidelitie: neuertheleſſe that Popes haue power to diſplace Kings for hereſie and apoſtaſie, hee proueth by examples of Kings whom the Pope hath curbed with depoſition, not for hereſie, but for matrimoniall cauſes, for ciuill pretences, and for lacke of capacitie.

Eleuenthly, hee alledgeth euery where paſſages, as well of holy Scripture, as of the Fathers and moderne hiſtories; but ſo impertinent, and with ſo little trewth, as hereafter wee ſhall cauſe to appeare, that for a man of his deepe learning and knowledge, it ſeemeth not poſsible ſo to ſpeake out of his iudgement.

Laſtly, whereas all this hath bene hudled and heaped together into one maſſe, to currie with the Pope: yet hee ſuffereth diuers points to fall from his lips, which may well diſtaſt his Holineſſe in the higheſt degree. As by name, where he prefers the authoritie of the Councill before that of the Pope, and makes his iudgement inferiour to the iudgement of the French; as in fit place hereafter ſhalbe ſhewed. Againe, where he repreſenteth to his hearers the decrees of Popes and Councils already paſſed concerning this noble ſubiect; and yet affirmes that he doth not debate the queſtion, but as a Queſtioniſt, and without reſolution: As if a Cardinal ſhould be afraid to be poſitiue, and to ſpeake in peremptory ſtraines, after Popes and Councils haue once decided the Queſtion: Or as if a man ſhould perorate vpon hazard, in a cauſe for the honour whereof, he would make no difficultie to ſuffer Martyrdome. Adde hereunto, that his Lordſhip hath alwayes taken the contrary part heretofore, and this totall muſt needs ariſe, that before the third Eſtate, his lips looked one way, and his conſcience another.

All theſe points, by the diſcourſe which is to follow, and by the ripping vp of his Oration (which by Gods aſsiſtance I will vndertake) tending to the reproch of Kings, and the ſubuerſion of kingdomes, I confidently ſpeake it, ſhalbe made manifeſt. Yet doe

In the Preface to my Apologie.

I not conceiue it can any way make for my honour, to enter the lists against a Cardinall: For I am not ignorant how farre a Cardinals Hat, commeth vnder the Crowne and Scepter of a King; For well I wot vnto what sublimitie the Scripture hath exalted Kings, when it styles them Gods; Whereas the dignitie of a Cardinall is but a late vpstart inuention of man; as I haue elsewhere prooued. But I haue imbarqued my selfe in this action, mooued thereunto: First, by the common interest of Kings in the cause it selfe: Then by the L. Cardinall, who speaketh not in this Oration as a priuate person, but as one representing the body of the Clergie and Nobilitie, by whom the cause hath bene wonne, and the garland borne away from the third Estate: Againe, by mine owne particular; because he is pleased to take me vp for a sower of dissention, and a persecutour, vnder whom the Church is hardly able to fetch her breath; yea, for one by whom the Catholikes of my Kingdome are compelled to endure all sorts of punishments; and withal he tearmes this Article of the third Estate, a monster with a fishes taile that came swimming out of England: Last of all, by the present state of France; because France being now reduced to so miserable tearmes, that it is now become a crime for a Frenchman to stand for his King; it is a necessary duetie of her neighbours to speake in her cause, and to make triall whether they can put life into the trewth now dying, and ready to be buried by the power of violence, that it may resound and ring againe from remote regions.

I haue no purpose once to touch many prettie toyes which the ridges of his whole booke are sowen withall: Such are his allegations of Pericles, Agesilaus, Aristotle, Minos, *the* Druides, *the French Ladies,* Hannibal, Pindarus, *and Poeticall fables: All resembling the red and blew flowers that pester the corne when it standeth in the fields, where they are more noysome to the growing crop, then beautifull to the beholding eye. Such pettie matters, nothing at all beseemed the dignitie of the Assembly, and of the maine subiect, or of the Orator himselfe: For it was no* Decorum *to enter the Stage with a* Pericles *in his mouth, but with the sacred Name of God; nor should hee haue marshalled the passage of a Royall Poet,*

Poet, after the example of an heathen Oratour.

Neither will I giue any touch to his conceit of the Romane conquests, which the L. Cardinall bestoweth in the list of Gods graces and temporall blessings, as a recompence of their zeale to the seruice and worship of Idols: As if God were a recompencer of wickednes, or as if the forcible eiecting of Tenants out of their farmes and other possessions, might be reckoned among the blessings of God. [2] Pag. 4.

Nor to that of the Milesian *Virgins, dragged stark-naked after they were dead; which the L. Cardinall drawes into his discourse for an example of the eternall torments denounced by the Lawes Ecclesiasticall, to be inflicted after this life.* Pag. 7. & 8.

Nor to his exposition of the word Problematicall; *where he giueth to vnderstand that by Problematicall, hee meaneth such things as are of no necessitie to matter of faith; and in case men shall beleeue the contradictory of the said points, they are not bound for such beleefe, to vndergoe the solemne curse of the Church, and the losse of communion: Whereas* Aristotle, *of whom all Schooles haue borrowed their tearmes, hath taught vs that euery proposition is called a Probleme, when it is propounded in a formall doubt, though in it proper nature it containes a necessary trewth, concerning the matter therof: As for example, to say in forme of question,* Whether is there but one God? *or,* Whether is man a creature indued with reason? *By which examples it is plaine, that propositions in problematicall forme, doe not forgoe the necessitie of their nature; and that many times the contradictory binds the beleeuers thereof to Anathema and losse of communion.* Pag. 13.

There is a confused heape or bundle of other like toyes, which my purpose is to passe ouer in silence, that I may now come to cast anchor, as it were in the very bottome and substance of the cause.

A Re-

Aristot. 1. top. cap. 4. πρόταση καὶ πρόβλημα, sound both one thing, Ἀπὸ πάσης γὰρ προτάσεως πρόβλημα ποιήσεις, prouided the word πότερον or *vtrùm*, do stand before, as, *Vtrùm homo sit animal.*

A REMONSTRANCE FOR THE RIGHT OF KINGS, AND THE INDEPENDANCE OF THEIR CROVVNES.

Against an Oration of the most Illustrious Cardinall of PERRON, pronounced in the Chamber of the third Estate.

The 15. of Ianuar. 1615.

THE L. Cardinall euen in the first passage of his Oration, hath laid a firme foundation, *That Ecclesiastics in France are more deepely obliged to the King, then the Nobilitie, and third Estate*: His reason; Because the Clergie doe sweetly enioy their dignities and promotions, with all their infinite wealth, of the Kings meere grace, without all danger, and with faire immunities; whereas the other two Orders hold their offices by a chargeable and burdensome title or tenure, euen to the great expence of their blood, and of their substance. But see now, how loose and weake a frame he hath erected and pinned together, vpon his firme and solide foundation: *Ergo*, the third Estate is to lay all care to prouide remedies against appointed cut-throats, vpon the Clergy; and the said remedies (as he boldly affirms) must be deriued from the laws of conscience, which may carry an effectuall acting or operatiue efficacie vpon the soule, and not from ciuil or temporall punishments. Now this consequence limpeth like a lame creple after the premises: For it is no vsuall and common matter, to see men that are deepest in obligation, performe their duties and couenants with most fidelity. Againe, were it graunted the Clergie had well hitherto demonstrated their carefull watching ouer the life and honour of their Prince; yet is it not for spirituall punishments thundred by Ecclesiastics, to bind the hands of the ciuill Magistrate, nor to stop the current of temporall

porall punishments: which ordinarily doe carrie a greater force and vertue to the bridling of the wicked, then the apprehension of Gods iudgement.

The third Estate therefore, by whom all the officers of France are properly represented, as to whom the administration of iustice and protection of the Kings rights and Honour doth appertaine, can deserue no blame in carrying so watchfull an eye, by their wholesome remedie to prouide for the safetie of the King, and for the dignitie of his Crowne. For if the Clergie shall not stand to their tackle, but shrinke when it commeth to the push of their duetie; who shall charge themselues with carefull foresight and preuention of mischiefes? Shall not the people? Now, haue not all the calamities, which the third Estate haue sought prouidently to preuent; haue they not all sprung from the Clergie, as from their proper and naturall fountaine? From whence did the last ciuill warres, wherein a world of blood was not more profusely then prodigiously and vnnaturally spilt, and wherein the parricide of King *Henrie III.* was impiously and abominably committed: from whence did those bloodie warres proceed, but from the deposing of the said King by the Head of the Church? Were they not Prelats, Curats, and Confessours; were they not Ecclesiastics, who partly by seditious preachments, and partly by secret confessions, powred many a iarre of oyle vpon this flame? Was not he that killed the forenamed King, was not he one of the Clergie? Was not *Guignard* a Iesuite? Was not *Iohn Chastel* brought vp in the same schoole? Did not *Rauaillac* that monster of men, vpon interrogatories made at his examination; among the rest, by whom he had beene so diabolically tempted and stirred vp to his most execrable attempt and act of extreme horror: did not he referre his examiners to the Sermons made the Lent next before, where they might be satisfied concerning the causes of his abominable vndertaking and execution? Are not *Bellarmine*, *Eudæmonoiohannes*, *Suarez*, *Becanus*, *Mariana*, with such other monsters, who teach the doctrine of parricides, vphold the craft of Ianus-like Equiuocations in Courts of Iustice, and in secret confessions: are they not all Clerics? are not all their bookes approoued and allowed, as it were by a corporation or grosse companie of Doctors, with their signes manuel to the said bookes? What were the heads, the chiefe promoters, the complices of the powder-conspiracie in my Kingdome? were they not Ecclesiastics? Hath not *Faux* by name, a confederate of the same damned crew; hath not he stoutly stood to the gunners part, which then he was to act in that most dolefull Tragedie, with asseueration of a conscience well assured and setled, touching the lawfulnesse of his enterprise? Did he not yeild this reason? to wit, because he had bin armed with instruction of musket proofe in the case, before he made passage ouer from the Low Countries? Is it not also the generall beleefe of that Order, that Clerics are exempted from the condition of Subiects to the King? Nay, is it not confessed by the L. Cardinall himselfe, that King-killers haue ingaged Pag. 7.

themselues

themſelues to vndertake the deteſtable act of parricide vnder a falſe credence of Religion, as beeing inſtructed by their ſchoolemaſters in Religion? And who were they but Eccleſiaſticall perſons? All this preſuppoſed as matter of trewth, I draw this concluſion: Howſoeuer no ſmall number of the French Clergie may perhaps beare the affection of louing Subiects to their King, and may not ſuffer the Clericall character to deface the impreſſion of naturall allegiance; yet, for ſo much as the Order of Clerics is dipped in a deeper die, and beareth a worſe tincture of daungerous practiſes then the other Orders; the third Eſtate had beene greatly wanting to their excellent prouidence and wiſedome, if they ſhould haue relinquiſhed and transferred the care of deſignements and proiects for the life of their King, and the ſafety of his Crowne, to the Clergie alone. Moreouer, the Clergie ſtandeth bound to referre the iudgement of all matters in controuerſie, to the ſentence of the Pope, in this cauſe beeing a partie, and one that pretendeth Crownes to depend vpon his Mitre. What hope then might the third Eſtate conceiue, that his Holineſſe would paſſe againſt his owne cauſe, when his iudgement of the controuerſie had beene ſundrie times before publiſhed and teſtified to the world? And whereas the plot or modell of remedies proiected by the third Eſtate, and the Kings Officers, hath not prooued ſortable in the euent: was it becauſe the ſaid remedies were not good and lawfull? No verily: but becauſe the Clergie refuſed to become contributors of their duty and meanes to the grand ſeruice. Likewiſe, for that after the burning of bookes, addreſſed to iuſtifie rebellious people, traytors, and parricides of Kings; neuertheleſſe the authors of the ſaid bookes are winked at, and backt with fauour. Laſtly, for that ſome wretched parricides drinke off the cuppe of publike iuſtice; whereas to the firebrands of ſedition, the ſowers of this abominable doctrine, no man ſaith ſo much as blacke is their eye.

It ſufficiently appeareth, as I ſupoſe, by the former paſſage, that his Lordſhip exhorting the third Eſtate to referre the whole care of this Regall cauſe vnto the Clergie, hath tacked his frame of weake ioynts and tenons to a very worthy but wrong foundation. Howbeit, he laboureth to fortifie his exhortation with a more weake and feeble reaſon: For to make good his proiect he affirmes, that matters and maximes out of all doubt and queſtion, may not be ſhuffled together with points in controuerſie. Now his rules indubitable are two. The firſt, It is not lawfull to murther Kings for any cauſe whatſoeuer: This he confirmeth by the example of *Saul* (as he ſaith) depoſed from his Throne, whoſe life or limbs *Dauid* neuertheleſſe durſt not once hurt or wrong for his life: Likewiſe he confirmes the ſame by a Decree of the Councill held at Conſtance: His other point indubitable; The Kings of France are Soueraignes in all Temporall Soueraigntie, within the French Kingdome, and hold not by fealtie either of the Pope, as hauing receiued or obliged their Crownes vpon ſuch tenure and condition, or of any other Prince in the whole world; Which point, neuer-

Page 9.

Conc. Conſtan. Seſſ. 15.

neuertheleſſe he takes not for certaine and indubitable, but onely according to humane and hiſtoricall certaintie. Now a third point he makes to be ſo full of controuerſie, and ſo farre within the circle of diſputable queſtions, as it may not be drawne into the ranke of claſſicall and authenticall points, for feare of making a certaine point doubtfull, by ſhuffling and iumbling therewith ſome point in controuerſie. Now the queſtion ſo diſputable, as he pretendeth, is this: A Chriſtian Prince breakes his oath ſolemnely taken to God, both to liue and to die in the Catholique Religion: Say this Prince turnes Arrian, or Mahometan, fals to proclaime open warre, and to wage battell with Ieſus Chriſt: Whether may ſuch a Prince be declared to haue loſt his Kingdome, and who ſhall declare the Subiects of ſuch a Prince to be quit of their oath of allegiance? The L. Cardinall holds the affirmatiue, and makes no bones to maintaine, that all other parts of the Catholique Church, yea the French Church, euen from the firſt birth of her Theologicall Schooles, to *Caluins* time and teaching, haue profeſſed that ſuch a Prince may bee lawfully remooued from his Throne by the Pope, and by the Councill: and ſuppoſe the contrarie doctrine were the very Quinteſſence or ſpirit of trewth, yet might it not in caſe of faith be vrged and preſſed otherwiſe then by way of problematicall diſceptation. That is the ſumme of his Lordſhips ample diſcourſe: The refuting whereof I am conſtrained to put off, and referre vnto an other place; becauſe he hath ſerued vs with the ſame diſhes ouer and ouer againe. There we ſhall ſee the L. Cardinall maketh way to the diſpatching of Kings after depoſition: that *Saul* was not depoſed, as he hath preſumed: that in the Councill of Conſtance there is nothing to the purpoſe of murthering Soueraigne Princes: that his Lordſhip, ſuppoſing the French King may be depriued of his Crowne by a ſuperiour power, doth not hold his liege Lord to be Soueraine in France: that by the poſition of the French Church from aage to aage, the Kings of France are not ſubiect vnto any cenſure of depoſition by the Pope: that his Holineſſe hath no iuſt and lawfull pretence to produce, that any Chriſtian King holds of him by fealtie, or is obliged to doe the Pope homage for his Crowne.

Well then, for the purpoſe; he dwelleth onely vpon the third point pretended queſtionable, and this hee affirmeth: If any ſhall condemne, or wrappe vnder the ſolemne curſe, the abettours of the Popes power to vnking lawfull and Soueraigne Kings; the ſame ſhall runne vpon foure dangerous rocks of apparent incongruities and abſurdities.

Firſt, he ſhall offer to force and entangle the conſciences of many deuout perſons: For he ſhall binde them to beleeue and ſweare that doctrine, the contrary whereof is beleeued of the whole Church, and hath bene beleeued by their Predeceſſors. 1 Pag. 14. „ „

Secondly, he ſhall ouerturne from top to bottome the ſacred authoritie of holy Church, and ſhall ſet open a gate vnto all ſorts of hereſie, by allowing Lay-perſons a bold libertie to be iudges in cauſes of Religion and Faith „ 2 „ „ „

" Faith: For what is that degree of boldneſſe, but open vſurping of the
" Prieſthood; what is it but putting of prophane hands vpon the Arke;
" what is it but laying of vnholy fingers vpon the holy Cenſor for perfumes?
3 " Thirdly, hee ſhall make way to a Schiſme, not poſſible to bee put by
" and auoyded by any humane prouidence. For this doctrine beeing held
" and profeſſed by all other Catholiques; how can we declare it repugnant
" vnto Gods word; how can wee hold it impious; how can wee account it
" deteſtable, but wee ſhall renounce communion with the Head and other
" members of the Church; yea, we ſhall confeſſe the Church in all aages to
" haue bene the Synagogue of Satan, and the ſpouſe of the Deuill?
4 " Laſtly, by working the eſtabliſhment of this Article, which worketh an
" eſtabliſhment of Kings Crownes; He ſhall not onely worke the intended
" remedy for the danger of Kings, out of all the vertue and efficacie there-
" of, by weakening of doctrine out of all controuerſie, in packing it vp with
" a diſputable queſtion; but likewiſe in ſtead of ſecuring the life and eſtate
" of Kings, he ſhall draw both into farre greater hazards, by the traine or ſe-
" quence of warres, and other calamities, which vſually waite and attend
" on Schiſmes.

The L. Cardinall ſpends his whole diſcourſe in confirmation of theſe foure heads, which wee now intend to ſift in order, and demonſtratiuely to prooue that all the ſaid inconueniences are meere nullities, matters of imagination, and built vpon falſe preſuppoſitions. But before wee come to the maine, the reader is to be enformed and aduertiſed, that his Lordſhip ſetteth a falſe gloſſe vpon the queſtion; and propounds the caſe not onely contrary to the trewth of the ſubiect in controuerſie, but alſo to the Popes owne minde and meaning: For he reſtraines the Popes power to depoſe Kings, onely to caſes of Hereſie, Apoſtaſie, and perſecuting of the Church; whereas Popes extend their power to a further diſtance. They depoſe Princes for infringing, or in any ſort diminiſhing the Priuiledges of Monaſteries: witneſſe *Gregorie* the firſt in the pretended Charter granted to the Abbey of *S. Medard* at *Soiſſons*; the ſaid Charter beeing annexed to his Epiſtles in the rere. The ſame hee teſtifieth in his Epiſtle to *Senator*, by name the tenth of the eleuenth booke. They depoſe for naturall dulneſſe and lacke of capacitie, wether in-bred and trew indeed, or onely pretended and imagined: witneſſe the glorious vaunt of *Gregory* VII. that *Childeric* King of France was hoyſted out of his Throne by Pope *Zachary*, *Not ſo much for his wicked life, as for his vnableneſſe to beare the weightie burden of ſo great a Kingdome*. They depoſe for collating of Benefices and Prebends: witneſſe the great quarrels and ſore contentions betweene Pope *Innocent* III. and *Iohn* King of England: as alſo betweene *Philip* the Faire and *Boniface* VIII. They depoſe for adulteries and Matrimoniall ſuites: witnes *Philip* I. for the repudiating or caſting off his lawfull wife *Bertha*, and marrying in her place with *Bertrade* wife to the Earle of Aniou. Finally, faine would I learne into what Hereſie or degree of Apoſtaſie, either

Cauſ. 15. Can Alius. Qu. 6.

Paul Aemil. in Phil. 3.

Henry

Henry IV. or *Frederic Barbaroſſa*, or *Frederic* II. Emperours were fallen, when they were ſmitten with Papall fulminations, euen to the depriuation of their Imperiall Thrones. What? was it for Hereſie or Apoſtaſie, that Pope *Martin* IV. bare ſo hard a hand againſt *Peter* King of Arragon, that he acquitted and releaſed the Aragonnois from their oath of Alleagiance to *Peter* their lawfull King? Was it for Hereſie or Apoſtaſie, for Arrianiſme or Mahumetiſme, that *Lewis* XII. ſo good a King and Father of his Countrey, was put downe by *Iulius* the II? Was it for Hereſie or Apoſtaſie, that *Sixtus* V. vſurped a power againſt *Henrie* III. euen ſo farre as to denounce him vnkingd; the iſſue whereof was the parricide of that good King, and the moſt wofull deſolation of a moſt flouriſhing Kingdome? But his Lordſhip beſt liked to worke vpon that ground, which to the outward ſhew and appearance, is the moſt beautifull cauſe that can be alleaged for the diſhonouring of Kings by the weapon of depoſition: making himſelfe to beleeue that he acted the part of an Orator before perſonages not much acqainted with ancient and moderne hiſtories, and ſuch as little vnderſtood the ſtate of the queſtion then in hand. It had therefore beene a good warrant for his Lordſhip, to haue brought ſome authenticall inſtrument from the Pope, whereby the French might haue beene ſecured, that his Holineſſe renounceth all other cauſes auouchable for the degrading of Kings; and that he will henceforth reſt in the caſe of Hereſie, for the turning of Kings out of their Free-hold: as alſo that his Holineſſe by the ſame or like inſtrument might haue certified his pleaſure, that hee will not hereafter make himſelfe Iudge, whether Kings bee tainted with damnable Hereſie, or free from Hereticall infection. For that were to make himſelfe both Iudge and Plaintiffe, that it might be in his power to call that doctrine Hereticall, which is pure Orthodoxe: and all for this end, to make himſelfe maſter of the Kingdome, and there to ſettle a Succeſſour, who receiuing the Crowne of the Popes free gift and grant, might be tyed thereby to depend altogether vpon his Holineſſe. Hath not Pope *Boniface* VIII. declared in his proud Letters all thoſe to be Heretiques, that dare vndertake to affirme, the collating of Prebends appertaineth to the King? It was that Popes groſſe errour, not in the fact, but in the right. The like crime forſooth was by Popes imputed to the vnhappy Emperour *Henrie* IV. And what was the iſſue of the ſaid imputation? The ſonne is inſtigated thereby to rebell againſt his father, and to impeach the interrement of his dead corps, who neuer in his life had beate his braines to trouble the ſweet waters of Theologicall fountaines. It is recorded by *Auentine*, that Biſhop *Virgilius* was declared Heretique, for teaching the Poſition of Antipodes. The Bull *Exurge*, marching in the rere of the laſt Lateran Councel, ſets downe this Poſition for one of *Luthers* hereſies, *A new life is the beſt repentance*. Among the crimes which the Councel of Conſtance charged Pope *Iohn* XXIII. withall, one was this, that hee denied the immortalitie of the ſoule, and that *ſo much was publiquely*,

Annal. Boio. Lib. 3. Iuuanen. Epiſcop.

Optima pœnitentia noua vita. Conc. Conſtan. Seſſ. 2.

liquely, manifeſtly, and notoriouſly knowen. Now if the Pope ſhall be caried by the ſtreame of theſe or the like errours, and in his Hereticall prauitie ſhall depoſe a King of the contrary opinion, I ſhall hardly bee perſwaded, the ſaid King is lawfully depoſed.

THE FIRST INCONVENIENCE EXAMINED.

THE firſt inconuenience growing (in the Cardinall his conceit) by entertaining the Article of the third Eſtate (whereby the Kings of France are declared to be indepoſeable by any ſuperiour power ſpirituall or temporall) is this: *It offereth force to the conſcience, vnder the penaltie of Anathema, to condemne a doctrine beleeued and practiſed in the Church, in the continuall current of the laſt eleuen hundred yeeres.* In theſe words he maketh a ſecret confeſſion, that in the firſt fiue hundred yeeres, the ſame doctrine was neither apprehended by faith, nor approoued by practiſe. Wherein, to my vnderſtanding, the L. Cardinall voluntarily giueth ouer the ſuite: For the Church in the time of the Apoſtles, their diſciples, and ſucceſſors, for 500. yeeres together, was no more ignorant what authoritie the Church is to challenge ouer Emperours and Kings, then at any time ſince in any ſucceeding age; in which as pride hath ſtill flowed to the height of a full Sea, ſo puritie of religion and manners hath kept for the moſt part at a lowe water marke. Which point is the rather to be conſidered, for that during the firſt 500. yeeres, the Church groned vnder the heauy burthen, both of heathen Emperours, and of hereticall Kings; the Viſigot Kings in Spaine, and the Vandals in Affrica. Of whoſe diſpleaſure the Pope had ſmall reaſon or cauſe to ſtand in any feare, beeing ſo remote from their dominions, and no way vnder the lee of their Soueraigntie.

But let vs come to ſee, what aide the L. Cardinall hath amaſſed and piled together out of latter hiſtories: prouided wee ſtill beare in mind, that our queſtion is not of popular tumults, nor of the rebellion of ſubiects making inſurrections out of their owne diſcontented ſpirits and braineſicke humors, nor of lawfull Excommunications, nor of Canonicall cenſures and reprehenſions; but onely of a iuridicall ſentence of depoſition, pronounced by the Pope, as armed with ordinary and lawfull power to depoſe, againſt a Soueraigne Prince.

Exampl. 1. pag. 18 Euag. hiſt Eccleſ. lib. 3. cap. 32.

Now then, The L. Cardinall ſets on, and giues the firſt charge with *Anaſtaſius* the Emperour, whom *Euphemius* Patriarke of Conſtantinople would neuer acknowledge for Emperour: (that is to ſay, would neuer conſent he ſhould be created Emperour by the helpe of his voice or ſuffrage) except he would firſt ſubſcribe to the *Chalcedon* Creed: notwithſtanding the

the great Empreſſe and Senate ſought by violent courſes and practiſes to make him yeeld. And when afterward the ſaid Emperour, contrary to his oath taken, played the relaps by falling into his former hereſie, and became a perſecutor; he was firſt admoniſhed, and then excommunicated by *Symmachus* Biſhop of Rome. To this the L. Cardinall addes, that when the ſaid Emperour was minded to choppe the poiſon of his hereticall aſſertions into the publique formes of diuine ſeruice, then the people of Conſtantinople made an vproare againſt *Anaſtaſius* their Emperour; and one of his Commanders by force of armes, conſtrained him to call backe certaine Biſhops whom he had ſent into baniſhment before.

In this firſt example the L. Cardinall by his good leaue, neither comes cloſe to the queſtion, nor ſalutes it a farre off. *Euphemius* was not Biſhop of Rome: *Anaſtaſius* was not depoſed by *Euphemius*; the Patriarch onely made no way to the creating of *Anaſtaſius*. The ſuddaine commotion of the baſe multitude makes nothing, the rebellion of a Greeke Commaunder makes leſſe, for the authorizing of the Pope to depoſe a Soueraigne Prince. The Greeke Emperour was excommunicated by Pope *Symmachus*: who knowes whether that be trew or forged? For the Pope himſelfe is the onely witneſſe here produced by the L. Cardinall vpon the point: and who knowes not how falſe, how ſuppoſititious, the writings and Epiſtles of the auncient Popes are iuſtly eſteemed? But graunt it a trewth; yet *Anaſtaſius* excommunicated by Pope *Symmachus*, is not *Anaſtaſius* depoſed by Pope *Symmachus*. And to make a full anſwere, I ſay further, that excommunication denounced by a forraine Biſhop, againſt a party not beeing within the limits of his iuriſdiction, or one of his owne flocke, was not any barre to the party from the communion of the Church, but onely a kind of publication, that he the ſaid Biſhop in his particular, would hold no further communion with any ſuch party.

For proofe whereof, I produce the Canons of the Councils held at Carthage. In one of the ſaid Canons it is thus prouided and ordained; *If any Biſhop ſhall wilfully abſent himſelfe from the vſuall and accuſtomed Synodes, let him not be admitted to the communion of other Churches, but *let him onely vſe the benefit and libertie of his owne Church.* In an other of the ſame Canons thus; *If a Biſhop ſhall inſinuate himſelfe to make a conueiance of his Monaſterie, and the ordering thereof vnto a Monke of any other Cloiſter; let him be cut off, *let him be ſeparated from the communion with other Churches, and content himſelfe to liue in the communion of his owne flocke.* In the ſame ſenſe *Hilarius* Biſhop of Poictiers excommunicated *Liberius* Biſhop of Rome, for ſubſcribing to the Arrian Confeſſion. In the ſame ſenſe, *Iohn* Biſhop of Antioch excommunicated *Cæleſtine* of Rome, and *Cyrill* of Alexandria, Biſhops; for proceeding to ſentence againſt *Neſtorius*, without ſtaying his comming to anſwere in his owne cauſe. In the ſame ſenſe likewiſe, *Victor* Biſhop of Rome did cut off all the Biſhops of the Eaſt, not from the communion of their owne flocks, but from communion

* *Nomocan. Affric. Can. 77.* Ὀφείλειν τὸς τοιέτους τῆ κοινωνίᾳ τῆς ἰδίας αὐτῶν ἐκκλησίας.

* *Can. 81. eiuſd. Nomo.* Δεῖ τὸν λοιπὸν κοινωνίας χωρίζεσθαι τὸν τὸ ἴδιον λαὸν κοινωνίᾳ ἀφαιρεθήσεσθαι.

Anathema tibi à me Liberi. Faber. in frag. Hilarij.

with *Victor* and the Romane Church. What reſemblance, what agreement, what proportion, betweene this courſe of excommunication, and that way of vniuſt fulmination which the Popes of Rome haue vſurped againſt Kings, but yet certaine long courſes of time after that auncient courſe?

Examp. 2. And this may ſtand for a full anſwere likewiſe to the example of *Clotharius*. This ancient King of the French, fearing the cenſures of Pope *Agapetus*, erected the Territorie of Yuetot vnto the title of a Kingdome, by way of ſatisfaction for murdering of *Gualter*, Lord of Yuetot. For this example the L. Cardinall hath ranſackt records of 900. yeeres antiquitie and vpward; in which times it were no hard piece of worke to ſhew, that Popes would not haue any hand, nor ſo much as a finger in the affaires and acts of the French Kings. *Gregorie* of Tours that liued in the ſame aage, hath recorded many acts of exceſſe, and violent iniuries done againſt Biſhops by their Kings, and namely againſt *Prætextatus* Biſhop of Roan; for any of which iniurious prankes then played, the Biſhop of Rome durſt not reprooue the ſaid Kings with due remonſtrance. But ſee heere the words of *Gregorie* himſelfe to King *Chilperic*: *If any of vs, O King, ſhall ſwarue from the path of Iuſtice, him haſt thou power to puniſh: But in caſe thou ſhalt at any time tranſgreſſe the lines of equitie, who ſhall once touch thee with reproofe? To thee wee ſpeake, but are neuer heeded and regarded, except it be thy pleaſure: and bee thou not pleaſed, who ſhall challenge thy greatneſſe, but hee that iuſtly challengeth to bee Iuſtice it ſelfe?* The good Biſhop, notwithſtanding theſe humble remonſtrances, was but roughly entreated, and packt into exile, being baniſhed into the Iſle of Guernſay. But I am not minded to make any deepe ſearch or inquiſition, into the titles of the Lords of Yuetot; whoſe honourable priuiledges and titles are the moſt honourable badges and cognizances of their Anceſtours, and of ſome remarkeable ſeruice done to the Crowne of France: ſo farre I take them to differ from a ſatisfaction for ſinne: And for the purpoſe I onely affirme, that were the credit of this hiſtorie beyond all exception, yet makes it nothing to the preſent queſtion, Wherein the power of depoſing, and not of excommunicating ſupreme Kings, is debated. And ſuppoſe the King by Charter granted the ſaid priuiledges for feare of Excommunication; how is it prooued thereby, that Pope *Agapetus* had lawfull and ordinary power to depriue him of his Crowne? Nay, doubtleſſe it was rather a meanes to eleuate and aduance the dignitie of the Crowne of France, and to ſtyle the French King, a King of Kings, as one that was able to giue the qualitie of King, to all the reſt of the Nobles and Gentry of his Kingdome. Doeth not ſome part of the Spaniſh Kings greatneſſe, conſiſt in creating of his, great?

Examp. 3. pag. 22. In the next place followeth *Gregorie I.* who in the 10. Epiſtle of the 11. booke, confirming the priuiledges of the Hoſpitall at *Auguſtodunum* in *Bourgongne*, prohibiteth all Kings and Prelates whatſoeuer, to infringe or diminiſh the ſaid priuiledges, in whole or in part. His formall and expreſſe

preſſe words bee theſe : *If any King, Prelate, Iudge, or any other Secular perſon, informed of this our Conſtitution, ſhall preſume to goe or doe contrary thereunto, let him bee caſt downe from his power and dignitie.* I anſwere; the Lord Cardinall heere wrongs himſelfe very much, in taking imprecations for Decrees. Might not euen the meaneſt of the people vſe the ſame tenour of words, and ſay? If any ſhall touch the life, or the moſt ſacred Maieſtie of our Kings, be he Emperour, or be he Pope, let him bee accurſed; let him fall from his eminent place of authoritie; let him loſe his dignitie; let him tumble into beggerie, diſeaſes, and all kindes of calamities? I forbeare to ſhew how eaſie a matter it is for Monkes, to forge titles after their owne humour, and to their owne liking, for the vpholding and maintaining of their priuiledges. As for the purpoſe, the ſame *Gregorie* citeth in the end of his Epiſtles another priuiledge, of the like ſtuffe and ſtampe to the former, granted to the Abbey of *S. Medard* at Soiſſons: It is fenced with a like clauſe to the other; But of how great vntrewth, and of how little weight it is, the very date that it beareth, makes manifeſt proofe: For it runs, Dated the yeere of our Lords Incarnation 593. the 11. Indiction; whereas the 10. Indiction agreeth to the yeere 593. Beſides, it was not *Gregories* maner to date his Epiſtles according to the yeere of the Lord. Againe, the ſaid priuiledge was ſigned by the Biſhops of Alexandria and Carthage, who neuer knew (as may well bee thought) whether any ſuch Abbey of S. *Medard*, or citie of Soiſſons, was euer built in the world. Moreouer, they ſigned in the thickeſt of a crowd as it were of Italian Biſhops. Laſtly, hee that ſhall reade in this *Gregories* Epiſtles, with what ſpirit of reuerence and humilitie he ſpeaketh of Emperours, will hardly beleeue that euer hee armed himſelfe with authoritie to giue or to take away Kingdomes. Hee ſtyles himſelfe **The Emperours vnworthie ſeruant: preſuming to ſpeake vnto his Lord, when he knowes himſelfe to bee but duſt and a very worme: Hee profeſſeth ſubiection vnto the Emperours commands, euen to the publiſhing of a certaine Law of the Emperours, which in his iudgement ſomewhat iarred and iuſtled with Gods Law*; as elſewhere I haue ſpoken more at large.

* *Epiſt. 6. l. 3. Ego autem indignus pietatis tuæ ſeruus. Ego verò hæc Dominis meis loquens, quid ſum niſi puluis & vermis? Ibid. Ego quidem iuſſioni ſubiectus, &c. Epiſt. 61. l. 2.*

The L. Cardinall next bringeth vpon the ſtage *Iuſtinian II.* Hee, being in ſome choller with *Sergius* Biſhop of Rome, becauſe hee would not fauour the erroneous Synode of Conſtantinople, would haue cauſed the Biſhop to bee apprehended by his Conſtable *Zacharias*. But by the Romane *Militia*, (that is, the troupes which the Emperour then had in Italie) *Zacharias* was repulſed and hindered from his deſeigne, euen with opprobrious and reproachfull termes. His Lordſhip muſt haue my ſhallowneſſe excuſed, if I reach not his intent by this Allegation; wherein I ſee not one word of depoſing from the Empire, or of any ſentence pronounced by the Pope. *Examp. 4.*

Heere are now 712. yeeres expired after the birth of Ieſus Chriſt: in all which long tract of time, the L. Cardinal hath not light vpon any inſtance, which might make for his purpoſe with neuer ſo little ſhew: For the ex-

Examp. 5. ample of the Emperor *Philippicus* by the Cardinal alledged next in ſequence, belongeth to the yeere 713. And thus lies the hiſtorie: This Emperour *Philippicus Bardanes*, was a profeſſed enemie to the worſhipping of Images, and commanded them to be broken in pieces. In that very time the Romane Empire was ouerthrowen in the Weſt, and ſore ſhaken by the Saracenes in the Eaſt. Beſides thoſe miſeries, the Emperour was alſo incumbred with a ciuill and inteſtine warre. The greateſt part of Italie was then ſeized by the Lombards, and the Emperour in Italie had nothing left ſaue onely the Exarchat of Rauenna, and the Dutchie of Rome, then halfe abandoned by reaſon of the Emperours want of forces. Pope *Conſtantine* gripes this occaſion whereon to ground his greatneſſe, and to ſhake off the yoke of the Emperour his Lord, Vndertakes againſt *Philippicus* the cauſe of Images: by a Councel declares the Emperour Heretique: Prohibites his reſcripts or coine to bee receiued, and to goe current in Rome: Forbids his Imperiall ſtatue to bee ſet vp in the Temple, according to ancient cuſtome: The tumult groweth to a height: The Pope is principall promoter of the tumult: In the heate of the tumult the Exarche of Rauenna loſeth his life. Here ſee now the mutinie of a ſubiect againſt his Prince, to pull from him by force and violence a citie of his Empire. But who ſeeth in all this any ſentence of depoſition from the Imperiall dignitie? Nay, the Pope then miſſed the cuſhion, and was diſappointed vtterly of his purpoſe: The citie of Rome ſtood firme, and continued ſtill in their obedience to the Emperour.

Examp. 6. About ſome 12. yeeres after, the Emperour *Leo Iſauricus* (whom the Lord of Perron calleth *Iconoclaſt*) falles to fight it out at ſharpe, and to proſecute worſhippers of Images with all extremitie. Vpon this occaſion, Pope *Gregory* 2. then treading in the ſteps of his predeceſſor, when he perceiued the citie of Rome to be but weakely prouided of men or munition, and the Emperour to haue his hands full in other places, found ſuch meanes to make the citie riſe in rebellious armes againſt the Emperour, that he made himſelfe in ſhort time maſter thereof. Thus farre the Lord Cardinall, whereunto my anſwere for ſatisfaction is; that degrading an Emperour from his Imperiall dignitie, and reducing a citie to reuolt againſt her Maſter, that a man at laſt may carry the piece himſelfe, and make himſelfe Lord thereof, are two ſeuerall actions of ſpeciall difference. If the free-hold of the citie had beene conueied to ſome other by the Pope depriuing the Emperour, as proprietarie thereof, this example might haue challenged ſome credit at leaſt in ſhew: but ſo to inuade the citie to his owne vſe, and ſo to ſeize on the right and authority of another, what is it but open rebellion, and notorious ambition? For it is farre from Eccleſiaſticall cenſure, when the ſpirituall Paſtor of ſoules forſooth, pulles the cloake of a poore ſinner from his backe by violence, or cuts his purſe, and thereby appropriates an other mans goods to his priuate vſe. It is to be obſerued withall, that when the Emperours were not of ſufficient ſtrength, and

Popes

Popes had power to beard and to braue Emperours, then theſe Papall practiſes were firſt ſet on foot. This Emperour notwithſtanding, turned head and peckt againe: his Lieutenant entred Rome, and *Gregorie* 3. ſucceſſor to this *Gregorie* 2. was glad to honour the ſame Emperour with ſtyle and title of his Lord: witneſſe two ſeuerall Epiſtles of the ſaid *Gregorie* 3. written to *Boniface*, and ſubſcribed in this forme: *Dated the tenth Calends of December: In the raigne of our moſt pious and religious Lord, Auguſtus Leo, crowned of God, the great Emperour, in the tenth yeere of his raigne.*

Dat. 10. Cal. Decem Imperante Dom. piiſſimo Auguſto Leone, à Deo corona ꝙ magno Imp. anno decimo Imperij eius. Examp. 7.

The L. Cardinall with no leſſe abuſe alleadgeth Pope *Zacharie*, by whom the French, as he affirmeth, were abſolued of the oath of allegiance, wherein they ſtood bound to *Childeric* their King: And for this inſtance, he ſtandeth vpon the teſtimonie of *Paulus Aemilius*, and *du Tillet*, a paire of late writers. But by authors more neere that aage wherein *Childeric* raigned, it is more trewly teſtified, that it was a free and voluntarie act of the French, onely asking the aduiſe of Pope *Zacharie*, but requiring neither leaue nor abſolution. *Ado* Biſhop of *Vienna*, in his Chronicles hath it after this manner: *The French, following the Counſell of Embaſſadors, and of Pope* Zachary, *elected* Pepin *their King, and eſtabliſhed him in the Kingdome. Trithemius* in his abridgement of Annals, thus: Childeric, *as one vnfit for gouernement, was turned out of his Kingdome, with common conſent of the Eſtates and Peeres of the Realme, ſo aduiſed by Zacharie Pope of Rome. Godfridus* of *Viterbe* in the 17. part of his Chronicle; and *Guauguin* in the life of *Pepin*, affirme the ſame. And was it not an eaſie matter to worke *Pepin* by counſell to lay hold on the Kingdome, when he could not be hindered from faſtening on the Crowne, and had already ſeizd it in effect, howſoeuer he had not yet attained to the name of King? Moreouer, the rudeneſſe of that Nation, then wanting knowledge and Schooles either of diuinitie, or of Academicall ſciences, was a kind of ſpurre to make them runne for counſell ouer the mountaines: which neuertheleſſe in a cauſe of ſuch nature, they required not as neceſſary, but onely as decent and for faſhion ſake. The Pope alſo for his part was well appaied, by this meanes to draw *Pepin* vnto his part; as one that ſtood in ſome neede of his aide againſt the Lombards; and the more, becauſe his Lord the Emperour of Conſtantinople was then brought ſo low, that hee was not able to ſend him ſufficient aide, for the defence of his territories againſt his enemies. But had *Zacharie* (to deale plainely) not ſtood vpon the reſpect of his owne commodity, more then vpon the regard of Gods feare; he would neuer haue giuen counſell vnto the ſeruant, vnder the pretended colour of his Maſters dull ſpirit, ſo to turne rebell againſt his Maſter. The Lawes prouide Gardians, or ouerſeers, for ſuch as are not well in their wits; they neuer depriue and ſpoile them of their eſtate: they puniſh crimes, but not diſeaſes and infirmities by nature. Yea, in France it is a very auncient cuſtome, when the King is troubled in his wits to eſtabliſh a Regent, who for the time of the Kings diſability, may beare the burden of the Kingdomes affaires. So was the

practiſe

practiſe of that State in the caſe of *Charles* 6. when hee fell into a phrenſie; whom the Pope notwithſtanding his moſt grieuous and ſharpe fits, neuer offered to degrade. And to be ſhort, what reaſon, what equity will beare the children to be puniſhed for the fathers debilitie? Yet ſuch puniſhment was laid vpon *Childerics* whole race and houſe; who by this practiſe were all diſinherited of the Kingdome. But ſhall wee now take ſome view, of the L. Cardinals excuſe for this exemplarie fact? The cauſe of *Childerics* depoſing, (as the L. Cardinall ſaith) did neerely concerne and touch Religion: For *Childerics* imbecillity brought all France into danger, to ſuffer a moſt wofull ſhipwracke of Chriſtian religion, vpon the barbarous and hoſtile inuaſion of the Saracens. Admit now this reaſon had beene of iuſt weight and value, yet conſideration ſhould haue beene taken, whether ſome one or other of that Royall ſtemme, and of the Kings owne ſucceſſors neereſt of blood, was not of better capacity to rule and mannage that mighty State. The feare of vncertaine and accidentall miſchiefe, ſhould not haue driuen them to flie vnto the certaine miſchiefe of actuall and effectuall depoſition. They ſhould rather haue ſet before their eies the example of *Charles Martel*, this *Pepins* father; who in a farre more eminent danger, when the Saracens had already maſtered, and ſubdued a great part of France, valiantly encountred, and withall defeated the Saracens; ruled the Kingdome vnder the title of *Steward* of the Kings houſe, the principall Officer of the Crowne; without affecting or aſpiring to the Throne for all that great ſtep of aduantage, eſpecially when the Saracens were quite broken, and no longer dreadfull to the French Nation.

Pag. 25.

In our owne Scotland, the ſway of the Kingdome was in the hand of *Walles*, during the time of *Bruſe* his impriſonment in England, who then was lawfull heire to the Crowne. This *Walles* or *Vallas* had the whole power of the Kingdome at his becke and command. His Edicts and ordinances to this day ſtand in full force. By the deadly hatred of *Bruſe* his mortall enemie, it may be coniectured, that he might haue bene prouoked and inflamed with deſire to truſſe the Kingdome in his tallants. And notwithſtanding all theſe incitements, he neuer aſſumed or vſurped other title to himſelfe, then of Gouernour or Adminiſtratour of the Kingdome. The reaſon: Hee had not beene brought vp in this new doctrine and late diſcipline, whereby the Church is endowed with power to giue and to take away Crownes. But now (as the L. Cardinall would beare the world in hand) the ſtate of Kings is brought to a very dead lift. The Pope forſooth muſt ſend his Phyſicians, to know by way of inſpection or ſome other courſe of Art, whether the Kings braine be cract or ſound: and in caſe there be found any debilitie of wit and reaſon in the King, then the Pope muſt remooue and tranſlate the Crowne, from the weaker braine to a ſtronger: and for the acting of the ſtratageme, the name of Religion muſt be pretended. Ho, theſe Heretikes begin to crawle in the Kingdome: order muſt bee taken they bee not ſuffered by their multitudes and ſwarmes, like

like locuſts or caterpillers to peſter and poiſon the whole Realme. Or in a caſe of Matrimony, thus: Ho, marriage is a Sacrament: touch the Order of Matrimonie, and Relgion is wounded. By this deuice not onely the Kings vices, but likewiſe his naturall diſeaſes and infirmities are fetcht into the circle of Religion; and the L. Cardinall hath not done himſelfe right, in reſtraining the Popes power to depoſe Kings, vnto the caſes of Hereſie, Apoſtaſie, and perſecution of the Church.

In the next place followeth *Leo* III. who by ſetting the Imperial Crowne vpon the head of *Charles*, abſolued all the Subiects in the Weſt, of their obedience to the Greeke Emperours, if the L. of Perron might bee credited in this Example. But indeed it is crowded among the reſt by a ſlie tricke, and cleane contrary to the naked trewth of all hiſtories: For it ſhall neuer be iuſtified by good hiſtorie, that ſo much as one ſingle perſon or man (I ſay not one Countrey, or one people) was then wrought or wonne by the Pope to change his copy and Lord, or from a ſubiect of the Greeke Emperours, to turne ſubiect vnto *Charlemaine*. Let me ſee but one Towne that *Charlemaine* recouered from the Greeke Emperours, by his right and title to his Empire in the Weſt: No, the Greeke Emperours had taken their farewell of the Weſt Empire long before: And therefore to nicke this vpon the tallie of Pope *Leo* his Acts, that he tooke away the Weſt from the Greeke Emperour, it is euen as if one ſhould ſay, that in this aage the Pope takes the Dukedome of *Milan* from the French Kings, or the citie of Rome from the Emperours of Germanie, becauſe their Predeceſſours in former aages had beene right Lords and gouernours of them both. It is one of the Popes ordinary and ſolemne practiſes to take away, much after the maner of his giuing: For as he giueth what he hath not in his right and power to giue, or beſtoweth vpon others what is already their owne; euen ſo he taketh away from Kings and Emperors the poſſeſſions which they haue not in preſent hold and poſſeſſion. After this maner he takes the Weſt from the Greeke Emperors, when they hold nothing in the Weſt, and lay no claime to any citie or towne of the Weſt Empire. And what ſhall wee call this way of depriuation, but ſpoiling a naked man of his garments, and killing a man already dead? Trew it is the Imperiall Crowne was then ſet on *Charlemaines* head by *Leo* the Pope: did *Leo* therefore giue him the Empire? No more then a Biſhop that crownes a King, at his Royall and ſolemne conſecration, doeth giue him the Kingdome: For ſhall the Pope himſelfe take the Popedome from the Biſhop of *Oſtia* as of his gift, becauſe the crowning of the Pope is an Office of long time peculiar to the *Oſtian* Biſhop? It was the cuſtome of Emperours, to be crowned Kings of Italy by the hands of the Archbiſhop of *Milan*: did he therefore giue the Kingdome of Italy to the ſaid Emperours? And to returne vnto *Charlemaine*; If the Pope had conueyed the Empire to him by free and gracious donation, the Pope doubtleſſe in the ſolemnitie of his coronation, would neuer haue perfourmed vnto his owne creature, an Emperour of his owne making,

king the dueties of adoration, as *Ado* that liued in the ſame aage, hath left it on record: *After the ſolemne prayſes ended* (ſaith *Ado*) *the chiefe Biſhop honoured him with adoration, according to the cuſtome of ancient Princes.* The ſame is likewiſe put downe by *Auentine*, in the 4. booke of his Annals of *Bauaria*. The like by the Preſident *Fauchet* in his Antiquities: and by *Monſieur Petau* Counſellour in the Court of Parliament at *Paris*, in his Preface before the Chronicles of *Euſebius*, *Hierome*, and *Sigebert*. It was therefore the people of *Rome*, that called this *Charles* the Great vnto the Imperiall dignitie, and caſt on him the title of Emperour. So teſtifieth *Sigebert* vpon the yeere 801. *All the Romanes with one generall voice and conſent, ring out acclamations of Imperiall praiſes to the Emperour, they crowne him by the hands of* Leo *the Pope, they giue him the ſtyle of* Cæſar *and* Auguſtus. *Marianus Scotus* hath as much in effect: Charles *was then called* Auguſtus *by the Romanes*. And ſo *Platina*: *After the ſolemne ſeruice,* Leo *declareth and proclaimeth* Charles *Emperour, according to the publike Decree and generall requeſt of the people of* Rome. *Auentine*, and *Sigonius* in his 4. booke of the Kingdome of *Italie* witneſſe the ſame. Neuerthelſſe, to gratifie the L. Cardinall; Suppoſe Pope *Leo* diſpoſſeſſed the Greeke Emperours of the Weſt Empire: What was the cauſe? what infamous acte had they done? what prophane and irreligious crime had they committed? *Nicephorus* and *Irene*, who reigned in the Greeke Empire in *Charlemaines* time, were not reputed by the Pope, or taken for Heretikes. How then? The L. Cardinall helpeth at a pinch, and putteth vs in minde, that *Conſtantine* and *Leo*, predeceſſours to the ſaid Emperours, had beene poyſoned with Hereſie, and ſtained with perſecution. Here then behold an Orthodoxe Prince depoſed: For what cauſe? for Hereſie forſooth, not in himſelfe, but in ſome of his Predeceſſors long before. An admirable caſe: For I am of a contrary minde, that he was worthy of double honour, in reſtoring and ſetting vp the trewth againe, which vnder his predeceſſors had endured oppreſſion, and ſuffered perſecution. Doubtleſſe Pope *Silueſter* was greatly ouerſeene, and played not well the Pope, when hee winked at *Conſtantine* the Great, and caſt him not downe from his Imperiall Throne, for the ſtrange infidelitie and Paganiſme of *Diocletian*, *of Maximian*, and *Maxentius*, whom *Conſtantine* ſucceeded in the Empire.

Perfectis laudibus, à Pontifice more Principum antiquorum adoratus eſt.
Auentinus Annalium Boiorum, lib. 4.
Poſthæc ab eodem Pontifice vt cæteri veterum Principum, more maiorum adoratus eſt Magnus.
Sigeb. ad an. 801.
Marianus Scotus lib. 3. Annalium.
Plat. in vita Leon. 3.
Auent. Annal. Boio. lib. 4. Imperium transferre iure ſuo in Germanos, Carolúmque tacito Senatus conſulto, plebiſcitoq; decernunt.

Examp 9. pag. 21.

From this example the L. of *Perron* paſſeth to *Fulke* Archbiſhop of *Reims*: by whom *Charles* the Simple was threatned with Excommunication, and refuſing to continue any longer in the fidelity and allegiance of a ſubiect. To what purpoſe is this example? For who can be ignorant, that all aages haue brought forth turbulent and ſtirring ſpirits, men altogether forgetfull of reſpect and obſeruance towards their Kings, eſpecially when the world finds them ſhallow and ſimple-witted, like vnto this Prince? But in this example, where is there ſo much as one word of the Pope, or the depoſing of Kings?

Examp. 10. pag. 28.

Here the L. Cardinall chops in the example of *Philip* I. King of France, but

but mangled, and ſtrangely diſguiſed, as hereafter ſhall be ſhewed.

At laſt he leadeth vs to *Gregory* VII. ſurnamed *Hildebrand*, the ſcourge of Emperours, the firebrand of warre, the ſcorne of his aage. This Pope, after he had (in the ſpirit of pride, and in the very height of all audaciouſneſſe) thundred the ſentence of excommunication and depoſition, againſt the Emperour *Henry* IIII. after he had enterpriſed this act without all precedent example: after he had filled all Europe with blood: this Pope, I ſay, ſunke downe vnder the weight of his affaires, and died as a fugitiue at *Salerne*, ouerwhelmed with diſcontent and ſorrow of heart: Here lying at the point of giuing vp the ghoaſt, calling vnto him (as it is in *Sigebert*) a certaine Cardinall whom he much fauoured, *He confeſſeth to God, and Saint* Peter, *and the whole Church, that he had beene greatly defectiue in the Paſtorall charge committed to his care; and that by the Deuils inſtigation, he had kindled the fire of Gods wrath and hatred againſt mankind: Then hee ſent his Confeſſor to the Emperour, and to the whole Church to pray for his pardon, becauſe hee perceiued that his life was at an end.* Likewiſe Cardinall *Benno* that liued in the ſaid *Gregories* time, doth teſtifie, *That ſo ſoone as he was riſen out of his Chaire to excommunicate the Emperour from his Cathedrall ſeate: by the will of God the ſaid Cathedrall ſeate, new made of ſtrong board or plancke, did cracke and cleaue into many pieces or parts; to manifeſt how great and terrible Schiſmes had beene ſowen againſt the Church of Chriſt, by an excommunication of ſo dangerous conſequence, pronounced by the man that had ſit Iudge therein.* Now to bring and alleadge the example of ſuch a man, who by attempting an act which neuer any man had the heart or face to attempt before, hath condemned all his predeceſſors of cowardiſe, or at leaſt of ignorance; what is it elſe, but euen to ſend vs to the ſchoole of mightie robbers, and to ſeeke to correct and reforme ancient vertues by late vices? Which *Otho Friſingenſis* calling into his owne priuate conſideration, hee durſt freely profeſſe, *that hee had not reade of any Emperour before this* Henry *the IIII. excommunicated or driuen out of his Imperiall Throne and Kingdome by the chiefe Biſhop of Rome.* But if this quarrell may be tryed and fought out with weapons of examples, I leaue any indifferent reader to iudge what examples ought in the cauſe to be of chiefeſt authority and weight: whether late examples of Kings depoſed by Popes, for the moſt part neuer taking the intended effect; or auncient examples of Popes actually and effectually thruſt out of their thrones by Emperours and Kings.

Exam.11. An.1076.

Sigeb.ad an. 1085.

Otho Friſingenſ. in vita Hen.4. lib.4.cap 31.

The Emperour *Conſtantius* expelled *Liberius* Biſhop of Rome out of the citie, baniſhed him as farre as *Beroe*, and placed *Fœlix* in his roome. Indeed *Conſtantius* was an Arrian, and therein vſed no leſſe impious then vniuſt proceeding: Neuertheleſſe, the auncient Fathers of the Church, doe not blame *Conſtantius* for his hard and ſharpe dealing with a chiefe Biſhop, ouer whom hee had no lawfull power, but onely as an enemie to the Orthodoxe faith, and one that raged with extreame rigour of perſecution againſt innocent beleeuers.

Theo.lib.2. Hiſt.cap.16.

In the raigne of *Valentinian* the I. and yeare of the Lord 367. the contention

Ammia.lib.27

tion betweene *Damasus* and *Vrcisinus* competitors for the Bishopricke, filled the citie of Rome with a bloody sedition, in which were wickedly and cruelly murdered 137. persons. To meet with such turbulent actions, *Honorius* made a law extant in the Decreetalls, the words whereof be these; *If it shall happen henceforth by the temeritie of competitors, that any two Bishops be elected to the See, we straitly charge and command, that neither of both shall sit in the said See.* By vertue of this Law, the same *Honorius* in the yeare 420. expelled *Bonifacius* and *Eulalius*, competitors and Antipopes out of Rome, though not long after he reuoked *Bonifacius*, and setled him in the Papall See.

Decret. dist. 79.

Platina. Sigebertus.

Anastatius. Platina. Lib. Pontifi. Diaconus.

Theodoric the Goth King of Italy, sent *Iohn* Bishop of Rome Embassador to the Emperour *Iustinian*, called him home againe, and clapt him vp in the close prison, where he starued to death. By the same King, *Peter* Bishop of Altine was dispatched to Rome, to heare the cause and examine the processe of Pope *Symmachus*, then indited and accused of sundry crimes.

King *Theodatus* about the yeare 537. had the seruice of Pope *Agapetus*, as his Embassadour to the Emperour *Iustinian*, vpon a treatie of peace. *Agapetus* dying in the time of that seruice, *Syluerius* is made Bishop by *Theodatus*. Not long after, *Syluerius* is driuen out by *Belisarius* the Emperour his Lieutenant, and sent into banishment. After *Syluerius* next succeedeth *Vigilius*, who with currant coine purchased the Popedome of *Belisarius*. The Emperour *Iustinian* sends for *Vigilius* to Constantinople, and receiues him there with great honour. Soone after, the Emperour takes offence at his freenesse in speaking his mind, commands him to bee beaten with stripes in manner to death, and with a roape about his necke to be drawne through the city like a thiefe, as *Platina* relates the historie. *Nicephorus* in his 26. booke, and 17. chapter, comes very neere the same relation.

Platina. Baronius. Sigebertus.

The Emperour *Constantius*, in the yeere 654. caused Pope *Martin* to be bound with chaines, and banished him into Chersonesus, where he ended his life. The Popes in that aage writing to the Emperours, vsed none but submissiue tearmes, by way of most humble supplications; made profession of bowing the knee before their sacred Maiesties, and of executing their commaunds with entire obedience; payed to the Emperours twenty pound weight of gold for their Inuestiture; which tribute was afterward released and remitted, by *Constantine* the *Bearded*, to Pope *Agatho*, in the yeere 679. as I haue obserued in an other place.

Iustin. Authent. 123. cap. 3.

Nay further, euen when the power and riches of the Popes was growne to great height, by the most profuse and immense munificence of *Charlemayne* and Lewis his sonne; the Emperours of the West did not relinquish and giue ouer the making and vnmaking of Popes, as they saw cause. Pope *Adrian* 1. willingly submitted his necke to this yoke: and made this Law to be passed in a Councill, that in *Charlemayne* should rest all right and power for the Popes election, and for the gouernement of the Papall See. This Constitution is incerted in the *Decretals*, Distinct. 63. Can.

* *Hadri-*

* *Hadrianus*, and was confirmed by the practiſe of many yeeres.

In the yeere of the Lord 963. the Emperour *Otho* tooke away the Popedome from *Iohn* 13. and placed *Leo* 8. in his roume. In like maner, *Iohn* 14. *Gregory* 5. and *Silueſter* 2. were ſeated in the Papall Throne by the *Othos*.

The Emperour *Henrie* 2. in the yeere 1007. depoſed three Popes, namely, *Bendict* 9. *Silueſter* 3. and *Gregorie* 6. whom *Platina* doeth not ſticke to call, three moſt deteſtable and vile monſters. This cuſtome continued, this practiſe ſtood in force for diuers aages, euen vntill the times of *Gregorie* 7. by whom the whole Weſt was toſſed and turmoiled with lamentable warres, which plagued the world, and the Empire by name with intolerable troubles and miſchiefes. For after the ſaid *Gregorian* warres, the Empire fell from bad to worſe, and ſo went on to decay, till Emperours at laſt were driuen to beg, and receiue the Imperiall Crowne of the Pope.

The Kingdome of *France* met not with ſo rude entreatie, but was dealt withall by courſes of a milder temper. *Gregorie* 4. about the yeere of the Lord, 832. was the firſt Pope that perſwaded himſelfe to vſe the cenſure of Excommunication againſt a King of *France*. This Pope hauing a hand in the troubleſome factions of the Realme, was nothing backeward to ſide with the ſonnes of *Lewis* ſurnamed the Courteous, by wicked conſpiracie entring into a deſperate courſe and complot againſt *Lewis* their owne father; as witneſſeth *Sigebert* in theſe words, *Pope* Gregorie *comming into* France, *ioyned himſelfe to the ſonnes againſt the Emperour their Father*. But Annals of the very ſame times, and hee that furbuſhed *Aimonius*, a Religious of S. *Benedicts* Order, doe teſtifie, that all the Biſhops of *France* fell vpon this reſolution; by no meanes to reſt in the Popes pleaſure, or to giue any place vnto his deſigne: and contrariwiſe, *In caſe the Pope ſhould proceed to Excommunication of their King, hee ſhould returne out of* France *to* Rome *an excommunicate perſon himſelfe*. The Chronicle of S. *Denis* hath words in this forme: *The Lord Apoſtolicall returned anſwere, that hee was not come into* France *for any other purpoſe, but onely to excommunicate the King and his Biſhops, if they would bee in any ſort oppoſite vnto the ſonnes of* Lewis, *or diſobedient vnto the will and pleaſure of his Holineſſe: The Prelates enformed heereof, made anſwere, that in this caſe they would neuer yeeld obedience to the Excommunication of the ſaid Biſhops; becauſe it was contrary to the authoritie and aduiſe of the ancient Canons.*

After theſe times, Pope *Nicolas* 1. depriued King *Lotharius* of Communion (for in thoſe times not a word of depoſing) to make him repudiate or quit *Valdrada*, and to reſume or take againe *Thetberga* his former wife. The Articles framed by the French vpon this point, are to bee found in the writing of *Hincmarus*, Archbiſhop of *Reims*, and are of this purport; that in the iudgement of men both learned and wiſe, it is an ouerruled caſe, that as the King whatſoeuer hee ſhall doe, ought not by his owne Biſhops to be excommunicated, euen ſo no forreine Biſhop hath power to ſit for his Iudge: becauſe the King is to be ſubiect onely vnto God, and

* *Note that in the ſame Diſt. the Can of* Greg. 4. *beginning with* Cùm Hadrianus 2. *is falſe, and ſuppoſititious, becauſe* Gregorie 4. *was Pope long before* Hadr. 2. *Tria teterrima monſtra.*

Bochel. *Decret. Eccleſ. Gallican. lib. 2. tit. 16.*

his Imperiall authoritie, who alone had the all-ſufficient power to ſettle him in his Kingdome. Moreouer, the Clergie addreſſed letters of anſwere vnto the ſame Pope, full of ſtinging and bitter termes, with ſpeaches of great ſcorne and contempt, as they are ſet downe by *Auentine* in his Annals of *Bauaria*, not forbearing to call him *thiefe, wolfe, and tyrant.*

Annal. Boio. lib. 4.

When Pope *Hadrian* tooke vpon him like a Lord, to command *Charles* the Bald vpon paine of interdiction, that hee ſhould ſuffer the Kingdome of *Lotharius* to bee fully and entirely conueyed and conferred vpon *Lewis* his ſonne; the ſame *Hincmarus*, a man of great authoritie and eſtimation in that aage, ſent his letters conteining ſundry remonſtrances touching that ſubiect: Among other matters thus he writeth, *The Eccleſiaſtics and Seculars of the Kingdome aſſembled at* Reims, *haue affirmed and now doe affirme by way of reproach, vpbraiding, and exprobation, that neuer was the like Mandate ſent before from the See of* Rome *to any of our predeceſſours.* And a little after: *The chiefe Biſhops of the Apoſtolike See, or any other Biſhops of the greateſt authoritie and holineſſe, neuer withdrew themſelues from the preſence, from the reuerend ſalutation, or from the conference of Empererours and Kings, whether Heretikes, or Schiſmatikes and Tyrants:* as Conſtantius *the Arrian,* Iulianus *the Apoſtata, and* Maximus *the Tyrant.* And yet a little after; *Wherefore if the Apoſtolike Lord bee minded to ſeeke peace, let him ſeeke it ſo, that he ſtirre no brawles, and breed no quarrels: For we are no ſuch babes to beleeue, that we can or euer ſhall attaine to Gods Kingdome, vnleſſe wee receiue him for our King in earth, whom God himſelfe recommendeth to vs from heauen.* It is added by *Hincmarus* in the ſame place, that by the ſaid Biſhops and Lords Temporall, ſuch threatning words were blowen forth, as hee is afraid once to ſpeake and vtter. As for the King himſelfe, what reckoning hee made of the Popes mandates, it appeareth by the Kings owne letters addreſſed to Pope *Hadrianus*, as we may reade euery where in the Epiſtles of *Hincmarus*. For there, after King *Charles* hath taxed and challenged the Pope of pride, and hit him in the teeth with a ſpirit of vſurpation, hee breaketh out into theſe words: *What Hell hath caſt vp this law ſo croſſe and prepoſterous? what infernall gulph hath diſgorged this law out of the darkeſt and obſcureſt dennes? a law quite contrary, and altogether repugnant vnto the beaten way ſhewed vs in the holy Scriptures, &c.* Yea, he flatly and peremptorily forbids the Pope, except he meane or deſire to be recompenſed with diſhonour and contempt, to ſend any more the like Mandates, either to himſelfe, or to his Biſhops.

Vnder the reigne of *Hugo Capetus* and *Robert* his ſonne, a Councell now extant in all mens hands, was held and celebrated at *Reims* by the Kings authoritie. There *Arnulphus* Biſhop of *Orleans*, then Prolocutor and Speaker of the Councel, calls the Pope Antichriſt, and lets not alſo to paint him forth like a monſter: as well for the deformed and vgly vices of that vnholy See, which then were in their exaltation, as alſo becauſe the Pope then wonne with preſents, and namely with certaine goodly horſes, then preſented to his Holineſſe, tooke part againſt the King, with *Arnulphus*

phus Biſhop of *Reims*, then diſpoſſeſſed of his Paſtorall charge.

When *Philip* 1. had repudiated his wife *Bertha*, daughter to the Earle of *Holland*; and in her place had alſo taken to wife *Bertrade* the wife of *Fulco* Earle of *Aniou* yet being aliue; hee was excommunicated, and his Kingdome interdicted by *Vrbanus* then Pope, (though he was then bearded with an Antipope) as the L. Cardinal here giueth vs to vnderſtand. But his Lordſhip hath skipt ouer two principall points recorded in the hiſtorie. The firſt is, that *Philip* was not depoſed by the Pope: whereupon it is to be inferred, that in this paſſage there is nothing materiall to make for the Popes power againſt a Kings Throne and Scepter. The other point is, that by the cenſures of the Pope, the courſe of obedience due to the King before was not interrupted, nor the King diſauowed, refuſed, or diſclaimed: but on the contrary, that *Iuo* of *Chartres* taking Pope *Vrbanus* part, was puniſhed for his preſumption, diſpoyled of his eſtate, and kept in priſon: whereof he makes complaint himſelfe in his 19. and 20. Epiſtles. The L. Cardinall beſides, in my vnderſtanding, for his Maſters honour, ſhould haue made no words of interdicting the whole Kingdome. For when the Pope, to giue a King chaſtiſement, doeth interdict his Kingdome, hee makes the people to beare the puniſhment of the Kings offence: For during the time of interdiction, the Church doores through the whole Kingdome are kept continually ſhut and lockt vp: publike ſeruice is intermitted in all places: bels euery where ſilent: Sacraments not adminiſtred to the people: bodies of the dead ſo proſtituted and abandoned, that none dares burie the ſaid bodies in holy ground. More, it is beleeued, that a man dying vnder the curſe of the interdict (without ſome ſpeciall indulgence or priuiledge) is for euer damned and adiudged to eternall puniſhments, as one that dyeth out of the communion of the Church. Put caſe then the interdict holdeth and continueth for many yeares together; alas, how many millions of poore ſoules are damned, and goe to hell for an others offence? For what can, or what may the faltleſſe and innocent people doe withall, if the King will repudiate his wife, and ſhe yet liuing, ioyne himſelfe in matrimonie to an other?

The Lord Cardinall after *Philip* the 1. produceth *Philippus Auguſtus*, who hauing renounced his wife *Ingeberga* daughter to the King of *Denmarke*, and marrying with *Agnes* daughter to the Duke of *Morauia*, was by Pope Innocent the third interdicted himſelfe and his whole Kingdome. But his Lordſhippe was not pleaſed to inſert withall, what is auerred in the Chronicle of Saint *Denis*: that Pope *Cæleſtinus* 3. ſent forth two Legats at once vpon this errand: *Who being come into the aſſemblie and generall Counſil of all the French Prelats, became like dumbe dogs that can not barke, ſo as they could not bring the ſeruice which they had vndertaken to any good paſſe, becauſe they ſtood in a bodily feare of their owne hydes. Not long after, the Cardinall of Capua was in the like taking: For hee durſt not bring the Realme within the limits of the interdict, before hee was got out of the limits of the Kingdome. The King here-*

Examp. 12.

Bochel. pag. 320

with incenſed, thruſt all the Prelates that had giuen conſent vnto theſe proceedings out of their Sees, confiſcated their goods, &c. To the ſame effect is that which wee reade in *Matthew Paris.* After the Pope had giuen his Maieſtie to vnderſtand by the Cardinal of *Anagnia*, that his kingdome ſhould be interdicted, vnleſſe he would be reconciled to the King of England; the King returned the Pope this anſwere, that he was not in any ſort afraid of the Popes ſentence, for as much as it could not be grounded vpon any equitie of the cauſe: and added withall, *that it did no way appertaine vnto the Church of Rome to ſentence Kings, eſpecially the King of France.* And this was done, ſaith *Iohannes Tilius* Regiſter in Court of Parliament of Paris, *by the counſell of the French Barons.*

Moſt notable is the example of *Philip the faire*, and hits the bird in the right eye. In the yeere 1032. the Pope diſpatched the Archbiſhop of *Narbona* with *mandates* into France, commanding the King to releaſe the Biſhop of *Apamia* then detained in priſon, for contumelious words tending to the Kings defamation, and ſpoken to the Kings owne head. In very deed this Pope had conceiued a ſecret grudge, and no light diſpleaſure againſt King *Philip* before: namely, becauſe the King had taken vpon him the collation of Benefices, and other Eccleſiaſtical dignities. Vpon which occaſion the Pope ſent letters to the King of this tenour and ſtyle: *Feare God, and keepe his Commandements: Wee would haue thee know, that in Spirituall and Temporall cauſes thou art ſubiect vnto our ſelfe: that collating of Benefices and Prebends, doeth not in any ſort appertaine to thy office and place: that, in caſe as keeper of the Spiritualties, thou haue the cuſtodie of Benefices and Prebends in thy hand when they become voyd, thou ſhalt by ſequeſtration reſerue the fruits of the ſame, to the vſe and benefit of the next Incumbents and ſucceſſors: and in caſe thou haſt heretofore collated any, we ordaine the ſaid collations to be meerely void: and ſo farre as herein thou haſt proceeded to the fact, we reuoke the ſaid collations. We hold them for hereticks whoſoeuer are not of this beliefe.* A Legate comes to Paris, and brings theſe brauing letters: By ſome of the Kings faithfull ſeruants they are violently ſnatched and pulled out of the Legates hands: by the Earle of Artois they are caſt into the fire. The good King anſweres the Pope, and payes him in as good coyne as he had ſent. *Philip by the grace of God King of the French,* to Boniface *calling and bearing himſelfe the Soueraigne Biſhop, little greeting or none at all. May thy exceeding ſottiſhneſſe vnderſtand, that in Temporall cauſes we are not ſubiect vnto any mortall and earthly creature: that collating of Benefices and Prebends, by Regall right appertaineth to our office and place: that appropriating their fruits when they become void, belongeth to our ſelfe alone during their vacancie: that all collations by vs heretofore made, or to bee made hereafter, ſhall ſtand in force: that in the validitie and vertue of the ſaid collations, wee will euer couragiouſly defend and maintaine, all Incumbents and poſſeſſors of Benefices and Prebends ſo by vs collated. We hold them all for ſots and ſenſeleſſe, whoſoeuer are not of this beliefe.* The Pope incenſed herewith, excommunicates the King: but no man dares publiſh that cenſure, or become bearer thereof.

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The King notwithſtanding the ſaid proceedings of the Pope, aſſembles his Prelates, Barons, and Knights at Paris: askes the whole aſſembly, of whom they hold their Fees, with al other the Temporalties of the Church. They make anſwere with one voice, that in the ſaid matters they diſclaime the Pope, and know none other Lord beſide his Maieſtie. Meane while the Pope worketh with Germanie and the Low Countreis, to ſtirre them vp againſt France. But *Philip* ſendeth *William* of *Nogaret* into Italy. *William* by the direction and aide of *Sciarra Columnenſis*, takes the Pope at *Anagnia*, mounts him vpon a leane ill-fauoured iade, caries him priſoner to Rome; where ouercome with choller, anguiſh, and great indignation, he takes his laſt leaue of the Popedome and his life. All this notwithſtanding, the King preſently after, from the ſucceſſours of *Boniface* receiues very ample and gratious Bulls, in which the memorie of all the former paſſages and actions is vtterly aboliſhed. Witneſſe the Epiſtle of *Clement* 5. wherein this King is honoured with praiſes, for a pious and religious Prince, and his Kingdome is reſtored to the former eſtate. In that aage the French Nobilitie caried other maner of ſpirits, then the moderne and preſent Nobilitie doe: I meane thoſe by whom the L. Cardinal was applauded and aſſiſted in his Oration. Yea, in thoſe former times the Prelates of the Realme ſtood better affected towards their King, then the L. Cardinal himſelfe now ſtandeth: who could finde none other way to dally with, and to ſhift off this pregnant example, but by plaine gloſing, that hereſie and Apoſtaſie was no ground of that queſtion, or ſubiect of that controuerſie. Wherein hee not onely condemnes the Pope, as one that proceeded againſt *Philip* without a iuſt cauſe & good ground; but likewiſe giues the Pope the Lie, who in his goodly letters but a little aboue recited, hath enrowled *Philip* in the liſt of heretiques. Hee ſaith moreouer, that indeed the knot of the queſtion was touching the Popes pretence, in challenging to himſelfe the temporall Soueraignte of France, that is to ſay, in qualifying himſelfe King of France: But indeed and indeed no ſuch matter to be found. His whole pretence was the collating of Benefices, and to pearch aboue the King, to crow ouer his Crowne in Temporall cauſes. At which pretence his Holineſſe yet aimeth, ſtill attributing and challenging to himſelfe plenarie power to depoſe the King. Now if the L. Cardinal ſhall yet proceed to cauill, that *Boniface* the eighth was taken by the French for an vſurper, and no lawfull Pope, but for one that crept into the Papacie by fraud and ſymonie; he muſt be pleaſed to ſet downe poſitiuely who was Pope, ſeeing that *Boniface* then ſate not in the Papall chaire. To conclude, If hee that creepeth and ſtealeth into the Papacie by ſymonie, by canuaſes or labouring of ſuffrages vnder hand, or by bribery, be not lawfull Pope; I dare be bold to profeſſe, there will hardly be found two lawfull Popes in the three laſt aages.

Extrauag. Meruit.

Pope *Benedict* in the yeere 1408. being in choller with *Charles* the ſixt, becauſe *Charles* had bridled and curbed the gainefull exactions and extor-

See the treatiſe of Charles du Moulin contrà paruas Datas,

tas, wherin he reporteth a notable Decree of the Court vnder *Charles* 6.

Theodoric. Niemenſ. in memore vnion. Tract. 6. & ſomnium viridarij.

ſions of the Popes Court, by which the Realme of France had bene exhauſted of their treaſure, ſent an excommunicatorie Bull into France, againſt *Charles* the King, and all his Princes. The Vniuerſitie of Paris made requeſt or motion that his Bull might be mangled, and Pope *Benedict* himſelfe, by ſome called *Petrus de Luna*, might be declared *heretike, ſchiſmatike, and perturber of the peace.* The ſaid Bull was mangled and rent in pieces, according to the petition of the Vniuerſitie, by Decree of Court vpon the tenth of Iune, 1408. Tenne dayes after, the Court riſing at eleuen in the morning, two Bul-bearers of the ſaid excommunicatorie cenſure vnderwent ignominious puniſhment vpon the Palace or great Hal ſtaires. From thence were led to the *Louure* in ſuch maner as they had bene brought from thence before: drawne in two tumbrels, clad in coates of painted linnen, wore paper-mytres on their heads, were proclaimed with ſound of Trumpet, and euery where diſgraced with publike deriſion: So litle reckoning was made of the Popes thundering canons in thoſe dayes. And what would they haue done, if the ſaid Buls had imported ſentence of depoſition againſt King *Charles*?

The French Church aſſembled at *Tours* in the yeere 1510. decreed that *Lewis* XII. might with ſafe conſcience contemne *the abuſiue Bulls, and vniuſt cenſures of Pope* Iulius *the* II. and by armes might withſtand the Popes vſurpations, in caſe hee ſhould proceed to excommunicate or depoſe the King. More, by a Councill holden at *Piſa*, this *Lewis* declared the Pope to bee fallen from the Popedome, and coyned crownes with a ſtampe of this inſcription, *I will deſtroy the name of Babylon.* To this the L. of *Perron* makes anſwere, that all this was done by the French, as acknowledging theſe iars to haue ſprung not from the fountaine of Religion, but from paſſion of ſtate: Wherein he condemneth Pope *Iulius*, for giuing ſo great ſcope vnto his publike cenſures, as to ſerue his ambition, and not rather to aduance Religion. He ſecretly teacheth vs beſides, that when the Pope vndertakes to depoſe the King of France, then the French are to ſit as Iudges concerning the lawfulneſſe or vnlawfulneſſe of the cauſe; and in caſe they ſhall finde the cauſe to be vnlawfull, then to diſanull his iudgements, and to ſcoffe at his thunderbolts.

Iohn d'Albret King of Nauarre, whoſe Realme was giuen by the foreſaid Pope to *Ferdinand* King of Arragon, was alſo wrapped and entangled with ſtrict bands of depoſition. Now if the French had bene touched with no better feeling of affection to their King, then the ſubiects of Nauarre were to the Nauarrois; doubtleſſe France had ſought a new Lord, by vertue of the Popes (as the L. Cardinall himſelfe doeth acknowledge and confeſſe) vniuſt ſentence. But behold, to make the ſaid ſentence againſt *Iohn d'Albret* ſeeme the leſſe contrary to equitie, the L. Cardinall pretends,
Pag. 51. the Popes donation was not indeed the principall cauſe, howſoeuer *Ferdinand* himſelfe made it his pretence. But his Lo. giues this for the principall cauſe: that *Iohn d'Albret* had quitted his alliance made with condition; that

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in caſe the Kings of Nauarre ſhould infringe the ſaid alliance, and breake the league, then the kingdome of Nauarre ſhould returne to the Crowne of Arragon. This condition, betweene Kings neuer made, and without all ſhew of probabilitie, ſerueth to none other purpoſe from the Cardinals mouth, but onely to inſinuate and worke a perſwaſion in his King, that he hath no right nor lawfull pretenſion to the Crowne of Nauarre: and whatſoeuer hee now holdeth in the ſaid kingdome of Nauarre, is none of his owne, but by vſurpation and vnlawfull poſſeſſion. Thus his Lordſhip French-borne, makes himſelfe an Aduocate for the Spaniſh King, againſt his owne King, and King of the French: who ſhalbe faine, as hee ought (if this Aduocats plea may take place) to draw his title and ſtyle of King of Nauarre out of his Royall titles, and to acknowledge that all the great endeuours of his predeceſſors to recouer the ſaid Kingdome, were diſhonourable and vniuſt. Is it poſſible, that in the very heart and head Citie of France, a ſpirit and tongue ſo licentious can be brooked? What, ſhall ſo great blaſphemie (as it were) of the Kings freehold, bee powred foorth in ſo honourable an aſſembly, without puniſhment or fine? What, without any contradiction for the Kings right, and on the Kings behalfe? I may perhaps confeſſe the indignitie might bee the better borne, and the pretence alledged might paſſe for a poore excuſe, if it ſerued his purpoſe neuer ſo little. For how doeth all this touch or come neere the queſtion? in which the Popes vſurpation in the depoſing of Kings, and the reſolution of the French in reſiſting this tyrannicall practiſe, is the proper iſſue of the cauſe: both which points are neuer a whit more of the leſſe conſequence and importance, howſoeuer *Ferdinand* in his owne iuſtification ſtood vpon the foreſaid pretence. Thus much is confeſſed, and wee aske no more: Pope *Iulius* tooke the Kingdome from the one, and gaue it vnto the other: the French thereupon reſiſted the Pope, and declared him to be fallen from the Papacie.

This noble ſpirit and courage of the French, in maintayning the dignitie and honour of their Kings Crownes, bred thoſe ancient cuſtomes, which in the ſequence of many aages haue bene obſerued and kept in vſe. This for one: That no Legate of the Pope, nor any of his reſcripts nor *mandates*, are admitted and receiued in France, *without licence from the King*: and vnleſſe the Legate impart his faculties to the Kings Atturney Generall, to be peruſed and verified in Court of Parliament: where they are to be tyed by certaine modifications and reſtrictions, vnto ſuch points as are not derogatorie from the Kings right, from the liberties of the Church, and from the ordinances of the Kingdome. When Cardinal *Balua*, contrary to this ancient forme, entred France in the yeere 1484. and there without leaue of the King did execute the office, & ſpeed certaine Acts of the Popes Legate; the Court vpon motion made by the Kings Atturney Generall, decreed a Commiſſion, to be informed againſt him by two Councellors of the ſaid Court, and inhibited his further proceeding to vſe any facultie or power

Pag. 26. *Niſi de conſenſu Regis Chriſtianiſſimi.*

Bochellus.

power of the Popes Legate, vpon paine of beeing proclaimed rebell.

In the yeere 1561. *Iohannes Tanquerellus* Batchelour in Diuinitie, by order of the Court was condemned to make open confeſſion, that hee had *indiſcreetly and raſhly without conſideration* defended this propoſition, *The Pope is the Vicar of Chriſt, a Monarke that hath power both Spirituall and Secular, and he may depriue Princes, which rebell againſt his commandements, of their dignities.* Which propoſition, howſoeuer he proteſted that he had propounded the ſame *onely to be argued, and not iudicially to be determined* in the affirmatiue, *Tanquerellus* neuertheleſſe was compelled openly to recant. Here the L. Cardinall anſweres; The hiſtorie of *Tanquerellus* is from the matter, becauſe his propoſition treateth neither of Hereſie nor of Infidelitie: but I anſwere, The ſaid propoſition treateth of both, foraſmuch as it maketh mention of diſobedience to the Pope. For I ſuppoſe hee will not denie, that whoſoeuer ſhall ſtand out in Hereſie, contrary to the Popes monitorie proceedings, he ſhal ſhew but poore and ſimple obedience to the Pope. Moreouer, the caſe is cleare by the former examples, that no Pope will ſuffer his power to caſt downe Kings, to be reſtrained vnto the cauſe of Hereſie and Infidelitie.

Indiſcretè ac inconſideratè.

Doctrinaliter tantùm & non iuridicè.

In the heate of the laſt warres, raiſed by that holy-prophane League, admonitory Bulls were ſent by Pope *Gregorie* 14. from *Rome*, Anno 1591. By theſe Bulls King *Henrie* 4. as an Heretike and relapſe, was declared incapable of the Crowne of *France*, and his Kingdome was expoſed to hauocke and ſpoile. The Court of Parliament being aſſembled at *Tours* the 5. of Auguſt, decreed the ſaid admonitorie Bulls to bee cancelled, torne in pieces, and caſt into a great fire by the hand of the publike executioner. The Arreſt it ſelfe or Decree is of this tenour: *The Court duely pondering and approouing the concluding and vnanſwerable reaſons of the Kings Attourney Generall, hath declared, and by theſe preſent doeth declare, the admonitorie Bulls giuen at* Rome *the 1. of March 1591. to be of no validitie, abuſiue, ſeditious, damnable, full of impietie and impoſtures, contrary to the holy decrees, rights, franchiſes, and liberties of the French Church: doeth ordeine the Copies of the ſaid Bulls, ſealed with the ſeale of* Marſilius Landrianus, *and ſigned* Septilius Lamprius, *to bee rent in pieces by the publike executioner, and by him to be burnt in a great fire to be made for ſuch purpoſe, before the great gates of the common Hall or Palace, &c.* Then, euen then the L. of *Perron* was firme for the better part, and ſtood for his King againſt *Gregorie* the Pope, notwithſtanding the crime of hereſie pretended againſt *Henrie* his Lord.

All the former examples by vs alledged, are drawen out of the times after Schooles of Diuinitie were eſtabliſhed in *France*: For I thought good to bound my ſelfe within thoſe dooles and limits of time, which the L. Cardinal himſelfe hath ſet. Who goeth not ſincerely to worke and in good earneſt, where he telleth vs there be three inſtances (as if wee had no more) obiected againſt Papall power, to remooue Kings out of their chaires of State: by name, *the example of* Philip *the Faire, of* Lewis XII.

Page 147.

and

and of Tanquerellus: For in very trewth all the former examples by vs produced, are no leſſe pregnant and euident, howſoeuer the L. Cardinall hath bene pleaſed to conceale them all for feare of hurting his cauſe.

Nay, *France* euen in the dayes of her ſoreſt ſeruitude, was neuer vnfurniſhed of great Diuines, by whom this vſurped power of the Pope, ouer the Temporalties and Crownes of Kings, hath beene vtterly miſliked and condemned.

Robert Earle of *Flanders* was commanded by Pope *Paſchal* 2. to perſecute with fire and ſword the Clergie of *Liege*, who then adhered and ſtood to the cauſe of the Emperour *Henrie* 4. whom the Pope had ignominiouſly depoſed. *Robert* by the Popes order and command, was to handle the Clergie of *Liege* in like ſort as before hee had ſerued the Clergie of *Cambray*, who by the ſaid Earle had beene cruelly ſtript both of goods and life: The Pope promiſed the ſaid Earle and his army pardon of their ſinnes for the ſaid execution. The Clergie of *Liege* addreſſed anſwere to the Pope at large: They cried out vpon the Church of *Rome*, and called her *Babylon*: Told the Pope home, that God had commanded to giue vnto *Cæſar* that which is *Cæſars*: that euery ſoule muſt bee ſubiect vnto the ſuperiour powers: that no man is exempted out of this precept: and that euery oath of alleagiance is to be kept inuiolable; yea, that hereof they themſelues are not ignorant, in as much as they by a new Schiſme, and new traditions, making a ſeparation and rent of the Prieſthood from the Kingdome, doe promiſe to abſolue of periurie, ſuch as haue perfidiouſly forſworne themſelues againſt their King. And whereas by way of deſpight and in opprobrious maner, they were excommunicated by the Pope, they gaue his Holineſſe to vnderſtand, that *Dauids heart had vttered a good matter, but* Paſchals *heart had ſhewed vp ſordid and railing words, like old bawdes and ſpinſters or websters of linnen, when they ſcold and brawle one with another*. Finally, they reiected his Papal excommunication, as a ſentence giuen without diſcretion. This was the voyce and free ſpeach of that Clergie, in the life time of their noble Emperour: But after hee was thruſt out of the Empire by the rebellion of his owne ſonne, inſtigated and ſtirred vp thereunto by the Popes perſwaſion and practiſe, and was brought vnto a miſerable death; it is no matter of wonder, that for the ſafegard of their life, the ſaid Clergie were driuen to ſue vnto the Pope for their pardon.

Hildebert Biſhop of *Cænomanum* vpon the riuer of *Sartre*, liuing vnder the reigne of King *Philip* the firſt, affirmeth in his Epiſtles 40. and 75. that *Kings are to bee admoniſhed and inſtructed, rather then puniſhed: to be dealt with by counſell, rather then by command, by doctrine and inſtruction, rather then by correction: For no ſuch ſword belongeth to the Church, becauſe the ſword of the Church is Eccleſiaſticall diſcipline, and nothing elſe.* *Bernard* writeth to Pope *Eugenius* after this manner: *Whoſoeuer they bee that are of this mind and opinion, ſhall neuer be able to make proofe, that any one of the Apoſtles did euer ſit in qualitie of Iudge or Diuider of lands. I reade where they haue ſtood to bee iudged, but neuer where they ſate*

Bibliotheca Patrum Tom. 3.

De conſider. lib. 1. cap. 6.

ſate downe to giue iudgement. Againe, *Your authoritie ſtretcheth vnto crimes, not vnto poſſeſsions: becauſe you haue receiued the keies of the kingdome of heauen, not in regard of poſſeſsions, but of crimes, to keepe all that pleade by couin or colluſion, and not lawfull poſſeſſors, out of the heauenly kingdome.* A little after: *Theſe baſe things of the earth are iudged by the Kings and Princes of this world: wherefore doe you thruſt your ſickle into an others harueſt? wherefore doe you incroach and intrude vpon an others limits?* Elſewhere. *The Apoſtles are directly forbid to make themſelues Lords and rulers. Goe thou then, and beeing a Lord vſurpe Apoſtleſhip, or beeing an Apoſtle vſurpe Lordſhip. If thou needes wilt haue both, doubtleſſe thou ſhalt haue neither.*

Lib.2.cap.6.

Diſt.24.queſt.3

Iohannes Maior Doctor of *Paris*: *The Soueraigne Biſhop hath no temporall authoritie ouer Kings. The reaſon: Becauſe it followes (the contrarie being once granted) that Kings are the Popes vaſſals.* Now let other men iudge, whether he that hath power to diſpoſſeſſe Kings of all their Temporalties, hath not likewiſe authoritie ouer their Temporalties.

Comment in l.4.Sent.Diſt. 24 fol.214.

The ſame Author: *The Pope hath no manner of title ouer the French or Spaniſh Kings in temporall matters.* Where it is further added, That Pope *Innocent* 3. hath beene pleaſed to teſtifie, that Kings of *France* in Temporall cauſes doe acknowledge no ſuperiour: For ſo the Pope excuſed himſelfe to a certaine Lord of Montpellier, who in ſtead of ſuing to the King, had petitioned to the Pope for a diſpenſation for his baſtard. *But perhaps (as he ſpeaketh) it will be alledged out of the gloſſe, that hee acknowledgeth no ſuperiour by fact, and yet ought by right. But I tell you the gloſſe is an Aurelian gloſſe, which marres the text.* Amongſt other arguments, *Maior* brings this for one: *This opinion miniſtreth matter vnto Popes, to take away an others Empire by force and violence: which the Pope ſhall neuer bring to paſſe, as we reade of* Boniface 8. *againſt* Philip *the Faire: Saith beſides, That from hence proceede warres, in time of which many outragious miſchiefes are done, and that* Gerſon *calls them egregious flatterers by whom ſuch opinion is maintained.* In the ſame place *Maior* denies that *Childeric* was depoſed by Pope *Zacharie*: *The word, Hee depoſed, ſaith* Maior, *is not ſo to bee vnderſtood, as it is taken at the firſt bluſh or ſight; but hee depoſed, is thus expounded in the gloſſe, Hee gaue his conſent vnto thoſe by whom he was depoſed.*

De poteſt. Regia & Papali. cap.10.

Iohn *of* Paris: *Were it graunted that Chriſt was armed with Temporall power, yet he committed no ſuch power to Peter.* A little after: *The power of Kings is the higheſt power vpon earth: in Temporall cauſes it hath no ſuperiour power aboue it ſelfe, no more then the Pope hath in ſpirituall matters.* This author ſaith indeede, the Pope hath power to excommunicate the King; but he ſpeaketh not of any power in the Pope to put downe the King from his regall dignity and authority: He onely ſaith, When a Prince is once excommunicated, hee may accidentally or by occaſion be depoſed: becauſe his precedent excommunication, incites the people to diſarme him of all ſecular dignity and power. The ſame Iohn on the other ſide holdeth opinion; that *in the Emperour there is inueſted a power to depoſe the Pope, in caſe the Pope ſhall abuſe his power.*

Almainus

Almainus Doctor of the *Sorbonic* schoole: *It is essentiall in the Lay-power to inflict ciuill punishment, as death, banishment, and priuation or losse of goods. But according to diuine institution, the power Ecclesiasticall can lay no such punishment vpon delinquents: nay more, not lay in prison, as to some Doctors it seemeth probable: but stretcheth and reacheth onely to Spirituall punishment, as namely to excommunication: all other punishments inflicted by the Spirituall power, are meerely by the Lawe positiue.* If then Ecclesiasticall power by Gods Lawe hath no authoritie to depriue any priuate man of his goods; how dares the Pope and his flatterers build their power to depriue Kings of their scepters vpon the word of God?

Almain. de potest. Eccl. & Laica Quest. 2. cap. 8. De dominio naturali ciuil & Eccl. 5. vlt. pars.

The same author in an other place: *Bee it graunted that* Constantine *had power to giue the Empire vnto the Pope; yet is it not hereupon to bee inferred, that Popes haue authority ouer the Kingdome of* France, *because that Kingdome was neuer subiect vnto* Constantine: *For the King of* France *neuer had any Superiour in Temporall matters.* A little after: *It is not in any place to bee found, that God hath giuen the Pope power to make and vnmake Temporall Kings.*

Quæst. 1. de potest. Eccles. & laic. c. 12. & 14

He maintaineth elsewhere, that *Zacharie* did not depose *Childeric*, but onely consented to his deposing; *and so deposed him not as by authoritie.* In the same booke, taking vp the words of *Occam*, whom he styles the Doctor: *The Emperour is the Popes Lord in things Temporall, and the Pope calls him Lord, as it is witnessed in the body of the Text.* The Lord Cardinall hath dissembled and concealed these words of Doctor *Almainus*, with many like places: and hath beene pleased to alledge *Almainus* reciting *Occams* authoritie, in stead of quoting *Almainus* himselfe in those passages, where he speaketh as out of his owne opinion, and in his owne words. A notable piece of slie and cunning conueiance: For what heresie may not be fathered and fastened vpon S. *Augustine*, or S. *Hierome*, if they should be deemed to approoue all the passages which they alledge out of other authors? And that is the reason wherefore the L. Cardinall doeth not alledge his testimonies whole and perfect, as they are couched in their proper texts, but clipt and curtaild. Thus he dealeth euen in the first passage or testimonie of *Almainus*; he brings it in mangled and pared: he hides and conceales the words added by *Almainus*, to contradict and crosse the words going before: For *Almainus* makes this addition and supply; *Howsoeuer some other Doctors doe stand for the negatiue, and teach the Pope hath power onely to declare that Kings and Princes are to be deposed.* And so much appeareth by this reason; because this ample and Soueraigne power of the Pope, might giue him occasion to be puft vp with great pride, and the same fulnesse of power might prooue extreamely hurtfull to the subiects, &c.

Quæst. 1. c. 8. & sic non deposuit auctoritatiue.

Quæ. 3. c. 2. Quæs. 11. can. Sacerd.

The same *Almainus* brings in *Occams* opinion in expresse tearmes deciding the question, and there ioynes his owne opinion with *Occams*. *The Doctors opinion*, saith *Almainus*, *doeth simply carrie the most probabilitie; that a Pope hath no power, neither by excommunication, nor by any other meanes, to depose a Prince from his Imperiall and Royall dignitie.* And a little before, hauing maintained

Quæst. 2. de potest. Eccl & Laic. cap. 12.

In cap. 9 10. & 11.

tained the Greeke Empire was neuer transported by the Pope to the Germaines, and that when the Pope crownes the Emperour, he doeth not giue him the Empire, no more then the Archbishop of Reims when he crownes the King of France, doth giue him the kingdom; he drawes this conclusion according to *Occams* opinion: *I denie that an Emperour is bound by oath to promise the Pope allegiance. On the other side, if the Pope hold any Temporall possessions, hee is bound to sweare allegiance vnto the Emperour, and to pay him tribute.* The said *Occam* alledged by *Almainus* doeth further auerre, that *Iustinian* was acknowledged by the Pope for his superiour in Temporall causes: for as much as diuers Lawes which the Pope is bound to keepe and obserue, were enacted by *Iustinian*; as by name the Law of prescription for an hundred yeeres: which Law standeth yet in force against the Bishop of Rome. And to the end that all men may clearely see, how great distance there is betweene *Occams* opinion and the L. Cardinals, who towards the end of his Oration, exhorts his hearers at no hand to dissent from the Pope; take you here a view of *Occams* owne words, as they are alledged by *Almainus*: *The Doctour assoyles the arguments of Pope* Innocent, *by which the Pope would prooue out of these words of* CHRIST, *Whatsoeuer thou shalt binde, &c. that fulnesse of power in Temporall matters, belongeth to the Soueraigne Bishop: For* Innocent *saith, Whatsoeuer, excepteth nothing: But* Occam *assoyles* Innocents *authoritie, as not onely false, but also hereticall; and saith withall, that many things are spoken by* Innocent, *which by his leaue sauour and smell of heresie, &c.*

Quest. 1. cap. 14.

The L. Cardinall with lesse fidelitie alledgeth two places out of *Thomas* his Summe. The first, in the second of his second, Quest. 10. Art. 10. in the body of the Article; In which place (let it bee narrowly examined) *Thomas* will easily bee found to speake, not of the subiection of beleeuing Subiects vnder Infidel Kings, as the Lord Cardinall pretendeth, but of beleeuing seruants that liue vnder Masters, whether Iewes or Infidels: As when a Iew keepeth seruants which professe *Iesus Christ*; or as when some of the faithfull kept in *Cæsars* house; who are not considered by *Thomas* as they were subiects of the Empire, but as they were seruants of the family. The other place is taken out of Quest. 11. and 2. Art. in the body of the article: where no such matter as the L. Cardinal alledgeth can be found.

Pag. 40.

With like fidelitie he taketh *Gerson* in hand: who indeed in his booke of Ecclesiasticall power, and 12. Consider. doeth affirme, *When the abuse of Secular power redoundeth to manifest impugning of the faith, and blaspheming of the Creator, then shall it not bee amisse to haue recourse vnto the last branch of this* 12. *Consider. where, in such case as aforesaid, a certaine regitiue, directiue, regulatiue, and ordinatiue authoritie is committed to the Ecclesiasticall power.* His very words: which make no mention at all of deposing, or of any compulsiue power ouer Soueraigne Princes: For that forme of rule and gouernment whereof *Gerson* speaketh, is exercised by Ecclesiasticall censures and excommunications; not by losse of goods, of Kingdomes, or of Empires. This place then is wrested by the L. Cardinall to a contrary sense. Neither should his

Pag. 44.

Lord-

Lordſhip haue omitted, that *Gerſon*, in the queſtion of Kings ſubiection in Temporall matters, or of the dependance of their Crownes vpon the Popes power, excepteth alwayes the King of France: witneſſe that which *Gerſon* a little before the place alleadged by the Cardinall, hath plainely affirmed: *Now ſince* Peters *time*, *ſaith* Gerſon, *all Imperiall, Regall, and Secular power is not immediatly to draw vertue and ſtrength from the Soueraigne Biſhop: as in this maner the moſt Chriſtian King of France hath no Superiour, nor acknowledgeth any ſuch vpon the face of the earth.* Now here need no great ſharpeneſſe of wit for the ſearching out of this deepe myſterie; that if the Pope hath power to giue or take away Crownes for any cauſe or any pretended occaſion whatſoeuer, the Crowne of France muſt needs depend vpon the Pope.

But for as much as we are now hit in with *Gerſon*, we will examine the L.Cardinals allegations towards the end of his Oration, taken out of *Gerſons* famous Oration made before *Charles* the 6. for the Vniuerſitie of Paris: where he brings in *Gerſon* to affirme, *That killing a Tyrant is a ſacrifice acceptable to God.* But *Gerſon* (let it be diligently noted) there ſpeaketh not in his owne perſon: he there brings in ſedition ſpeaking the words: Of which wordes vttered by ſedition, and other like ſpeeches, you ſhall now heare what iudgement *Gerſon* himſelfe hath giuen. *When ſedition had ſpoken with ſuch a furious voyce, I turned away my face as if I had bene ſmitten with death, to ſhew that I was not able to endure her madneſſe any longer.* And indeed when diſſimulation on the one ſide, and ſedition on the other, had ſuggeſted the deuiſes of two contrary extremes, hee brings foorth *Diſcretion* as a Iudge, keeping the meane betweene both extremes, and vttering thoſe words which the L.Cardinall alledgeth againſt himſelfe. *If the head,* (*ſaith* Gerſon) *or ſome other member of the ciuill body, ſhould grow to ſo deſperate a paſſe, that it would gulpe and ſwallow downe the deadly poyſon of tyrannie; euery member in his place, with all power poſsible for him to raiſe by expedient meanes, and ſuch as might preuent a greater inconuenience, ſhould ſet himſelfe againſt ſo madde a purpoſe, and ſo deadly practiſe: For if the head be grieued with ſome light paine, it is not fit for the hand to ſmite the head: no, that were but a fooliſh and a mad part: Nor is the hand forthwith to chop off or ſeparate the head from the body, but rather to cure the head with good ſpeach and other meanes, like a skilfull and wiſe Phyſitian: Yea nothing would be more cruel or more voyd of reaſon, then to ſeeke to ſtop the ſtrong and violent ſtreame of tyrannie by ſedition.* Theſe words, me thinke, doe make very ſtrongly and expreſly againſt butchering euen of Tyrannical Kings. And whereas a little after the ſaid paſſage, he teacheth to expell Tyrannie, he hath not a word of expelling the Tyrant, but onely of breaking and ſhaking off the yoke of Tyrannie. Yet for all that, he would not haue the remedies for the repreſſing of Tyrannie, to be fetcht from the Pope, who preſumeth to degrade Kings, but from *Philoſophers, Lawyers, Diuines, and perſonages of good conuerſation.* It appeareth now by all that hath bin ſaid before, that whereas *Gerſon* in the 7. Conſiderat. *againſt Flatterers,* doeth affirme:

Pag. 108. 109. 119. where the Card. takes Char. 7. for Charl. 6.

Whensoeuer the Prince doeth manifestly pursue and prosecute his naturall subiects, and shew himselfe obstinately bent with notorious iniustice, to vexe them of set purpose, and with full consent, so farre as to the fact; then this rule and law of Nature doeth take place, It is lawfull to resist and repell force by force; and the sentence of Seneca, *There is no sacrifice more acceptable to God, then a tyrant offered in sacrifice*; the words, *doeth take place*, are so to be vnderstood, as he speaketh in another passage, to wit, with or amongst seditious persons. Or else the words, *doeth take place*, doe onely signifie, *is put in practise*. And so *Gerson* there speaketh not as out of his owne iudgement.

His Lordship also should not haue balked and left out *Sigebertus*, who with more reason might haue passed for French, then *Thomas* and *Occam*, whom hee putteth vpon vs for French. *Sigebertus* in his Chronicle vpon the yeere 1088. speaking of the Emperours deposing by the Pope, hath words of this tenour: *This Heresie was not crept out of the shell in those dayes, that his Priests, who hath said to the King* Apostata, *and maketh an hypocrite to rule for the sinnes of the people, should teach the people they owe no subiection vnto wicked Kings, nor any alleagiance, notwithstanding they haue taken the oath of alleagiance*.

Now after the L. Cardinal hath coursed in this maner through the histories of the last aages (which in case they all made for his purpose, doe lacke the weight of authority) in stead of searching the will of God in the sacred Oracles of his word and standing vpon examples of the ancient Church; at last, leauing the troupe of his owne allegations, he betakes himselfe to the sharpening and rebating of the points of his aduersaries weapons.

For the purpose, he brings in his aduersaries, the champions of Kings Crownes, & makes them to speake out of his own mouth (for his Lordship saith it will be obiected) after this maner: *It may come to passe, that Popes either caried with passion, or misled by sinister information, may without iust cause fasten vpon Kings the imputation of heresie or apostasie.* Then for King-deposers he frames this answere: *That by heresie they vnderstand notorious heresie, and formerly condemned by sentence of the Church. Moreouer, in case the Pope hath erred in the fact, it is the Clergies part adhering to their King, to make remonstrances vnto the Pope, and to require the cause may be referred to the iudgement of a full Councel, the French Church then and there being present.* Now in this answere, the L. Cardinall is of another mind then *Bellarmine* his brother Cardinall: For hee goes thus farre, That a Prince condemned by vniust sentence of the Pope, ought neuertheless to quit his Kingdome, and that his Pastors vniust sentence shall not redound to his detriment; prouided that hee giue way to the said sentence, and shew himselfe not refractarie, but stay the time in patience, vntil the holy Father shall renounce his error, and reuoke his foresaid vniust sentence. In which case these two material points are to be presuppосed: The one, That he who now hath seized the kingdome of the Prince displaced, wil forthwith (if the Pope shall sollicit and intercede) returne the Kingdome to the hand of the late possessor: The other, That in the

Pag. 52. & sequentibus.

Aduers. Barclaium.

the *interim* the Prince vniuſtly depoſed, ſhall not need to feare the bloody murderers mercileſſe blade and weapon. But on the other ſide, the Popes power of ſo large a ſize, as *Bellarmine* hath ſhaped, is no whit pleaſing to the L. Cardinals eye. For in caſe the King ſhould be vniuſtly depoſed by the Pope *not well informed*, he is not of the minde the Kingdome ſhould ſtoupe to the Popes beheſts, but will rather haue the Kingdome to deale by remonſtrance, and to referre the cauſe vnto the Council: Wherein he makes the Council to be of more abſolute and ſupreme authority then the Pope; a ſtraine to which the holy father will neuer lend his eare. And yet doubtleſſe, the Council required in this caſe muſt be vniuerſall; wherein the French, for ſo much as they ſtand firme for the King and his cauſe, can be no Iudges: and in that regard the L. Cardinal requireth onely the preſence of the French Church. Who ſeeth not here into what pickle the French cauſe is brought by this meanes? The Biſhops of *Italie* forſooth, of *Spaine*, of *Sicilie*, of *Germanie*, the ſubiects of Soueraignes many times at profeſſed or priuie enmitie with *France*, ſhall haue the cauſe compremitted and referred to their iudgement, whether the Kindome of *France* ſhall driue out her Kings, and ſhall kindle the flames of ſeditious troubles, in the very heart and bowels of the Realme. But is it not poſſible, that a King may lacke the loue of his owne ſubiects, and they taking the vantage of that occaſion, may put him to his trumps in his owne Kingdome? Is it not poſſible, that calumniations whereby a credulous Pope hath beene ſeduced, may in like maner deceiue ſome part of a credulous people? Is it not poſſible that one part of the people may cleaue to the Popes Faction, another may hold and ſtand out for the Kings rightfull cauſe, and ciuill warres may be kindled by the ſplene of theſe two ſides? Is it not poſſible, that his Holineſſe will not reſt in the remonſtrances of the French, and will no further purſue his cauſe? And whereas now a dayes a Generall Councill cannot be held, except it be called and aſſembled by the Popes authority; is it credible, the Pope will take order for the conuocation of a Council, by whom he ſhall be iudged? And how can the Pope be Preſident in a Councill, where himſelfe is the party impleaded? and to whom the ſifting of his owne ſentence is referred, as it were to Committies, to examine whether it was denounced according to Law, or againſt Iuſtice? But in the meane time, whileſt all theſe remonſtrances and addreſſes of the Council are on foot; behold, the Royall Maieſtie of the King hangeth as it were by looſe gimmals, and muſt ſtay the iudgement of the Council to whom it is referred. Well: what if the Councill ſhould happe to be two or three yeeres in aſſembling, and to continue or hold eighteene yeeres, like the Councill of *Trent*; ſhould not poore *France*, I beſeech you, be reduced to a very bad plight? ſhould ſhe not be in a very wiſe and warme taking? To be ſhort; His Lordſhips whole ſpeach for the vntying of this knot, not onely ſurmounteth poſſibilitie, but is ſtuft with ridiculous toyes. This I make manifeſt by his addition in the ſame paſſage. *If the Pope deceiued*

in fact, ſhall raſhly and vniuſtly declare the King to be an heretike; then the Popes declaration ſhall not be ſeconded with actuall depoſition, vnles the Realme ſhall conſent vnto the Kings depoſing. What needes any man to bee inſtructed in this doctrine? Who doth not knowe, that a King, ſo long as he is vpheld and maintained in his Kingdome by his people, cannot actually and effectually be depoſed from his Throne? Hee that ſpeaketh ſuch language and phraſe, in effect ſaith, and ſaith no more then this: A King is neuer depriued of his Crowne, ſo long as he can keepe his Crowne on his head: a King is neuer turned and ſtript naked, ſo long as he can keepe his cloathes on his backe: a King is neuer depoſed, ſo long as he can make the ſtronger partie and ſide againſt his enemies: in briefe, a King is King, and ſhall ſtill remaine King, ſo long as he can hold the poſſeſſion of his Kingdome, and ſit faſt in his Chaire of Eſtate. Howbeit, let vs here by the way, take notice of theſe words vttered by his Lordſhip: *That for the depoſing of a King, the conſent of the people muſt be obtained*: For by theſe words the people are exalted aboue the King, and are made the Iudges of the Kings depoſing.

Can. Si Papa, Diſt. 40. Niſi ſit à fide deuius.

But here is yet a greater matter: For that Popes may erre in faith, it is acknowledged by Popes themſelues: For ſome of them haue condemned Pope *Honorius* for a Monothelite: S. *Hierome*, and S. *Hilarius*, and S. *Athanaſius* doe teſtifie, that Pope *Liberius* ſtarted aſide, and ſubſcribed to *Arrianiſme*: Pope *Iohn* 23. was condemned in the Councill of *Conſtance*, for maintaining there is neither hell nor heauen: Diuerſe other Popes haue been tainted with errour in faith. If therefore any Pope hereticall in himſelfe, ſhall depoſe an Orthodoxe King for hereſie; can it be imagined, that he which boaſts himſelfe to beare all diuine and humane lawes in the priuy coffer or casket of his breaſt, will ſtoope to the remonſtrances of the French, and vayle to the reaſons which they ſhall propound, though neuer ſo iuſtifiable, and of neuer ſo great validitie? And how can he, that may be infected with damnable hereſie (when himſelfe is not alwayes free from hereſie) be a iudge of hereſie in a King? In this queſtion ſome are of opinion, that as a man, the Pope may fall into error, but not as Pope. Very good: I demand then vpon the matter, wherefore the Pope doth not inſtruct and reforme the man? or wherefore the man doth not require the Popes inſtructions? But whether a King be depoſed by that man the Pope, or by that Pope the man, is it not all one? is he not depoſed? Others affirme, the Pope may erre in a queſtion of the fact, but not in a queſtion of the right. An egregious gullery and impoſture: For if he may be ignorant whether Ieſus Chriſt died for our ſinnes, doubtles he may alſo be to ſeeke, whether we ſhould repoſe all our truſt and aſſured confidence in the death of Chriſt. Conſider with me the Prophets of olde: They were all inſpired and taught of God, to admoniſh and reprooue the Kings of Iudah and Iſrael: they neither erred in matter of fact, nor in point of right: they were as farre from being blinded and fetcht ouer by deceitfull calumniations, as from beeing ſeduced by the painted ſhew of corrupt and falſe doctrine: As

Omnia iura in ſcrinio pectoris.

they

they neuer trode awry in matter of faith; ſo they neuer whetted the edge of their tongue or ſtyle againſt the faultleſſe. Had it not beene a trimme deuice in their times, to ſay, that as *Eſay* and as *Daniel* they might haue ſunke into hereſie, but not as Prophets? For doubtleſſe in this caſe, that *Eſay* would haue taken counſell of the Prophet which was himſelfe. To be ſhort; If Kings are onely ſo long to be taken for Kings, vntill they ſhall be declared heretikes, and ſhall be depoſed by the Pope; they continually ſtand in extreame danger, to vndergoe a very heauy and vniuſt ſentence. Their ſafeſt way were to know nothing, and to beleeue by proxie; leaſt, if they ſhould happen to talke of God, or to thinke of religion, they ſhould be drawne for heretikes into the Popes Inquiſition.

All the examples hitherto produced by the Lord Cardinall on a rowe, are of a latter date, they lacke weight, are drawne from the time of bondage, and make the Popes themſelues witneſſes in their owne cauſe: They deſcant not vpon the point of depoſition, but onely ſtrike out and ſound the notes of excommunication and interdiction, which make nothing at all to the muſicke of the queſtion. And therefore hee telleth vs (in kindneſſe as I take it) more oftentimes then once or twice, that hee ſpeaketh onely of the fact; as one that doeth acknowledge himſelfe to bee out of the right: Hee relates things done, but neuer what ſhould bee done: which, as the Iudicious know, is to teach nothing.

THE SECOND INCONVENIENCE EXAMINED.

THE ſecond Inconuenience like to grow, (as the Lord Cardinall ſeemeth to be halfe afraid) if the Article of the third Eſtate might haue paſſed with approbation, is couched in theſe words: *Lay-men ſhall by authoritie bee ſtrengthened with power, to iudge in matters of Religion; as alſo to determine the doctrine compriſed in the ſaid Article to haue requiſite conformitie with Gods word: yea they ſhall haue it in their hands to compell Eccleſiaſtics by neceſsitie, to ſweare, preach, and teach the opinion of the one ſide, as alſo by Sermons and publike writings to impugne the other.* This inconuenience he aggrauateth with ſwelling words, and breaketh out into theſe vehement exclamations: *O reproach, O ſcandall, O gate ſet open to a world of hereſies.* He therefore laboureth both by reaſons, and by autorities of holy Scripture, to make ſuch vſurped power of Laics, a fowle, ſhameful, and odious practiſe. In the whole, his Lordſhip toyles himſelfe in vaine, & maketh ſuppoſitions of caſtles in the aire. For in preferring this Article, the third Eſtate haue born themſelues not as iudges or vmpires, *Pag. 86.*

but altogether as petitioners : requesting the said Article might be receiued into the number of the Parliament bookes to bee presented vnto the King and his Counsell, vnto whom in all humilitie they referred the iudgment of the said Article; conceiuing all good hope the Clergie and Nobilitie would be pleased to ioyne for the furtherance of their humble petition. They were not so ignorant of State-matters, or so vnmindfull of their owne places and charges, to beare themselues in hand, that a petition put vp and preferred by the third Estate, can carry the force of a Law or Statute, so long as the other two Orders withstand the same, and so long as the King himselfe holds backe his Royall consent. Besides, the said Article was not propounded as a point of Religious doctrine; but for euer after to remaine and continue a fundamentall Law of the Common-wealth and State it selfe, the due care whereof was put into their handes, and committed to their trust. If the King had ratified the said Article with Royall consent, and had commanded the Clergie to put in execution the contents thereof; it had bene their duetie to see the Kings will and pleasure fulfilled, as they are subiects bound to giue him aide in all things, which may any way serue to procure the safetie of his life, and the tranquilitie of his Kingdome: Which if the Clergie had performed to the vttermost of their power, they had not shewed obedience as vnderlings, vnto the third Estate, but vnto the King alone; by whom such command had bene imposed, vpon suggestion of his faithfull subiects, made the more watchfull by the negligence of the Clergie; whom they perceiue to be lincked with stricter bandes vnto the Pope, then they are vnto their King. Here then the Cardinall fights with meere shadowes, and mooues a doubt whereof his aduersaries haue not so much as once thought in a dreame: But yet, according to his great dexteritie and nimblenesse of spirit, by this deuice he cunningly takes vpon him to giue the King a lesson with more libertie; making semblance to direct his masked Oration to the Deputies of the people, when hee shooteth in effect, and pricketh at his King, the Princes also and Lords of his Counsell, whom the Cardinall compriseth vnder the name of Laics; whose iudgment (it is not vnlikely) was apprehended much better by the Clergie, then the iudgement of the third Estate. Now these are the men whom he tearmes intruders into other mens charges, and such as open a gate for I wot not how many legions of heresies, to rush into the Church: For if it be proper to the Clergie and their Head, to iudge in this cause of the Right of Kings; then the King himselfe, his Princes, and Nobilitie, are debarred and wiped of all iudgement in the same cause, no lesse then the representatiue body of the people.

Pag. 61. Well then, the L. Cardinall showres downe like haile sundry places and testimonies of Scripture, where the people are commanded to haue their Pastors in singular loue, and to beare them all respects of due obseruance. Be it so; yet are the said passages of Scripture no barre to the people, for their vigilant circumspection, to preserue the life and Crowne of their Prince,

against

againſt all the wicked enterpriſes of men ſtirred vp by the Clergie, who haue their Head out of the Kingdome, and hold themſelues to be none of the Kings ſubiects: a thing neuer ſpoken by the ſacrificing Prieſts and Prelates, mentioned in the paſſages alleadged by the Lord Cardinal. He likewiſe produceth two Chriſtian Emperours, *Conſtantine* and *Valentinian* by name; the firſt refuſing to meddle with iudgement in Epiſcopall cauſes: the other forbearing to iudge of ſubtile Queſtions in Diuinity, with proteſtation, that *Hee would neuer bee ſo curious, to diue into the ſtreames, or ſound the bottome of ſo deepe matters.* But who doth not know, that working and prouiding for the Kings indemnitie and ſafetie, is neither Epiſcopall cauſe, nor matter of curious and ſubtile inquiſition? The ſame anſwere meets with all the reſt of the places produced by the L. Cardinal out of the Fathers. And that one for example, out of *Gregory Nazianzenus*, is not cited by the Cardinall with faire dealing. For *Gregory* doeth not boord the Emperour himſelfe, but his Deputy or L. Preſident, on this maner: *For we alſo are in authoritie and place of a Ruler, we haue command aſwell as your ſelfe*: wheras the the L. Cardinal with foule play, turnes the place in theſe termes, *We alſo are Emperours.* Which words can beare no ſuch interpretation, as well becauſe he to whom the Biſhop then ſpake, was not of Imperiall dignitie; as alſo becauſe if the Biſhop himſelfe, a Biſhop of ſo ſmall a citie as *Nazianzum*, had qualified himſelfe Emperour, hee ſhould haue paſſed all the bounds of modeſtie, and had ſhewed himſelfe arrogant aboue meaſure. For as touching ſubiection due to Chriſtian Emperours, hee freely acknowledgeth a little before, *that himſelfe and his people are ſubiect vnto the ſuperiour powers, yea bound to pay them tribute.* The hiſtorie of the ſame *Gregories* life doeth teſtifie, that he was drawen by the *Arrians* before the Conſuls iudgement ſeate, and from thence returned acquitted, without either ſtripes or any other kinde of contumelious entreatie and vſe: yet now at laſt vp ſtarts a Prelate, who dares make this good Father vaunt himſelfe to be an Emperour. It is willingly granted, that Emperours neuer challenged, neuer arrogated, to bee Soueraigne Iudges in controuerſies of doctrine and faith; neuertheleſſe it is clearer then the Sunnes light at high noone, that for moderation at Synods, for determinations and orders eſtabliſhed in Councils, and for the diſcipline of the Church, they haue made a good and a full vſe of their Imperiall authoritie. The firſt Council held at *Conſtantinople*, beares this title or inſcription; *The dedication of the holy Synode to the moſt religious Emperour* Theodoſius *the Great, to whoſe will and pleaſure they haue ſubmitted theſe Canons by them addreſſed and eſtabliſhed in Councill.* And there they alſo beſeech the Emperour, to confirme and approue the ſaid Canons. The like hath bene done by the Council of *Trullo*, by whom the Canons of the fift and ſixt Councils were put foorth and publiſhed. This was not done, becauſe Emperours tooke vpon them to bee infallible Iudges of doctrine; but onely that Emperours might ſee and iudge, whether Biſhops (who feele the pricke of ambition as other men doe) did pro-

Pag. 62.

Orat. ad ciues timore perculſos.

ἄρχομεν γὰρ καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοί.

ὑποτελεῖς φόρου.

Vide Canones Græcos à Tilio *editos.*

propound nothing in their Conuocations and Conſultations, but moſt of all in their Determinations, to vndermine the Emperours authoritie, to diſturbe the tranquilitie of the Common-wealth, and to croſſe the determinations of precedent Councils. Now to take the cognizance of ſuch matters out of the Kings hand or power; what is it but euen to transforme the King into a ſtanding Image, to wring and wreſt him out of all care of himſelfe and his Kingly Charge, yea to bring him downe to this baſeſt condition, to become onely an executioner, and (which I ſcorne to ſpeake) the vnhappy hangman of the Clergies will, without any further cognizance, not ſo much as of matters which moſt neerely touch himſelfe, and his Royall eſtate?

I grant it is for Diuinitie Scholes, to iudge how farre the power of the Keyes doth ſtretch: I grant againe, that Clerics both may, and ought alſo to diſplay the colours and enſignes of their cenſures againſt Princes, who violating their publike and ſolemne oath, doe raiſe and make open warre againſt *Ieſus Chriſt*: I grant yet againe, that in this caſe they need not admit Laics to be of their counſell, nor allow them any ſcope or libertie of iudgement. Yet all this makes no barre to Clerics, for extending the power of their keyes, many times a whole degree further then they ought; and when they are pleaſed, to make vſe of their ſaid power, to depriue the people of their goods, or the Prince of his Crowne: all this doeth not hinder Prince or people from taking care for the preſeruation of their owne rights and eſtates, nor from requiring Clerics to ſhew their cards, and produce their Charts, and to make demonſtration by Scripture, that ſuch power as they aſſume and challenge, is giuen them from God. For to leaue the Pope abſolute Iudge in the ſame cauſe, wherein hee is a partie, and (which is the ſtrongeſt rampier and bulwarke, yea the moſt glorious and eminent point of his domination) to arme him with power to vnhorſe Kings out of their ſeates; what is it elſe but euen to draw them into a ſtate of deſpaire for euer winning the day, or preuailing in their honourable and rightful cauſe?

It is moreouer granted, if a King ſhall command any thing directly contrary to Gods word, and tending to the ſubuerting of the Church; that Clerics in this caſe ought not onely to diſpenſe with ſubiects for their obedience, but alſo expreſly to forbid their obedience: For it is alwayes better to obey God then man. Howbeit in all other matters, whereby the glory and maieſtie of God is not impeached or impaired, it is the duety of Clerics to plie the people with wholeſome exhortation to conſtant obedience, and to auert by earneſt diſſwaſions the ſaid people from tumultuous reuolt and ſeditious inſurrection. This practiſe vnder the Pagan Emperours, was held and followed by the ancient Chriſtians; by whoſe godly zeale and patience in bearing the yoke, the Church in times paſt grew and flouriſhed in her happy and plentifull increaſe, farre greater then Poperie ſhall euer purchaſe and attaine vnto by all her cunning deuices and ſleights: as namely by degrading of Kings, by interdicting of Kingdoms, by appo-

ſted

ſted murders, and by Diabolicall traines of Gunne-powder-mines.

The places of Scripture alleadged in order by the Cardinal, in fauour of thoſe that ſtand for the Popes claime of power and authoritie to depoſe Kings, are cited with no more ſincerity then the former: *They alledge* (theſe are his words) *that* Samuel *depoſed King* Saul, *or declared him to bee depoſed, becauſe hee had violated the Lawes of the Iewes Religion*: His Lordſhip auoucheth elſewere, that *Saul* was depoſed, becauſe he had ſought prophanely to vſurpe the holy Prieſthood. Both falſe and contrary to the tenour of trewth in the ſacred hiſtory: For *Saul* was neuer depoſed according to the ſenſe of the word (I meane, *depoſe*) in the preſent queſtion; to wit, as depoſing is taken for deſpoiling the King of his royall dignitie, and reducing the King to the condition of a priuate perſon: But *Saul* held the title of King, and continued in poſſeſſion of his Kingdome, euen to his dying day. Yea, the Scripture ſtyles him King, euen to the periodicall and laſt day of his life, by the teſtimony of *Dauid* himſelfe, who both by Gods promiſe, and by precedent vnction, was then heire apparant as it were to the Crown, in a maner then ready to gird and adorne the temples of his head. For if *Samuel*, by Gods commandement, had then actually remooued *Saul* from his Throne, doubtleſſe the whole Church of Iſrael had committed a groſſe errour, in taking and honouring *Saul* for their King, after ſuch depoſition: doubtleſſe the Prophet *Samuel* himſelfe, making knowen the Lords Ordinance vnto the people, would haue enioyned them by ſtrict prohibition to call him no longer the King of Iſrael: Doubtleſſe, *Dauid* would neuer haue held his hand from the throat of *Saul*, for this reſpect and conſideration, becauſe he was the Lords Anointed. For if *Saul* had loſt his Kingly authority, from that inſtant when *Samuel* gaue him knowledge of his reiection; then *Dauid*, leſt otherwiſe the Body of the Kingdome ſhould want a Royall Head, was to beginne his Reigne, and to beare the Royall ſcepter in the very ſame inſtant: which were to charge the holy Scriptures with vntrewth, in as much as the ſacred hiſtorie begins the computation of the yeeres of *Dauids* Reigne, from the day of *Sauls* death. Trew it is, that in the 1. Sam. cap. 15. *Saul* was denounced by Gods owne ſentence, a man reiected, and as it were excommunicated out of the Kingdome, that hee ſhould not rule and reigne any longer as King ouer Iſrael; neuertheleſſe, the ſaid ſentence was not put in execution, before the day when God, executing vpon *Saul* an exemplarie iudgement, did ſtrike him with death. From whence it is manifeſt and cleare, that when *Dauid* was annointed King by *Samuel*, that action was onely a promiſe, and a teſtimony of the choice, which God had made of *Dauid* for ſucceſſion immediately after *Saul*; and not a preſent eſtabliſhment, inueſtment, or inſtallment of *Dauid* in the Kingdome. Wée reade the like in 1. King. cap. 19. where God commandeth *Elias* the Prophet, to annoint *Haſael* King of *Syria*: For can any man bee ſo blinde and ignorant in the ſacred hiſtorie, to beleeue the Prophets of Iſrael eſtabliſhed, or ſacred the Kings of *Syria*? For this cauſe,

Pag 66.

1. Sam. 23. 20. & 24. 15. & 2. Sam. 2. 5.

1. Sam. 26. 11

1. Sam. 16. 13.

2.Sam.2.4. cauſe, when *Dauid* was actually eſtabliſhed in the Kingdome, hee was annointed the ſecond time.

In the next place he brings in the Popes champions vſing theſe words; 1.King.12. *Reboboam was depoſed by Ahiah the Prophet, from his Royall right ouer the tenne Tribes of Iſrael, becauſe his father Salomon had played the Apoſtata, in falling from the Law of God.* This I ſay alſo is more, then the trewth of the ſacred hiſtory doeth afoard: For *Ahiah* neuer ſpake to *Reboboam* (for ought we reade,) nor brought vnto him any meſſage from the Lord; As for the paſſage quoted by the L.Cardinal out of 3.*Reg.*chap.11. it hath not reference to the time of *Reboboams* raigne, but rather indeed to Salomons time: nor doeth it carry the face of a iudicatorie ſentence for the Kings depoſing, but rather of a Propheticall prediction: For how could *Reboboam*, before hee was made King, be depriued of the Kingdome? Laſt of all, but worſt of all; to alleadge this paſſage for an example of a iuſt ſentence in matter of depoſing a King, is to approoue the diſloyall treacherie of a ſeruant againſt his maſter, and the rebellion of *Ieroboam* branded in Scripture with a marke of perpetuall infamie for his wickedneſſe and impietie.

1.King.19. He goes on with an other example of no more trewth; *King Achab was depoſed by Elias the Prophet, becauſe he imbraced falſe religion, and worſhipped falſe gods.* Falſe too like the former; King *Achab* loſt his crowne and his life both together. The Scripture, that ſpeaketh not according to mans fancie, but according to the trewth, doeth extend and number the yeeres of *Achabs* raigne, to the time of his death. Predictions of a Kings ruine, are no ſentences of depoſition. *Elias* neuer gaue the ſubiects of *Achab* abſolution from their oath of obedience; neuer gaue them the leaſt inckling of any ſuch abſolution; neuer ſet vp, or placed any other King in *Achabs* throne.

Pag.68. That of the L.Cardinall a little after, is no leſſe vntrew: *That King Vzziah was driuen from the conuerſation of the people by Azarias the Prieſt, and thereby the adminiſtration of his Kingdome was left no longer in his power.* Not ſo: For 2.Chro.26. when God had ſmitten *Vzziah* with leproſie in his forehead, he withdrew himſelfe, or went out into an houſe apart, for feare of infecting ſuch as were whole by his contagious diſeaſe. The high Prieſt ſmote him not with any ſentence of depoſition, or denounced him ſuſpended from the adminiſtration of his Kingdome. No: the dayes of his raigne are numbred in Scripture, to the day of his death. And whereas the Prieſt, according to the Law in the 13. of *Leuit.* iudged the King to be vncleane; he gaue ſentence againſt him, not as againſt a criminall perſon, and thereby within the compaſſe of depoſition; but as againſt a diſeaſed body: For the Law inflicteth puniſhments, not vpon diſeaſes, but vpon crimes. Hereupon, whereas it is recorded by *Ioſephus* in his Antiquities, that *Vzziah* led a priuate, and in a maner, a ſolitarie life; the ſaid author doeth not meane, that *Vzziah* was depoſed, but onely that he disburdened himſelfe of care to mannage the publique affaires. *Antiq.l.9. cap.11.*

Pag.69. The example of *Mattathias*, by whom the Iewes were ſtirred vp to rebel againſt

againſt *Antiochus*, is no better worth: For in that example we finde no ſentence of depoſition, but onely an heartning and commotion of a people then grieuouſly afflicted and oppreſſed. He that makes himſelfe the ring-leader of conſpiracie againſt a King, doeth not foorthwith aſſume the perſon, or take vp the office and charge of a Iudge, in forme of Law, and iuridically to depriue a King of his Regall rights, and Royall prerogatiues. *Mattathias* was chiefe of that conſpiracie, not in qualitie of Prieſt, but of cheiftaine, or leader in warre and a man the beſt qualified of all the people. Things acted by the ſuddaine violence of the baſe vulgar, muſt not ſtand for Lawes, nor yet for proofes and arguments of ordinarie power, ſuch as the Pope challengeth to himſelfe, and appropriateth to his triple-Crowne.

Theſe be our ſolide anſweres: we diſclaime the light armour which the L. Cardinall is pleaſed to furniſh vs withall, forſooth to recreate himſelfe, in rebating the points of ſuch weapons, as hee hath vouchſafed to put into our hands. Now it wil be worth our labour to beate by his thruſts, fetcht from the ordinary miſſion of the New Teſtament, from leproſie, ſtones, and locks of wooll: A leach no doubt of admirable skill, one that for ſubiecting the Crownes of Kings vnto the Pope, is able to extract arguments out of ſtones; yea, out of the leproſie, and the drie ſcab, onely forſooth becauſe hereſie is a kind of leproſie, and an heretike hath ſome affinitie with a leper. But may not his *Quoniam*, bee as fitly applyed to any contagious and inueterate vice of the minde beſide hereſie? His warning-piece therefore is diſcharged to purpoſe, whereby hee notifies that hee pretendeth to handle nothing with reſolution: For indeed vpon ſo weake arguments, a reſolution is but ill-fauouredly and weakely grounded. Page 66.

His bulwarkes thus beaten downe, let vs now view the ſtrength of our owne. Firſt, he makes vs to fortifie on this maner: *They that are for the negatiue, doe alleadge the authoritie of* S. Paul; *Let euery ſoule bee ſubiect vnto the higher powers: For whoſoeuer reſiſteth the power, reſiſteth the ordinance of God. And likewiſe that of* S. Peter; *Submit your ſelues, whether it be vnto the King, as vnto the ſuperiour, or vnto gouernours, &c. Vpon theſe paſſages, and the like, they inferre, that obedience is due to Kings by the Law of God, and not diſpenſable by any Spirituall or Temporall authoritie.* Thus he brings vs in with our firſt weapon. But here the very chiefe ſinew and ſtrength of our argument, hee doeth wittingly balke, and of purpoſe conceale: To wit; That all the Emperors of whom the ſaid holy Apoſtles haue made any mention in their diuine Epiſtles, were profeſſed enemies to CHRIST, Pagans, Infidels, fearefull and bloody Tyrants: to whom notwithſtanding *euery ſoule*, and therefore the Biſhop of Rome for one, is commanded to ſubmit himſelfe, and to profeſſe ſubiection. Thus much *Chryſoſtome* hath expreſly taught in his Hom. 23. vpon the Epiſtle to the Romanes; *The Apoſtle giues this commandement vnto all: euen to Prieſts alſo, and cloiſtered Monkes not onely to Secular: be thou an Apoſtle, an Euangeliſt, a Prophet, &c.* Beſides, it is here worthy to be noted, that howſoeuer the Apoſtles rule is generall, and therefore bindeth all Page 69.

all the faithfull in equall bands; yet is it particularly, directly, and of purpoſe addreſſed to the Church of Rome by S.*Paul*, as by one who in the ſpirit of an Apoſtle did foreſee, that rebellion againſt Princes was to riſe and ſpring from the citie of Rome. Now in caſe the Head of that Church by warrant of any priuiledge, contained in the moſt holy Regiſter of Gods holy word, is exempted from the binding power of this generall precept or rule; did it not become his Lordſhip to ſhew by the booke, that it is a booke caſe, and to lay it foorth before that honourable aſſembly, who no doubt expected and waited to heare when it might fall from his learned lips? But in ſtead of any ſuch authenticall and canonicall confirmation, he flieth to a ſleight ſhift, and with a cauill is bold to affirme the foundation, laid by thoſe of our ſide, doeth no way touch the knot of the controuerſie. « Let vs heare him ſpeake: *It is not in controuerſie, whether obedience be due to* « *kings by Gods Law, ſo long as they are kings, or acknowledged for Kings, but our point* « *controuerted, is whether by Gods Law it be required, that hee who hath bene once re-* « *cogniſed and receiued for King by the body of Eſtates, can at any time be taken and* « *reputed as no King, that is to ſay, can doe no maner of acte whereby hee may looſe his* « *right, and ſo ceaſe to be ſaluted King.* This anſwere of the L. Cardinall is the rare deuiſe, euaſion, and ſtarting hole of the *Ieſuites*: In whoſe eares of delicate and tender touch, King-killing ſoundeth very harſh; but forſooth to vn-king a King firſt, and then to giue him the ſtab, that is a point of iuſt and trew deſcant: For to kill a King, once vnking'd by depoſition, is not killing of a King: For the preſent, I haue one of that Ieſuiticall Order in priſon, who hath face enough to ſpeake this language of Aſhdod, and to maintaine this doctrine of the *Ieſuites* Colledges. The L. Cardinall harpes vpon the ſame ſtring; He can like ſubiection and obedience to the King, whileſt he ſitteth King: but his Holineſſe muſt haue all power, and giue order withall, to hoyſt him out of his Royall Seat. I therefore now anſwer, that in very deed the former paſſages of S.*Paul* and S.*Peter* ſhould come nothing neere the queſtion, if the ſtate of the queſtion were ſuch as he brings it, made and forged in his owne ſhop. But certes the ſtate of the queſtion is not, whether a King may doe ſome acte, by reaſon whereof hee may fall from his right, or may not any longer be acknowledged for King: For all our contention is, concerning the Popes power to vn-authorize Princes; wheras in the queſtion framed and fitted by the L. Cardinal, not a word of the Pope. For were it granted and agreed on both ſides, that a King by election might fal from his Kingdom, yet ſtil the knot of the queſtion would hold, whether he can be diſpoſſeſſed of his Regal authoritie, by any power in the Pope; & whether the Pope hath ſuch fulnes of power, to ſtrip a King of thoſe Royall robes, rights, and reuenewes of the Crowne, which were neuer giuen him by the Pope; as alſo by what authoritie of holy Scripture, the Pope is able to beare out himſelfe in this power, and to make it good.

Page 71. But here the L. Card. ſtoutly ſaith in his owne defence by way of reioinder; « *As one text hath, Let euery ſoule be ſubiect vnto the higher powers; in like maner*

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an other text hath, Obey your Prelates, and be ſubiect vnto your Paſtors: for they watch ouer your ſoules, as men that ſhall giue an accompt for your ſoules. This reaſon is void of reaſon, and makes againſt himſelfe: For may not Prelates be obeyed and honoured, without Kings be depoſed? If Prelates preach the doctrine of the Goſpell, will they in the pulpit ſtirre vp ſubiects to rebell againſt Kings? Moreouer, whereas the vniuerſall Church in theſe daies is diuided into ſo many diſcrepant parts, that now Prelates neither doe nor can draw all one way; is it not exceeding hard, keeping our obedience towards God, to honour them all at once with due obedience? Nay; is not here offered vnto me a dart out of the L. Cardinals armorie, to caſt at himſelfe? For as God chargeth all men with obedience to Kings, and yet from that commaundement of God, the L. Cardinall would not haue it inferred, that Kings haue power to degrade Eccleſiaſticall Prelates: euen ſo God giueth charge to obey Prelates, yet doeth it not follow from hence, that Prelates haue power to depoſe Kings. Theſe two degrees of obedience agree well together, and are each of them bounded with peculiar and proper limits.

But for ſo much as in this point, we haue on our ſide the whole auncient Church, which, albeit ſhe liued and groned for many aages together vnder heathen Emperours, heretikes, and perſecuters, did neuer ſo much as whiſper a word about rebelling and falling from their Soueraigne Lords, and was neuer by any mortall creature freed from the oath of allegiance to the Emperour; the Cardinall is not vnwilling to graunt, that ancient Chriſtians in thoſe times were bound to performe ſuch fidelity and allegiance, for as much as the Church (the Cardinall for ſhame durſt not ſay the Pope) then had not abſolued them of their oath. No doubt a pleaſant dreame, or a merry conceit rather, to imagine the Biſhop of Rome was armed with power to take away the Empire of the world from *Nero*, or *Claudius*, or *Domitianus*; to whom it was not knowen, whether the citie of Rome had any Biſhop at all. Is it not a maſter-ieſt, of a ſtraine moſt ridiculous, to preſuppoſe the Grand-maſters and abſolute Lords of the whole world, had a ſent ſo dull, that they were not able to ſmell out, and to noſe things vnder their owne noſes? that they ſaw ſo little with other mens eies and their owne, that within their capitall citie, they could not ſpie that Soueraigne armed with ordinary and lawfull authority to degrade, and to turne them out of their renowned Empire? Doubtleſſe the ſaid Emperours, vaſſals belike of the Popes Empire, are to be held excuſed for not acknowledging and honouring the Pope in quality of their Lord, as became his vaſſals; becauſe they did not know there was any ſuch power in the world, as after-times haue magnified and adored vnder the qualitie of Pope: For the Biſhops of Rome in thoſe times, were of no greater authoritie, power, and meanes, then ſome of the Biſhops are in theſe daies within my Kingdomes.

But certes thoſe Popes of that primitiue aage, thought it not expedient in the ſaid times to draw their ſwords: they exerciſed their power in a more

mild and ſoft kind of carriage toward thoſe miſerable Emperours, for three ſeuerall reaſons alledged by the L. Cardinall.

The firſt: becauſe the Biſhops then durſt not by their cenſures whet and prouoke thoſe Emperours, for feare of plunging the Church in a Sea of perſecutions. But if I be not cleane voide of common ſenſe, this reaſon ſerueth to charge not onely the Biſhops of Rome, but all the auncient profeſſors of Chriſt beſides, with deepe diſſimulation and hypocriſie: For it is all one as if he had profeſſed, that all their obedience to their Soueraignes, was but counterfeit, and extorted, or wrong out of them by force; that all the ſubmiſſiue ſupplications of the auncient Fathers, the aſſured teſtimonies and pledges of their allegiance, humilitie, and patience, were but certaine formes of diſguiſed ſpeech, proceeding not freely from the ſuggeſtions of fidelity, but faintly and fainedly, or at leaſt from the ſtrong twitches and violent conuulſions of feare. Whereupon it followes, that all their torments and puniſhments, euen to the death, are wrongfully honoured with the title, and crowned with the crowne of Martyrdome; becauſe their patience proceeded not from their owne free choice and election; but was taught by the force of neceſſitie, as by compulſion: and whereas they had not mutinouſly and rebelliouſly riſen in armes, to aſſwage the ſcorching heat and burning flames of tyrannicall perſecuters, it was not for want of will, but for lacke of power. Which falſe and forged imputation, the Fathers haue cleared themſelues of in their writings. *Tertullian* in his Apologet: *All places are full of Chriſtians, the cities, iſles, caſtles, burroughs, armies, &c. If we that are ſo infinite a power, and multitude of men, had broken from you into ſome remote nooke or corner of the world, the cities no doubt had become naked and ſolitarie: there had beene a dreadfull and horrible ſilence ouer the face of the whole Empire: the great Emperours had beene driuen to ſeeke out newe cities, and to diſcouer newe nations, ouer whom to beare Soueraigne ſway and rule; there had remained more enemies to the State, then ſubiects and friends.* Cyprian alſo againſt Demetrianus: *None of vs all, howſoeuer we are a people mighty and without number, haue made reſiſtance againſt any of your vniuſt and wrongfull actions, executed with all violence; neither haue ſought by rebellious armes, or by any other ſiniſter practiſes, to crie quittance with you at any time for the righting of our ſelues.* Certaine it is, that vnder *Iulianus*, the whole Empire in a manner profeſſed the Chriſtian Religion; yea, that his Leiftenants and great Commanders, as *Iouinianus*, and *Valentinianus* by name, profeſſed Chriſt: Which two Princes not long after attained to the Imperiall dignitie, but might haue ſolicited the Pope ſooner to degrade *Iulianus* from the Imperiall Throne. For ſay that *Iulians* whole army had renounced the Chriſtian Religion: (as the L. Cardinall againſt all ſhew and appearance of trewth would beare vs in hand, and contrary to the generall voice of the ſaid whole army, making this profeſſion with one conſent when *Iulian* was dead, *Wee are all Chriſtians*:) yet *Italie* then perſiſting in the faith of Chriſt, and the army of *Iulian* then lying quartered in *Perſia*, the vtmoſt limit of the Empire to the Eaſt, the Biſhop of Rome

Tert. Apol. cap. 37. Heſterni ſumus & omnia veſtra implemimus.

Cypr. cont. Demetr.

Socr. lib 3. cap 19. Theod. lib. 4. cap. 1. Sozom. lib. 6. cap. 1.

Rome had fit opporunitie to draw the ſword of his authoritie (if hee had then any ſuch ſword hanging at his Pontificall ſide) to make *Iulian* feele the ſharpe edge of his weapon, and thereby to pull him downe from the ſtately pearch of the Romane Empire. I ſay moreouer, that by this generall and ſudden profeſſion of the whole *Cæſarian* armie, *Wee are all Chriſtians*, it is clearely teſtified, that if his armie or ſouldiers were then addicted to Paganiſme, it was wrought by compulſion, and cleane contrary to their ſetled perſwaſion before: and then it followes, that with greater patience they would haue borne the depoſing of *Iulian*, then if hee had ſuffered them to vſe the libertie of their conſcience. To bee ſhort in the matter; S. *Auguſtine* makes all whole, and by his teſtimony doth euince, that *Iulians* armie perſeuered in the faith of Chriſt. *The ſouldiers of Chriſt ſerued a Heathen Emperour: But when the cauſe of Chriſt was called in queſtion, they acknowledged none but Chriſt in heauen: When the Emperor would haue them to ſerue, and to perfume his idols with frankincenſe, they gaue obedience to God, rather then to the Emperour.* After which words, the very ſame words alleadged by the L. Cardinall againſt himſelfe doe follow; *They did then diſtinguiſh betweene the Lord Eternal, and the Lord temporall: neuertheleſſe, they were ſubiect vnto the Lord temporall, for the Lord Eternall.* It was therefore to pay God his duetie of obedience, and not for feare to incenſe the Emperour, or to draw perſecution vpon the Church (as the L. Cardinal would make vs beleeue) that Chriſtians of the Primitiue Church, and Biſhops by their cenſures, durſt not anger and prouoke their Emperours. But his Lordſhip by his coloured pretences doeth manifeſtly prouoke and ſtirre vp the people to rebellion, ſo ſoone as they know their own ſtrength to beare out a rebellious practiſe: Whereupon it followes, that in caſe their conſpiracie ſhall take no good effect, all the blame and fault muſt lie, not in their diſloyalty and treaſon, but in the bad choice of their times for the beſt aduantage, and in the want of taking a trew ſight of their owne weakeneſſe. Let ſtirring ſpirits be trained vp in ſuch practicall precepts, let deſperate wits be ſeaſoned with ſuch rules of diſcipline; and what need we, or how can wee wonder they contriue Powder-conſpiracies, and practiſe the damnable art of parricides?

Auguſt. in Pſal. 124.

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After *Iulian*, his Lordſhip falles vpon *Valentinian* the younger, who maintaining Arrianiſme with great and open violence, might haue bene depoſed by the Chriſtians from his Empire, and yet (ſay wee) they neuer dream'd of any ſuch practiſe. Heere the L. Cardinall maketh anſwere: *The Chriſtians mooued with reſpect vnto the freſh memory both of the brother and father, as alſo vnto the weake eſtate of the ſonnes young yeeres, abſtained from all counſels and courſes of ſharper effect and operation.* To which anſwere I replie: theſe are but friuolous coniectures, deuiſed and framed to ticle his owne fancie: For had *Valentinianus* the younger beene the ſonne of an *Arrian*, and had then alſo attained to threeſcore yeeres of aage, they would neuer haue borne themſelues in other faſhion then they did, towards their Emperour. Then the Cardinall goeth on: The people would not abandon the

Pag. 82. » »

factious and ſeditious party, but were ſo firme or obſtinate rather for the faction, that *Valentinian* for feare of the tumultuous vproares was conſtrained to giue way, and was threatened by the ſouldiers, that except hee would adhere vnto the Catholikes, they would yeeld him no aſſiſtance, nor ſtand for his partie. Now this anſwere of the L. Cardinall makes nothing to the purpoſe, concerning the Popes power to pull downe Kings from their ſtately neſt. Let vs take notice of his proper conſequence. *Valentinian* was afraid of the popular tumult at *Milan*: the Pope therefore hath power to curbe Hereticall Kings by depoſition. Now marke what diſtance is betweene *Rome* and *Milan*, what difference betweene the people of *Milan*, and the Biſhop of *Rome*; betweene a popular tumult, and a iudicatorie ſentence; betweene fact and right, things done by the people or ſouldiers of *Milan*, and things to be done according to right and law by the Biſhop of *Rome*; the ſame diſtance, the ſame difference (if not farre greater) is betweene the L. Cardinals antecedent and his conſequent, betweene his reaſon, and the maine cauſe or argument which we haue in hand. The mad commotion of the people was not heere ſo much to bee regarded, as the ſad inſtruction of the Paſtour, of their good and godly Paſtour S. *Ambroſe*, ſo farre from hartening the people of *Milan* to rebel, that being Biſhop of *Milan*, he offered himſelfe to ſuffer Martydome: *If the Emperour abuſe his Imperiall authority*, (for ſo *Theodoret* hath recited his words) *to tyrannize thereby, heere am I ready to ſuffer death.* And what reſiſtance he made againſt his L. Emperor, was onely by way of ſupplication in theſe termes; *Wee beſeech thee, O* Auguſtus, *as humble ſuppliants; We offer no reſiſtance: We are not in feare, but we flie to ſupplication.* Againe, *If my patrimony be your marke, enter vpon my patrimony, if my body, I wil goe and meet my torments. Shall I be drag'd to priſon or to death? I will take delight in both. Item,* in his Oration to *Auxentius*; *I can affli& my ſoule with ſorrow, I can lament, I can ſend forth grieuous groanes: My weapons againſt either of both, ſouldiers or Goths, are teares: A Prieſt hath none other weapons of defence: I neither can reſiſt, nor ought in any other maner to make reſiſtance.*

Epiſt. lib. 5. Epiſt. 33.

Epiſt. lib. 5.

Iuſtinian the Emperour in his old aage fell into the hereſie of the *Aphthartodocites.* Againſt *Iuſtinian*, though few they were that fauoured him in that hereſie, the Biſhop of *Rome* neuer darted with violence any ſentence of excommunication, interdiction, or depoſition.

The *Oſtrogot* Kings in *Italie*, the *Viſigot* in *Spaine*, the *Vandal* in *Africa* were all addicted to the *Arrian* impietie, and ſome of them cruelly perſecuted the trew profeſſours. The *Viſigot* and *Vandall* were no neighbours to *Italie*. The Pope thereby had the leſſe cauſe to feare the ſtings of thoſe waſpes, if they had bene angred. The Pope for all that neuer had the humour to wreſtle or iuſtle with any of the ſaid Kings in the cauſe of depoſing them from their Thrones. But eſpecially the times when the *Vandals* in *Affricke*, and the *Goths* in *Italie* by *Beliſarius* and *Narſes*, profeſſours of the Orthodoxe Faith, were tyred with long warres, and at laſt were vtterly defeated in bloody battels, are to bee conſidered. Then were the times

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or neuer, for the Pope to vnſheath his weapons, and to vncaſe his arrowes of depoſition; then were the times to draw them out of his quiuer, and to ſhoot at all ſuch *Arrian* heads; then were the times by diſpenſations to releaſe their ſubiects of their oathes, by that peremptorie meanes to aide and ſtrengthen the Catholique cauſe: But in that aage the ſaid weapons were not knowne to haue bene hammered in the Pontificall forge.

Gregorie the I. made his boaſts, that he was able to ruine the Lombards, (for many yeeres together ſworne enemies to the Biſhops of Rome) their ſtate preſent, and the hope of all their future proſperitie. But he telleth vs, that by the feare of God before his eyes and in his heart, he was bridled and reſtrained from any ſuch intent; as elſewhere we haue obſerued: *If I would haue medled with practiſing and procuring the death of the Lombards, the whole nation of the Lombards at this day had bene robbed of their Kings, Dukes, Earles, they had bene reduced to the tearmes of extreame confuſion.* He might at leaſt haue depoſed their King, (if the credit of the L. Cardinals iudgement be currant) without polluting or ſtayning his owne conſcience.

In Apol. pro iuram. fidel. His owne words *lib. 7. Epiſt. 1.*

What can we tearme this aſſertion of the L. Cardinal, but open charging the moſt ancient Biſhops of Rome with crueltie, when they would not ſuccour the Church of CHRIST oppreſſed by tyrants, whoſe oppreſſion they had power to repreſſe by depoſing the oppreſſors. Is it credible, that IESVS CHRIST hath giuen a Commiſſion to S. *Peter* and his ſucceſſors for ſo many aages, without any power to execute their Commiſſion, or to make any vſe thereof by practiſe? Is it credible, that hee hath giuen them a ſword to bee kept in the ſcabbard, without drawing once in a thouſand yeeres? Is it credible, that in the times when Popes were moſt deboſhed, abandoning themſelues to all ſorts of corrupt and vitious courſes, as is teſtified by their owne flatterers and beſt affected ſeruants; is it credible that in thoſe times they began to vnderſtand the vertue & ſtrength of their Commiſſion? For if either feare or lacke of power, was the cauſe of holding their hands, and voluntarie binding of themſelues to the Peace or good behauiour: wherefore is not ſome one Pope at leaſt produced, who hath complained that he was hindered from executing the power that CHRIST had conferred vpon his Pontificall See? Wherefore is not ſome one of the ancient and holy Fathers alledged, by whom the Pope hath bene aduiſed and exhorted to take courage, to ſtand vpon the vigor and ſinewes of his Papall Office, to vnſheath and vncaſe his bolts of thunder againſt vngodly Princes, and grieuous enemies to the Church? wherefore liuing vnder Chriſtian and gracious Emperours, haue they not made knowne the reaſons, why they were hindred from drawing the pretended ſword; leſt long cuſtome of not vſing the ſword ſo many aages, might make it ſo to ruſt in the ſcabbard, that when there ſhould be occaſion to vſe the ſaid ſword, it could not be drawne at all; and leſt ſo long cuſtome of not vſing the ſame, ſhould confirme preſcription to their greater preiudice? If weakeneſſe be a iuſt let, how is it come to paſſe, that Popes haue enterpriſed to depoſe

Philip the Faire, Lewis the XII. and ELIZABETH my predeceſſor of happy memorie; (to let paſſe others) in whom experience hath well proued, how great inequalitie was betweene their ſtrengths? Yea, for the moſt part from thence grow moſt grieuous troubles and warres, which iuſtly recoile and light vpon his owne head; as happened to *Gregorie* the VII. and *Boniface* the VIII. This no doubt is the reaſon, wherefore the Pope neuer ſets in (for feare of ſuch inconueniences) to blaſt a King with lightning and thunder of depoſition, but when hee perceiues the troubled waters of the Kingdome by ſome ſtrong faction ſetled in his Eſtate; or when the King is confined and bordered by ſome Prince more potent, who thirſteth after the prey, and is euer gaping for ſome occaſion to picke a quarrell. The King ſtanding in ſuch eſtate, is it not as eaſie for the Pope to pull him downe, as it is for a man with one hand to thruſt downe a tottering wall, when the groundſill is rotten, the ſtuddes vnpind and nodding or bending towards the ground? But if the King ſhall beare downe and breake the faction within the Realme; if hee ſhall get withall the vpper hand of his enemies out of the Kingdome; then the holy Father preſents him with pardons neuer ſued for, neuer asked; and in a fathers indulgence forſooth, giues him leaue ſtill to hold the Kingdome, that hee was not able by all his force to wreſt and wring out of his hand, no more then the club of *Hercules* out of his fiſt. How many worthy Princes, incenſed by the Pope, to conſpire againſt Soueraigne Lords their Maſters, and by open rebellion to worke ſome change in their Eſtates, haue miſcarried in the action, with loſſe of life, or honour, or both? For example; *Rodulphus* Duke of *Sueuia* was eg'd on by the Pope, againſt *Henry* IIII. of that name Emperour. How many maſſacres, how many deſolations of Cities and townes, how many bloody battels enſued thereupon? Let hiſtories bee ſearched, let iuſt accompts be taken, and beſide ſieges layde to Cities, it will appeare by trew computation, that *Henry* the IIII. and *Frederic* the firſt, fought aboue threeſcore battels, in defence of their owne right againſt enemies of the Empire, ſtirred vp to armes by the Pope of Rome. How much Chriſtian blood was then ſpilt in theſe bloody battels, it paſſeth mans wit, penne, or tongue to expreſſe. And to giue a little touch vnto matters at home; doeth not his Holineſſe vnderſtand right well the weakeneſſe of Papiſts in my Kingdome? Doeth not his Holineſſe neuertheleſſe animate my Papiſts to rebellion, and forbid my Papiſts to take the Oath of Allegiance? Doeth not his Holineſſe by this meanes draw (ſo much as in him lyeth) perſecution vpon the backes of my Papiſts as vpon rebels, and expoſe their life as it were vpon the open ſtall, to be ſold at a very eaſie price? All theſe examples, either ioynt or ſeuerall, are manifeſt and euident proofes, that feare to d aw miſchiefe and perſecution vpon the Church, hath not barred the Popes from thundering againſt Emperours and Kings, whenſoeuer they conceiued any hope, by their fulminations to aduance their greatneſſe.

Laſt

Last of all; I referre the matter to the most possessed with preiudice, euen the very aduersaries, whether this doctrine, by which people are trained vp in subiection vnto Infidel or hereticall Kings, vntill the subiects be of sufficient strength to mate their Kings, to expell their Kings, and to depose them from their Kingdomes, doth not incense the Turkish Emperours and other Infidell Princes, to roote out all the Christians that drawe in their yoke, as people that waite onely for a fit occasion to rebell, and to take themselues ingaged for obedience to their Lords, onely by constraint and seruile feare. Let vs therefore now conclude with *Ozius*, in that famous Epistle speaking to *Constantius* an Arrian heretike: *As hee that by secret practise or open violence would bereaue thee of thy Empire, should violate Gods ordinance: so bee thou touched with feare, least, by vsurping authoritie ouer Church matters, thou tumble not headlong into some hainous crime.* Where this holy Bishop hath not vouchsafed to insert and mention the L. Cardinals exception; to wit, the right of the Church alwaies excepted and saued, when she shall be of sufficient strength to shake off the yoke of Emperours. Neither speaks the same holy Bishop of priuate persons alone, or men of some particular condition and calling; but hee setteth downe a generall rule for all degrees, neuer to impeach Imperiall Maiestie vpon any pretext whatsoeuer.

Apud Athan. in Epist. ad solitar. vitam agentes.

As his Lordships first reason drawne from weakenesse is exceeding weake: so is that which the L. Cardinall takes vp in the next place: *He telleth vs there is very great difference betweene Pagan Emperours, and Christian Princes: Pagan Emperours who neuer did homage to Christ, who neuer were by their subiects receiued, with condition to acknowledge perpetuall subiection vnto the Empire of Christ; who neuer were bound by oath and mutuall contract betweene Prince and subiect. Christian Princes who slide backe by Apostasie, degenerate by Arrianisme, or fall away by Mahometisme.* Touching the latter of these two, (as his Lordshippe saith) *If they shall as it were take an oath, and make a vowe contrary to their first oath and vow made and taken when they were installed, and contrary to the condition vnder which they receiued the Scepter of their Fathers; if they withall shall turne persecutors of the Catholike religion;* touching these I say, the L. Cardinal holds, that without question they may bee remooued from their Kingdomes: He telleth vs not by whom, but euery where he meaneth by the Pope. Touching Kings deposed by the Pope vnder pretence of stupidity, as *Childeric*; or of matrimoniall causes, as *Philip* I. or for collating of benefices, as *Philip* the Faire; not one word: By that point he easily glideth, and shuffles it vp in silence, for feare of distasting the Pope on the one side, or his auditors on the other.

The 2. reas. Pag. 77.

Now in alledging this reason, his Lordship makes all the world a witnes, that in deposing of Kings, the Pope hath no eye of regard to the benefit and securitie of the Church: For such Princes as neuer suckt other milke then that of Infidelitie, and persecution of Religion, are no lesse noisome and pernicious vermin to the Church, then if they had sucked of the Churches

ches breasts. And as for the greatnesse of the sinne or offence, it seemes to me there is very little difference in the matter. For a Prince that neuer did sweare any religious obedience to *Iesus Christ*, is bound no lesse to such obedience, then if he had taken a solemne oath: As the sonne that rebelliously stands vp against his father, is in equall degree of sinne, whether he hath sworne or not sworne obedience to his father; because he is bound to such obedience, not by any voluntarie contract or couenant, but by the law of Nature. The commaundement of God to kisse the Sonne, whom the Father hath confirmed and ratified King of Kings, doeth equally bind all Kings, as well Pagans as Christians. On the other side, who denies, who doubts, that *Constantius* Emperour at his first steppe or entrance into the Empire, did not sweare and bind himselfe by solemne vowe, to keepe the rules and to maintaine the precepts of the Orthodox faith, or that he did not receiue his fathers Empire vpon such condition? This notwithstanding, the Bishop of *Rome* pulled not *Constantius* from his Imperiall throne, but *Constantius* remooued the Bishop of *Rome* from his Papall See. And were it so, that an oath taken by a King at his consecration, and after violated, is a sufficient cause for the Pope to depose an Apostate or hereticall Prince; then by good consequence the Pope may in like sort depose a King, who beeing neither dead in Apostasie, nor sicke of Heresie, doeth neglect onely the due administration of iustice to his loyall subiects: For his oath taken at consecration importeth likewise, that he shall minister iustice to his people. A point wherein the holy Father is held short by the L. Cardinall, who dares prescribe new lawes to the Pope, and presumes to limit his *fulnesse of power*, within certaine meeres and head-lands, extending the Popes power only to the deposing of Christian Kings, when they turne Apostats forsaking the Catholike faith; and not such Princes as neuer breathed any thing but pure Paganisme, and neuer serued vnder the colours of Iesus Christ. Meane while his Lordship forgets, that King *Attabaliba* was deposed by the Pope from his Kingdome of *Peru*, and the said Kingdome was conferred vpon the King of *Spaine*, though the said poore King of *Peru*, neuer forsooke his heathen superstition; and though the turning of him out of his terrestriall Kingdome was no way to conuert him vnto the faith of Christ. Yea his Lordship a little after telleth vs himselfe, that *Be the Turkes possession in the conquests that he maketh ouer Christians neuer so auncient, yet by no long tract of time whatsoeuer, can he gaine so much as a thumbes breadth of prescription*: that is to say, the Turke for all that is but a disseisor, one that violently and wilfully keeps an other man from his owne, and by good right may be dispossessed of the same: whereas notwithstanding the Turkish Emperours neuer fauoured nor sauoured Christianitie. Let vs runne ouer the examples of Kings whom the Pope hath dared and presumed to depose; and hardly will any one be found, of whom it may be trewly auouched, that he hath taken an oath contrary to his oath of subiection to *Iesus Christ*, or that he hath wilfully cast himselfe into Apostaticall defection.

Pag. 77.

And

And certes to any man that weighs the matter with due conſideration, it wil be found apparantly falſe, that Kings of *France* haue bene receiued of their ſubiects at any time, with condition to ſerue IESVS CHRIST. They were actually Kings before they came forth to the ſolemnitie of their ſacring, before they vſed any ſtipulation or promiſe to their ſubiects. For in hereditary kingdoms, (nothing more certaine, nothing more vncontroleable) the Kings death inſtantly maketh liuery and ſeiſin of the Royaltie, to his next ſucceſſour. Nor is it materiall to replie, that a King ſucceeding by right of inheritance, takes an oath in the perſon of his predeceſſor. For euery oath is perſonall, proper to the perſon by whom it is taken: and to God no liuing creature can ſweare, that his owne ſonne or his heire ſhall proue an honeſt man. Well may the father, and with great ſolemnitie, promiſe that he will exhort his heire apparant with all his power and the beſt of his endeauours, to feare God and to practiſe piety. If the fathers oath be agreeable to the dueties of godlineſſe, the ſonne is bound thereby, whether he take an oath, or take none. On the other ſide, if the fathers oath come from the puddles of impietie, the ſonne is bound thereby to goe the contrary way. If the fathers oath concerne things of indifferent nature, and ſuch as by the variety or change of times, become either pernicious or impoſſible; then it is free for the Kings next ſucceſſor and heire, prudently to fit and proportion his Lawes vnto the times preſent, and to the beſt benefit of the Common-wealth.

When I call theſe things to mind with ſome attention, I am out of all doubt, his Lordſhip is very much to ſeeke, in the right ſenſe and nature of his Kings oath taken at his Coronation, to defend the Church, and to perſeuere in the Catholike faith: For what is more vnlike and leſſe credible then this conceit, that after *Clouis* had reigned 15. yeeres in the ſtate of Paganiſme, and then receiued holy Baptiſme, he ſhould become Chriſtian vpon this condition, That in caſe hee ſhould afterward reuolt from the Faith, it ſhould then bee in the power of the Church, to turne him out of his Kingdome? But had any ſuch conditionall ſtipulation beene made by *Clouis*, in very good earneſt and trewth; yet would hee neuer haue intended, that his depoſing ſhould bee the acte of the Romane Biſhop, but rather of thoſe (whether Peeres or people, or whole body of the State) by whom he had bene aduanced to the Kingdome. Let vs heare the trewth, and this is the trewth: It is farre from the cuſtomary vſe in *France*, for their Kings to take any ſuch oath, or to vſe any ſuch ſtipulation with their ſubiects. If any King or Prince whereſoeuer, doth vſe an oath or ſolemne promiſe in theſe expreſſe termes, *Let me loſe my Kingdome, or my life, be that day my laſt both for life and reigne; when I ſhall firſt reuolt from the Chriſtian Religion*: By theſe words he calleth vpon God for vengeance, hee vſeth imprecation againſt his owne head: but hee makes not his Crowne to ſtoupe by this meanes to any power in the Pope, or in the Church, or in the people.

And touching inſcriptions vpon coynes, of which point his Lordſhip ſpea-

ſpeaketh by the way; verely the nature of the money or coine (the ſtamping and minting whereof is one of the marks of the Prince his dignity and Soueraignty) is not changed by bearing the letters of Chriſts Name on the reuerſe or on the front. Such characters of Chriſts Name, are aduertiſements and inſtructions to the people, that in ſhewing and yeelding obedience vnto the King, they are obedient vnto Chriſt; & thoſe Princes likewiſe, who are ſo wel aduiſed, to haue the moſt ſacred Names inſcribed and printed in their coines, doe take and acknowledge *Ieſus Chriſt* for ſupreme King of Kings. The ſaid holy characters are no repreſentation or profeſſion, that any Kings Crowne dependeth vpon the Church, or can be taken away by the Pope. The L. Cardinal indeed ſo beareth vs in hand. But he inuerts the words of *Ieſus Chriſt*, and wrings them out of the right ioynt: For Chriſt without all ambiguitie and circumlocution, by the image and inſcription of the money, doeth directly and expreſſely prooue *Cæſar* to bee free from ſubiection, and entirely Soueraigne. Now if ſuch a ſupreme and Soueraigne Prince, at any time ſhall bandie and combine againſt God, and thereby ſhall become a rebellious and perfidious Prince; doubtleſſe for ſuch diſloyaltie he ſhall deſerue, that God would take from him all hope of life eternall: and yet hereby neither Pope nor people hath reaſon to bee puft vp, in their power to depriue him of his temporall Kingdome.

Page 76. The L. Cardinall ſaith beſides; *The champions of the Popes power to depoſe Kings, doe expound that commandement of* S. Paul, *whereby euery ſoule is made ſubiect vnto the ſuperiour powers, to bee a prouiſionall precept or caution accommodated to the times; and to ſtand in force, onely vntil the Church were growen in ſtrength vnto ſuch a ſcantling, that it might be in the power of the faithfull, without ſhaking the pillars of Chriſtian ſtate, to ſtand in the breach, and cautelouſly to prouide that none but Chriſtian Princes might be receiued; according to the Law in Deut: Thou ſhalt make thee a King from among thy brethren.* The reaſon whereupon they ground, is this: *Becauſe* Paul *ſaith, It is a ſhame for Chriſtians to be iudged vnder vniuſt Infidels, in mattrs or buſineſſe, which they had one againſt another: For which inconuenience,* Iuſtinian *after prouided by Law; when hee ordeined that no Infidel nor Heretike might be admitted to the adminiſtration of iuſtice in the Common-wealth.*

In which words of the Cardinall, the word *Receiued*, is to bee obſerued eſpecially and aboue the reſt: For by chopping in that word, hee doeth nimbly and with a tricke of *Legier-demain*, transforme or change the very ſtate of the queſtion. For the queſtion or iſſue of the cauſe, is not about receiuing, eſtabliſhing, or chooſing a Prince; (as in thoſe Nations where the Kingdome goes by election) but about doing homage to the Prince, when God hath ſetled him in the Kingdome, and hath caſt it vpon a Prince by hereditary ſucceſſion: For that which is writtten, *Thou ſhalt make thee a King*, doeth no way concerne and touch the people of *France* in theſe dayes: becauſe the making of their King hath not of long time been tyed to their election. The paſſage therefore in Deuter. makes nothing to the purpoſe; no more then doth *Iuſtinians* law: For it is our free and voluntary con-

confeſſion, that a Chriſtian Prince is to haue ſpeciall care of the Lawes, and to prouide that no vnbeleeuer be made Lord Chiefe-Iuſtice of the Land, that no Infidel be put in truſt with adminiſtration of Iuſtice to the people. But here the iſſue doeth not direct vs to ſpeake of Delegates, of ſubordinate Magiſtrates, and ſuch as are in Commiſſion from the Prince, but of the ſupreame Prince himſelfe, the Soueraigne Magiſtrate ordained by nature, and confirmed by ſucceſſion. Our queſtion is, whether ſuch a Prince can be vnthroned by the Pope, by whom he was not placed in the Throne; and whether the Pope can deſpoile ſuch a Prince, of that Royaltie which was neuer giuen him by the Pope, vnder any pretended colour and imputation of hereſie, of ſtupiditie, or infringing the priuiledges of Monaſteries, or tranſgreſſing the Lawes and lines of holy Matrimonie.

Now that S. *Pauls* commandement which bindeth euery ſoule in the bands of ſubiection vnto the higher powers, is no precept giuen by way of *prouiſo*, and onely to ſerue the times, but a ſtanding and a perpetuall rule, it is hereby more then manifeſt. S. *Paul* hath grounded this commandement vpon certaine reaſons, not onely conſtant and permanent by their proper nature, but likewiſe neceſſary for euery ſtate, condition, and reuolution of the times. His reaſons; *Becauſe all powers are ordained of God: becauſe reſiſting of powers is reſiſting the ordinance of God: becauſe the Magiſtrate beares the ſword to execute iuſtice: becauſe obedience and ſubiection to the Magiſtrate is neceſſary, not onely for feare of his wrath, or feare of puniſhment, but alſo for conſcience ſake.* It is therefore a caſe grounded vpon conſcience, it is not a Law deuiſed by humane wiſedome; it is not faſhionable to the qualities of the times. Apoſtolicall inſtructions for the right informing of maners, are not changeable according to times and ſeaſons. To vſe the L. Cardinals language, and to follow his fancie in the matter, is to make way for two peſtiferous miſchiefes: Firſt, let it be free and lawfull for Chriſtians, to hold the commanding rules of GOD for prouiſionall cautions, and what followes? Men are ledde into the broad way of impietie, and the whole Scripture is wiped of all authoritie. Then againe, for the other miſchiefe: The glorious triumphes of moſt bleſſed Martyrs in their vnſpeakable torments and ſufferings, by the L. Cardinals poſition ſhall bee iudged vnworthy to weare the title and Crowne of Martyrdome. How ſo? Becauſe (according to his new fiction) they haue giuen place to the violence and furie of heathen Magiſtrates, not in obedience to the neceſſary and certaine Commandement of God, but rather to a prouiſionall direction, accõmodated to the humours of the times. And therfore the L. Cardinal hath vſed none other clay wherewith to dawbe ouer his deuiſe, but plaine falſification of holy Scripture: For he makes the Apoſtle ſay to the Corinthians, *It is a ſhame for Chriſtians to bee iudged vnder vnbeleeuing Magiſtrates*; whereas in that whole context of Paul, there is no ſuch matter. For when the Apoſtle ſaith, *I ſpeake it euen to your ſhame*; he doeth not ſay it is a ſhame for a beleeuer to be iudged vnder an Infidel, but he makes them aſhamed of their

πρὸς ἐντροπὴν λέγω.

their vngodly courſe,and vnchriſtian practiſe,that in ſuing and impleading one another,they layd their actions of cõtention in the Courts of vnbeleeuing Iudges. The ſhame was not in bearing that yoke which God had charged their necks withall, but in deuouring and eating vp one an other with Writs of *habeas corpus*, and with other Proceſſes; as alſo in vncouering the ſhame, in laying open the ſhamefull parts and prankes played by Chriſtians, before Infidels, to the great ſcandall of the Church. Here I ſay the L. Cardinall is taken in a tricke of manifeſt falſification. If therefore a King when he falls to play the heretike,deſerueth to be depoſed; why ſhould not a Cardinall when he falls to play the iuggler with holy Scripture, deſerue to be diſrobed?

Meane while the indifferent Reader is to conſider,how greatly this doctrine is preiudicial,and how full of danger,to Chriſtians liuing vnder hereticall or Pagan Princes. For make it once knowne to the Emperour of Turkes, let him once get neuer ſo little a ſmacke of this doctrine; that Chriſtians liuing vnder his Empire doe take Gods commandement, for obedience to Princes whom they count Infidels, to be onely a prouiſional precept for a time, and wait euery houre for all occaſions to ſhake off the yoke of his bondage; doubtleſſe he will neuer ſpare with all ſpeed to roote the whole ſtocke, with all the armes and branches of Chriſtians out of his dominions. Adde hereunto the L.Cardinals former determination; that poſſeſſion kept neuer ſo long by the Turke in his Conqueſts ouer Chriſtians,gaines him not by ſo long tract of time one inch of preſcription; and it will appeare,that his Lordſhip puts the Turkiſh Emperour in minde, and by his inſtruction leades the ſaid Emperour as it were by the hand, to haue no maner of affiance in his Chriſtian ſubiects; and withall to afflict his poore Chriſtians with all ſorts of moſt grieuous and cruell torments. In this regard the poore Chriſtians of Græcia and Syria,muſt needs be very little beholden to his Lordſhip. As for my ſelfe, and my Popiſh Subiects, to whom I am no leſſe then an heretike forſooth; am not I by this doctrine of the Cardinall, pricked and whetted againſt my naturall inclination, to turne clemencie into rigour; ſeeing that by his doctrine my ſubiects are made to beleeue,they owe me ſubiection onely by way of *prouiſo*,and with waiting the occaſion to worke my vtter deſtruction and finall ruine; the rather, becauſe Turkes, miſcreants, and heretikes are marſhalled by the Cardinall in the ſame ranke; and heretikes are counted worſe, yea more iuſtly depoſeable, then Turkes and Infidels,as irreligious breakers and violaters of their oath? Who ſeeth not here how great indignitie is offered to me a Chriſtian King, paralleld with Infidels,reputed worſe then a Turke, taken for an vſurper of my Kingdomes, reckoned a Prince, to whom ſubiects owe a forced obedience by way of prouiſion, vntill they ſhall haue meanes to ſhake off the yoke, and to bare my temples of the Crowne, which neuer can be pulled from the ſacred Head,but with loſſe of the head it ſelfe?

Touching

Touching the warres vndertaken by the *French*, *Engliſh*, and *Germaines*, in their expedition for Ieruſalem, it appeares by the iſſue and euent of the ſaid warres, that God approoued them not for honourable. That expedition was a deuiſe and inuention of the Pope, whereby he might come to be infeoffed in the Kingdomes of Chriſtian Princes. For then all ſuch of the *French*, *Engliſh* or *Germaines*, as vndertooke the Croiſade, became the Popes meere vaſſals. Then all robbers by the high way ſide, adulterers, cut-throats, and baſe bankerupts, were exempted from the Secular and Ciuill power, their cauſes were ſped in Conſiſtorian Courts, ſo ſoone as they had gotten the Croſſe on their caſſocks or coat-armours, and had vowed to ſerue in the expedition for the Leuant. Then for the Popes pleaſure and at his commaundement, whole countryes were emptied of their Nobles and common ſouldiers. Then they made long marches into the Leuant: For what purpoſe? Onely to die vpon the points of the *Saracens* pikes, or by the edge of their barbarous courtelaſſes, battle-axes, fauchions, and other weapons, without any benefit and aduantage to themſelues or others. Then the Nobles were driuen to ſell their goodly Mannors, and auncient demaines to the Church-men, at vnder priſes and low rates; the very roote from which a great part of the Church and Church-mens reuenewes hath ſprung and growne to ſo great height. Then, to be ſhort, his moſt bountifull Holineſſe gaue to any of the riffe-raffe-ranke, that would vndertake this expedition into the Holy land, a free and full pardon for all his ſinnes, beſides a degree of glory aboue the vulgar in the Celeſtiall Paradiſe. Military vertue, I confeſſe, is commendable and honourable; prouided it bee employed for iuſtice, and that generous nobleneſſe of valiant ſpirits bee not vnder a colour and ſhadow of piety, fetcht ouer with ſome caſts or deuiſes of Italian cunning.

See the Bull of Innoc. 3. at the end of the Later. Conc.

Now let vs obſerue the wiſedome of the Lord Cardinall through this whole diſcourſe. His Lordſhip is pleaſed in his Oration, to cite certaine few paſſages of Scripture, culls and picks them out for the moſt gracefull in ſhewe: leaues out of his liſt whole troupes of honourable witneſſes, vpon whoſe teſtimonie, the Popes themſelues and their principall adherents doe build his power to depoſe Kings, and to giue order for all Temporall cauſes. Take a ſight of their beſt and moſt honourable witneſſes. *Peter* ſaid to Chriſt, *See here two ſwords*; and Chriſt anſwered, *It is ſufficient.* Chriſt ſaid to *Peter*, *Put vp thy ſword into thy ſheath.* God ſaid to *Ieremie*, *Ihaue eſtabliſhed thee ouer Nations and Kingdomes.* *Ier. 1.* *Paul* ſaid to the Corinthians, *The ſpirituall man diſcerneth all things.* *1. Cor. 2.* Chriſt ſaid to his Apoſtles, *Whatſoeuer yee ſhall looſe vpon earth*: by which words the Pope hath power forſooth to looſe the oath of allegiance. *Moſes* ſaid, *In the beginning God created the heauen and the earth.* Vpon theſe paſſages, Pope *Boniface* 8. grapling and tugging with *Philip* the Faire, doth build his Temporall power. Other Popes and Papiſts auouch the like authorities. Chriſt ſaid of himſelfe, *All things are giuen to me of my Father, and all power is giuen vnto me in heauen and in*

Extrauag. Vnam Sanctam.

earth. The Deuils ſaid, *If thou caſt vs out, ſend vs into this herd of ſwine.* Chriſt ſaid to his Diſciples, *Yee ſhall finde the colt of an aſſe bound, looſe it and bring it vnto me.* By theſe places the aduerſaries prooue, that Chriſt diſpoſed of Temporall matters; and inferre thereupon, why not Chriſts Vicar as well as Chriſt himſelfe. The places and teſtimonies now following are very expreſſe: *In ſtead of thy fathers ſhall be thy children: thou ſhalt make them Princes through all the earth.* Item, Ieſus Chriſt not onely commaunded *Peter* to *feed his lambs*; but ſaid alſo to *Peter*, *Ariſe, kill, and eat*: the pleaſant gloſſe, the rare inuention of the L. Cardinall *Baronius*. Chriſt ſaid to the people, *If I were lift vp from the earth, I will draw all things vnto me.* who lets, what hinders this place from fitting the Pope? *Paul* ſaid to the Corinthians, *Know ye not that we ſhall iudge the Angels? how much more then the things that pertaine vnto this life?* A little after, *Haue not we power to eate?* Theſe are the chiefe paſſages, on which as vpon maine arches, the roofe of Papall Monarchie, concerning Temporall cauſes, hath reſted for three or foure aages paſt. And yet his Lordſhip durſt not repoſe any confidence in their firme ſtanding to beare vp the ſaid roofe of Temporall Monarchie, for feare of making his auditors to burſt with laughter. A wiſe part without queſtion, if his Lordſhip had not defiled his lips before, with a more ridiculous argument drawne from the leproſie and drie ſcab.

Pſal. 45.

Ioh. 12.

Let vs now by way of compariſon behold Ieſus Chriſt paying tribute vnto *Cæſar*, and the Pope making *Cæſar* to pay him tribute: Ieſus Chriſt perſwading the Iewes to pay tribute vnto an heathen Emperour, and the Pope diſpenſing with ſubiects for their obedience to Chriſtian Emperours: Ieſus Chriſt refuſing to arbitrate a controuerſie of inheritance partable betweene two priuate parties, and the Pope thruſting in himſelfe without warrant or Commiſſion to bee abſolute Iudge in the depoſing of Kings: Ieſus Chriſt profeſſing that his Kingdome is not of this world, and the Pope eſtabliſhing himſelfe in a terrene Empire. In like manner the Apoſtles forſaking all their goods to followe Chriſt, and the Pope robbing Chriſtians of their goods; the Apoſtles perſecuted by Pagan Emperours, and the Pope now ſetting his foote on the very throate of Chriſtian Emperours, then proudly treading Imperiall Crownes vnder his feete. By this compariſon, the L. Cardinals allegation of Scripture in fauour of his Maſter the Pope, is but a kind of puppet-play, to make Ieſus Chriſt a mocking ſtocke, rather then to ſatisfie his auditors with any ſound precepts and wholeſome inſtructions. Hereof he ſeemeth to giue ſome inckling himſelfe: For after he hath beene plentifull in citing authorities of Scripture, and of newe Doctors, which make for the Popes power to depoſe Kings; at laſt he comes in with a faire and open confeſſion, that neither by diuine Oracles, nor by honourable antiquitie, this controuerſie hath beene yet determined: and ſo pulls downe in a word with one hand, the frame of worke that he had built and ſet vp before with an other; diſcouering withall, the reluctation and priuie checkes of his owne conſcience.

Pag. 85.

There

There yet remaineth one obiection, the knot whereof the L. Cardinall in a maner ſweateth to vntie. His words be theſe: *The champions for the negatiue flie to the analogie of other proceedings and practiſes in the Church: They affirme that priuate perſons, maſters or owners of goods and poſſeſſions among the common people, are not depriued of their goods for Hereſie; and conſequently that Princes much more ſhould not for the ſame crime bee depriued of their eſtates.* For anſwere to this reaſon, he brings in the defendants of depoſition, ſpeaking after this maner; *In the Kingdome of* France *the ſtrict execution of lawes decreed in Court againſt Heretikes, is fauourably ſuſpended and ſtopped, for the preſeruation of peace and publike tranquilitie.* He ſaith elſewhere; *Connuence is vſed towards theſe Heretikes in regard of their multitude, becauſe a notable part of the French Nation and State is made all of Heretikes.* I ſuppoſe that out of ſpeciall charitie, he would haue thoſe Heretikes of his owne making, forewarned what courteous vſe and entreaty they are to expect; when he affirmeth that execution of the lawes is but ſuſpended: For indeed ſuſpenſions hold but for a time. But in a cauſe of that nature and importance, I dare promiſe my ſelfe, that my moſt honoured brother the King of *France*, will make vſe of other counſell: will rather ſeeke the amitie of his neighbour Princes, and the peace of his Kingdome: will beare in mind the great and faithfull ſeruice of thoſe, who in matter of religion diſſent from his Maieſtie, as of the onely men that haue preſerued and ſaued the Crowne for the King his father, of moſt glorious memorie. I am perſwaded my brother of *France* wil beleeue, that his liege people pretended by the L. Cardinall to bee heretikes, are not halfe ſo bad as my Romane Catholike ſubiects, who by ſecret practiſes vndermine my life, ſerue a forreine Souereigne, are diſcharged by his Bulls of their obedience due to me their naturall Souereigne, are bound (by the maximes and rules publiſhed and maintained in fauour of the Pope, before this full and famous aſſemblie of the Eſtate at *Paris*; if the ſaid maximes be of any weight and authoritie) to hold mee for no lawfull King, are there taught and inſtructed, that *Pauls* commandemement concerning ſubiection vnto the higher Powers, aduerſe to their profeſſed religion, is onely a prouiſionall precept, framed to the times, and watching for the opportunitie to ſhake off the yoake. All which notwithſtanding, I deale with ſuch Romane-Catholikes by the rules and wayes of Princely clemencie; their heinous and pernicious error, in effect no leſſe then the capitall crime of high treaſon, I vſe to call ſome diſeaſe or diſtemper of the mind. Laſt of all, I beleeue my ſaid brother of *France* will ſet downe in his tables, as in record, how little hee ſtandeth ingaged to the L. Cardinall in this behalfe: For thoſe of the reformed Religion profeſſe and proclaime, that next vnder God, they owe their preſeruation and ſafetie to the wiſedome and benignity of their Kings. But now comes the Cardinall, and he ſeekes to ſteale this perſwaſion out of their hearts: He tells them in open Parliament, and without any going about buſhes, that all their welfare and ſecuritie ſtandeth in their multitude, and in the feare which others conceiue

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to trouble the State, by the ſtrict execution of lawes againſt Heretikes.

Note by the way that here the Church of Rome is called a Sect.

He addeth moreouer, that *In caſe a third Sect ſhould peepe out and growe vp in* France, *the profeſſors thereof ſhould ſuffer confiſcation of their goods, with loſſe of life it ſelfe; as hath bene practiſed at* Geneua *againſt* Seruetus, *and in* England *againſt* Arians. My anſwere is this, That puniſhments for heretikes, duely and according to Law conuicted, are ſet downe by decrees of the ciuill Magiſtrate, bearing rule in the countrey where the ſaid heretikes inhabite, and not by any ordinances of the Pope. I ſay withall, the L. Cardinall hath no reaſon to match and parallell the reformed Churches with *Seruetus* and the *Arians*: For thoſe heretikes were powerfully conuicted by Gods word, and lawfully condemned by the ancient Generall Councils, where they were permitted and admitted to plead their owne cauſe in perſon. But as for the trewth profeſſed by me, and thoſe of the reformed Religion, it was neuer yet hiſſed out of the Schooles, nor caſt out of any Council, (like ſome Parliament bills) where both ſides haue bene heard with like indifferencie. Yea, what Council ſoeuer hath bene offered vnto vs in theſe latter times, it hath bene propoſed with certaine preſuppoſitions: as, That his Holineſſe (beeing a partie in the cauſe, and conſequently to come vnder iudgement as it were to the barre vpon his triall) ſhall be the Iudge of Aſſize with Commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Determiner*: it ſhall bee celebrated in a citie of no ſafe acceſſe, without ſafe conduct or conuoy to come or goe at pleaſure, and without danger: it ſhall be aſſembled of ſuch perſons with free ſuffrage and voyce, as vphold this rule, (which they haue already put in practiſe againſt *Iohn Hus* and *Hierome* of *Prage*) that faith giuen, and oath taken to an Heretike, muſt not be obſerued.

Now then to reſume our former matter; If the Pope hitherto hath neuer preſumed, for pretended hereſie to confiſcate by ſentence, either the lands or the goods of priuate perſons, or common people of the French Nation, wherefore ſhould hee dare to diſpoſſeſſe Kings of their Royall thrones? wherefore takes he more vpon him ouer Kings, then ouer priuate perſons; wherefore ſhall the ſacred heads of Kings be more churliſhly, vnciuilly, and rigorouſly handled, then the hoods of the meaneſt people? Here the L. Cardinal in ſtead of a direct anſwer, breakes out of the liſts, alledging cleane from the purpoſe examples of heretikes puniſhed, not by the Pope, but by the ciuill Magiſtrate of the Countrey: But *Bellarmine* ſpeakes to the point with a more free and open heart: hee is abſolute and reſolute in this opinion, that his Holineſſe hath plenary power to diſpoſe all Temporall eſtates and matters in the whole world; *I am confident* (ſaith *Bellarmine*) *and I ſpeake it with aſſurance, that our Lord* Ieſus Chriſt *in the dayes of his mortalitie, had power to diſpoſe of all Temporall things yea, to ſtrip Souereigne Kings and abſolute Lords of their Kingdomes and Seignories: and without all doubt hath granted and left euen the ſame power vnto his Vicar, to make vſe thereof whenſoeuer hee ſhall thinke it neceſſary for the ſaluation of ſoules.* And ſo his Lordſhip ſpeaketh without exception of any thing at all: For who doth not know, that *Ieſus Chriſt*

Contr. Barclaium, cap. 27.

Christ had power to diſpoſe no leſſe of priuate mens poſſeſſions, then of whole Realmes and Kingdomes at his pleaſure, if it had beene his pleaſure to diſplay the enſignes of his power? The ſame fulneſſe of power is likewiſe in the Pope. In good time: belike his Holineſſe is the ſole heire of Chriſt, in whole and in part. The laſt Lateran Council fineth a Laic that ſpeaketh blaſphemie, for the firſt offence (if he be a gentleman) at 25. ducats, and at 50. for the ſecond. It preſuppoſeth and taketh it for graunted, that the Church may rifle and ranſacke the purſes of priuate men, and caſt lots for their goods. The Councill of *Trent* diggeth as deepe for the ſame veine of gold and ſiluer. It ordaines; *That Emperours, Kings, Dukes, Princes, and Lords of cities, caſtles, and territories holding of the Church, in caſe they ſhall aſſigne any place within their limits or liberties for the duell betweene two Chriſtians, ſhall be depriued of the ſaid citie, caſtle, or place, where ſuch duell ſhall be performed, they holding the ſaid place of the Church by any kind of tenure: that all other Eſtates held in fee where the like offence ſhall be committed, ſhall forthwith fall and become forfeited to their immediate and next Lords: that all goods, poſſeſſions, and eſtates, as well of the combatants themſelues, as of their ſeconds ſhall bee confiſcate.* This Councill doeth neceſſarily preſuppoſe, it lieth in the hand and power of the Church, to diſpoſe of all the lands and eſtates, held in fee throughout all Chriſtendome; (becauſe the Church forſooth can take from one, and giue vnto an other all eſtates held in fee whatſoeuer, as well ſuch as hold of the Church, as of ſecular Lords) and to make ordinances for the confiſcation of all priuate perſons goods. By this Canon the Kingdome of *Naples* hath need to looke well vnto it ſelfe. For one duell it may fall into the Exchecquer of the Romane Church; becauſe that Kingdome payeth a Reliefe to the Church, as a Royaltie or Seignorie that holdeth in fee of the ſaid Church. And in *France* there is not one Lordſhip, not one Mannor, not one farme which the Pope by this meanes cannot ſhift ouer to a new Lord. His Lordſhip therefore had carried himſelfe and the cauſe much better, if in ſtead of ſeeking ſuch idle ſhifts, he had by a more large aſſertion maintained the Popes power to diſpoſe of priuate mens poſſeſſions, with no leſſe right and authoritie then of Kingdomes: For what colour of reaſon can bee giuen, for making the Pope Lord of the whole, and not of the parts? for making him Lord of the forreſt in groſſe, and not of the trees in parcell? for making him Lord of the whole houſe, and not of the parlour or the dining chamber?

Seſſ. 9.

Seſſ. 25. cap. 19.

His Lordſhip alleadgeth yet an other reaſon, but of no better weight: *Betweene the power of priuate owners ouer their goods, and the power of Kings ouer their eſtates, there is no little difference: For the goods of priuate perſons are ordained for their owners, and Princes for the benefit of their Common-wealths.* Heare me now anſwere. If this Cardinal-reaſon hath any force to inferre, that a King may lawfully be depriued of his Kingdome for hereſie, but a priuate perſon cannot for the ſame crime be turned out of his manſion houſe; then it ſhall follow by the ſame reaſon, that a Father for the ſame cauſe may

bee depriued of all power ouer his children, but a priuate owner cannot be depriued of his goods in the like caſe: becauſe goods are ordeined for the benefit and comfort of their owners, but fathers are ordeined for the good and benefit of their children: But moſt certain it is, that Kings repreſenting the image of God in earth and Gods place, haue a better and cloſer ſeate in their chaires of Eſtate, then any priuate perſons haue in the ſaddle of their inheritances and patrimonies, which are dayly ſeene for ſleight cauſes, to flit and to fall into the hands of new Lords: Whereas a Prince being the Head, cannot bee looſed in the proper ioynt, nor diſmounted; like a cannon when the carriage thereof is vnlockt, without a ſore ſhaking and a moſt grieuous diſlocation of all the members, yea, without ſubuerting the whole bodie of the State, whereby priuate perſons without number are inwrapped together in the ſame ruine; euen as the lower ſhrubs and other bruſh-wood are cruſhed in pieces altogether by the fall of a great oake. But ſuppoſe his Lordſhips reaſon were ſomewhat ponderous and ſolide withall, yet a King (which would not bee forgotten) is endowed not onely with the Kingdome, but alſo with the ancient Deſmenes and Crowne-lands, for which none can be ſo ſimple to ſay, The King was ordeined and created King; which neuertheleſſe he loſeth when hee loſeth his Crowne. Admit againe this reaſon were of ſome pith, to make mighty Kings more eaſily depoſeable then priuate perſons from their patrimonies; yet all this makes nothing for the deriuing and fetching of depoſition from the Popes Conſiſtorie. What hee neuer conferred, by what right or power can he claime to take away?

But ſee heere no doubt a ſharpe and ſubtile difference put by the L. Cardinall betweene a Kingdome, and the goods of priuate perſons. *Goods*, as his Lordſhip ſaith, *are without life: they can be conſtrained by no force, by no example, by no inducement of their owners to loſe eternall life: Subiects by their Princes may.* Now I am of the contrary beliefe, That an hereticall owner, or maſter of a family, hath greater power and meanes withall, to ſeduce his owne ſeruants and children, then a Prince hath to peruert his owne ſubiects; and yet for the contagion of Hereſie, and for corrupt religion, children are not remoued from their parents, nor ſeruants are taken away from their maſters. Hiſtories abound with examples of moſt flouriſhing Churches, vnder a Prince of contrary religion. And if things without life or ſoule are with leſſe danger left in an heretikes hands; why then ſhall not an hereticall King with more facilitie and leſſe danger keepe his Crowne, his Royall charge, his lands, his cuſtomes, his impoſts, &c? For will any man, except he bee out of his wits, affirme theſe things to haue any life or ſoule? Or why ſhall it bee counted folly, to leaue a ſword in the hand of a mad Bedlam? Is not a ſword alſo without life and ſoule? For my part, I ſhould rather be of this minde; that poſſeſſion of things without reaſon, is more dangerous and pernicious in the hands of an euill maſter, then the poſſeſſion of things endued with life and reaſon: For things without life

life lacke both reaſon and iudgement, how to exempt and free themſelues from being inſtruments in euill and wicked actions, from being emploied to vngodly and abominable vſes. I will not deny, that an hereticall Prince is a plague, a pernicious and mortall ſickeneſſe to the ſoules of his ſubiects: But a breach made by one miſchiefe, muſt not bee filled vp with a greater inconuenience: An errour muſt not be ſhocked and ſhouldered with diſloialtie, nor hereſie with periurie, nor impietie with ſedition and armed rebellion againſt GOD and the King. GOD, who vſeth to try and to ſchoole his Church, will neuer forſake his Church; nor hath need to protect his Church by any proditorious and prodigious practiſes of perfidious Chriſtians: For he makes his Church to be like the burning buſh: In the middeſt of the fire and flames of perſecutions, hee will prouide that ſhe ſhall not be conſumed, becauſe hee ſtandeth in the midſt of his Church. And ſuppoſe there may be ſome iuſt cauſe for the French, to play the rebels againſt their King; yet will it not follow, that ſuch rebellious motions are to be raiſed by the bellowes of the Romane Biſhop, to whoſe Paſtorall charge and office it is nothing proper, to intermeddle in the ciuill affaires of forraine Kingdomes.

Here is the ſumme and ſubſtance of the L. Cardinals whole diſcourſe, touching his pretence of the ſecond inconuenience. Which diſcourſe hee hath cloſed with a remarkeable confeſſion: to wit, that neither by the authoritie of holy Scripture, nor by the the teſtimonie and verdict of the Primitiue Church, there hath bene any full deciſion of this queſtion. In regard whereof he falleth into admiration, that Lay-people haue gone ſo farre in audaciouſneſſe, as to labour that a doubtfull doctrine might for euer paſſe currant, and be taken for a new article of faith. *What a ſhame, what a reproach is this? how full of ſcandall?* for ſo his Lordſhip is pleaſed to cry out. *This breakes into the ſeueralls and incloſures of the Church: this lets in whole herds of hereſies to graſe in her greene and ſweet paſtures.* On the other ſide, without any ſuch Rhetoricall outcries, I ſimply affirme: It is a reproach, a ſcandall, a crime of rebellion, for a ſubiect hauing his full charge and loade of benefits, in the new ſpring of his Kings tender aage, his King-fathers blood yet reeking, and vpon the point of an addreſſe for a double match with Spaine; in ſo honourable an aſſembly, to ſeeke the thraldome of his Kings Crowne, to play the captious in cauilling about cauſes of his Kings depoſing, to giue his former life the Lye with ſhame enough in his old aage, and to make himſelfe a common by-word, vnder the name of a *Problematicall Martyr*; one that offers himſelfe to fagot and fire, for a point of doctrine but problematically handled, that is, diſtruſtfully and onely by way of doubtfull and queſtionable diſcourſe: yea for a point of doctrine, in which the French (as he pretendeth) are permitted to thwart and croſſe his Holines in iudgement, prouided they ſpeake in it as in a point, not certaine and neceſſary, but onely doubtfull and probable.

THE

THE THIRD INCONVENIENCE EXAMINED.

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THe third Inconuenience pretended by the L. Cardinall to grow by admitting this Article of the third Eſtate, is flouriſhed in theſe colours: *It would breed and bring foorth an open and vnauoydeable ſchiſme againſt his Holineſſe, and the reſt of the whole Eccleſiaſticall body: For thereby the doctrine long approued and ratified by the Pope and the reſt of the Church, ſhould now be taxed and condemned of impious and moſt deteſtable conſequence; yea the Pope and the Church, euen in faith and in points of ſaluation, ſhould be reputed and beleeued to be erroniouſly perſwaded.* Hereupon his Lordſhip giues himſelfe a large ſcope of the raines, to frame his elegant amplifications againſt ſchiſmes and ſchiſmatikes.

Now to mount ſo high, and to flie in ſuch place vpon the wings of amplification for this Inconuenience, what is it elſe but magnifically to report and imagine a miſchiefe by many degrees greater then the miſchiefe is? The L. Cardinal is in a great errour, if hee make himſelfe beleeue, that other nations wil make a rent or ſeparation from the communion of the French, becauſe the French ſtand to it tooth and naile, that French Crownes are not liable or obnoxious to Papall depoſition; howſoeuer there is no ſchiſme that importeth not ſeparation of communion. The moſt illuſtrious Republike of *Venice*, hath imbarked herſelfe in this quarrell againſt his Holineſſe, hath played her prize, and caried away the weapons with great honour. Doeth ſhe, notwithſtanding her triumph in the cauſe, forbeare to participate with all her neighbours in the ſame Sacraments? doeth ſhe liue in ſchiſme with all the reſt of the Romane Church? No ſuch matter. When the L. Cardinal himſelfe not many yeeres paſt, maintained the Kings cauſe, and ſtood honourably for the Kings right againſt the Popes Temporall vſurpations, did he then take other Churches to be ſchiſmaticall, or the rotten members of *Antichriſt*? Beleeue it who liſt, I beleeue my Creed. Nay, his Lordſhip telleth vs himſelfe a little after, that his Holineſſe giues the French free ſcope, to maintaine either the affirmatiue or negatiue of this queſtion. And will his Holineſſe hold them ſchiſmatikes, that diſſent from his opinion and iudgement in a ſubiect or cauſe eſteemed problematicall? Farre be it from his Holineſſe. The King of Spaine, reputed the Popes right arme, neuer gaue the Pope cauſe by any acte or other declaration, to conceiue that he acknowledged himſelfe depoſeable by the Pope for hereſie, or Tyrannie, or ſtupiditie. But being well aſſured the Pope ſtandeth in greater feare of his arme, then hee doeth of the Popes head and ſhoulders,

ſhoulders, he neuer troubles his owne head about our queſtion. More, when the booke of Cardinall *Baronius* was come foorth, in which booke the Kingdome of Naples is deſcried and publiquely diſcredited (like falſe money) touching the qualitie of a Kingdome, and attributed to the King of Spaine, not as trew proprietary thereof, but onely as an Eſtate held in fee of the Romane Church; the King made no bones to condemne and to baniſh the ſaid booke out of his dominions. The holy Father was contented to put vp his Catholike ſonnes proceeding to the Cardinals diſgrace, neuer opened his mouth againſt the King, neuer declared or noted the King to be ſchiſmaticall. He waits perhaps for ſome fitter opportunitie; when the Kingdome of Spaine groaning vnder the burthens of inteſtine diſſentions and troubles, hee may without any danger to himſelfe giue the Catholike King a Biſhops mate. Yea, the L. Cardinal himſelfe is better ſeene in the humors and inclinations of the Chriſtian world, then to be groſly perſwaded, that in the Kingdome of Spaine, and in the very heart of Rome it ſelfe there be not many, which either make it but a ieaſt, or elſe take it in fowle ſcorne, to heare the Popes power ouer the Crownes of Kings once named: eſpecially ſince the Venetian Republike hath put his Holineſſe to the worſe in the ſame cauſe, and caſt him in Law.

What needed the L. Cardinall then, by caſting vp ſuch mounts and trenches, by heaping one amplification vpon an other, to make ſchiſme looke with ſuch a terrible and hideous aſpect? Who knowes not how great an offence, how heinous a crime it is to quarter not IESVS CHRISTS coat, but his body, which is the Church? And what needed ſuch terrifying of the Church with vglineſſe of ſchiſme, whereof there is neither colourable ſhew, nor poſſibilitie?

The next vgly monſter, after ſchiſme, ſhaped by the L. Cardinall in the third ſuppoſed and pretended inconuenience, is hereſie. His Lordſhip ſaith for the purpoſe: *By this Article we are caſt headlong into a manifeſt hereſie, as binding vs to confeſſe, that for many aages paſt, the Catholike Church hath bene baniſhed out of the whole world. For if the champions of the doctrine contrary to this Article, doe hold an impious and a deteſtable opinion, repugnant vnto Gods word, then doubtleſſe the Pope for ſo many hundred yeeres expired, hath not bene the head of the Church, but an heretike and the Antichriſt.* He addeth moreouer; *That the Church long agoe hath loſt her name of Catholike, and that in France there hath no Church flouriſhed, nor ſo much as appeared theſe many and more then many yeeres: for as much as all the French doctors for many yeres together, haue ſtood for the contrary opinion. We can erect and ſet vp no trophey more honorable for heretikes in token of their victory, then to auow that Chriſts viſible Kingdom is periſhed from the face of the earth, and that for ſo many hundred yeres there hath not bene any Temple of God, nor any ſpouſe of Chriſt, but euery where, and all the world ouer, the kingdom of Antichriſt, the ſynagogue of Satan, the ſpouſe of the diuel, hath mightily preuailed and borne all the ſway. Laſtly, what ſtronger engines can theſe heretikes wiſh or deſire, for the battering and the demoliſhing of tranſubſtantiation, of auricular confeſſion, and other like*

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" *like towers of our Catholike Religion, then if it ſhould bee granted the Church hath*
" *decided the ſaid points without any authoritie? &c.*

Mee thinkes the L. Cardinal in the whole draught and courſe of theſe words doeth ſeeke not a little to blemiſh the honour of his Church, and to marke his religion with a blacke coale: For the whole frame of his Mother-Church is very eaſie to be ſhaken, if by the eſtabliſhing of this Article ſhe ſhall come to finall ruine, and ſhall become the Synagogue of Satan. Likewiſe, Kings are brought into a very miſerable ſtate and condition, if their Souereigntie ſhall not ſtand, if they ſhall not bee without danger of depoſition, but by the totall ruine of the Church, and by holding the Pope, whom they ſerue, to be Antichriſt. The L. Cardinall himſelfe (let him be well ſifted) herein doeth not credit his owne words: For doeth not his Lordſhip tell vs plaine, that neither by Diuine teſtimony, nor by any ſentence of the ancient Church, the knot of this controuerſie hath bene vntied? againe, that ſome of the French, by the Popes fauourable indulgence, are licenſed or tolerated to ſay their mind, to deliuer their opinion of this queſtion, though contrary to the iudgement of his Holineſſe; prouided they hold it onely as problematicall, and not as neceſſary? What? Can there be any aſſurance for the Pope, that hee is not Antichriſt; for the Church of *Rome*, that ſhe is not a Synagogue of Satan, when a mans aſſurance is grounded vpon wauering and wilde vncertainties, without Canon of Scripture, without conſent or countenance of antiquitie, and in a cauſe which the Pope by good leaue ſuffereth ſome to toſſe with winds of problematicall opinion? It hath beene ſhewed before, that by Gods word, whereof ſmall reckoning perhaps is made, by venerable antiquitie, and by the French Church in thoſe times when the Popes power was mounted aloft, the doctrine which teacheth depoſing of Kings by the Pope, hath bene checked and countermanded. What, did the French in thoſe dayes beleeue the Church was then ſwallowed vp, and no where viſible or extant in the world? No verely; Thoſe that make the Pope of Soueraigne authoritie for matters of Faith, are not perſwaded that in this cauſe they are bound abſolutely to beleeue and credit his doctrine. Why ſo? Becauſe they take it not for any decree or determination of Faith; but for a point perteining to the myſteries of State, and a pillar of the Popes Temporall Monarchie; who hath not receiued any promiſe from God, that in cauſes of this nature hee ſhall not erre: For they hold, that errour by no meanes can crawle or ſcramble vp to the Papall See, ſo highly mounted; but grant ambition can ſcale the higheſt walls, and climbe the loftieſt pinacles of the ſame See. They hold withall, that in caſe of ſo ſpeciall aduantage to the Pope, whereby he is made King of Kings, and as it were the pay-maſter or diſtributer of Crownes, it is againſt all reaſon that hee ſhould ſit as Iudge, to carue out Kingdomes for his owne ſhare. To bee ſhort, let his Lordſhip be aſſured that he meeteth with notorious blockeheads, more blunt-witted then a whetſtone, when they are drawen to beleeue

leeue by his perſwaſion, that whoſoeuer beleeues the Pope hath no right nor power to put Kings beſide their Thrones, to giue and take away Crownes, are all excluded and barred out of the heauenly Kingdome.

But now followes a worſe matter: For they whom the Cardinall reproachfully calls heretikes, haue wrought and wonne his Lordſhip (as to mee ſeemeth) to plead their cauſe at the barre, and to betray his owne cauſe to theſe heretikes: For what is it in his Lordſhip, but plaine playing the Præuaricator, when he crieth ſo lowd, that by admitting and eſtabliſhing of this Article, the doctrine of Cake-incarnation and priuie Confeſſion to a Prieſt, is vtterly ſubuerted? Let vs heare his reaſon, and willingly accept the trewth from his lips. The Articles (as his Lordſhip granteth) of Tranſubſtantiation, auricular Confeſſion, and the Popes power to depoſe Kings, are all grounded alike vpon the ſame authoritie. Now he hath acknowledged the Article of the Popes power to depoſe Kings, is not decided by the Scripture, nor by the ancient Church, but within the compaſſe of certaine aages paſt, by the authoritie of Popes and Councils. Then he goes on well, and inferres with good reaſon, that in caſe the point of the Popes power be weakened, then the other two points muſt needs bee ſhaken, and eaſily ouerthrowen: So that hee doeth confeſſe the monſtrous birth of the breaden-God, and the blind Sacrament or vaine fantaſie of auricular confeſſion, are no more conueyed into the Church by pipes from the ſprings of ſacred Scripture, or from the riuers of the ancient Church, then that other point of the Popes power ouer Kings and their Crownes. Very good: For were they indeed deriued from either of thoſe two heads, that is to ſay, were they grounded vpon the foundation of the firſt or ſecond authoritie; then they could neuer bee ſhaken by the downefall of the Popes power to depoſe Kings. I am well aſſured, that for vſing ſo good a reaſon, the world will hold his Lordſhip in ſuſpicion, that he ſtill hath ſome ſmacke of his fathers diſciplineand inſtruction, who in times paſt had the honour to be a Miniſter of the holy Goſpel.

Howbeit he playeth not faire, nor vſeth ſincere dealing in his proceeding againſt ſuch as he calls heretikes; when hee caſts in their diſh, and beares them in hand they frowardly wrangle for the inuiſibilitie of the Church in earth: For indeed the matter is nothing ſo. They freely acknowledge a viſible Church: For howſoeuer the aſſembly of Gods elect, doth make a body not diſcerneable by mans eye; yet we aſſuredly beleeue, and gladly profeſſe, there neuer wanted a viſible Church in the world; yet onely viſible to ſuch as make a part of the ſame. All that are without, ſee no more but men, they doe not ſee the ſaid men to be the trew Church. Wee beleeue moreouer of the vniuerſall Church viſible, that it is compoſed of many particular Churches, whereof ſome are better fined and more cleane from lees and dregs then other: and withall, we denie the pureſt Churches to be alwayes the greateſt and moſt viſible.

THE

THE FOVRTH AND LAST INCONVENIENCE EXAMINED.

THE Lord Cardinall before he looketh into the laſt Inconuenience, vſeth a certaine preamble of his owne life paſt, and ſeruices done to the Kings, *Henry* the III. and IIII. Touching the latter of which two Kings, his Lordſhip ſaith in a ſtraine of boaſting, after this manner: *I, by the grace of God, or the grace of God by mee rather, reduced him to the Catholike religion. I obtained at Rome his abſolution of Pope Clement* 8. *I reconciled him to the holy See.* Touching the firſt of theſe points, I ſay the time, the occaſions, and the foreſaid Kings neceſſary affaires doe ſufficiently teſtifie, that he was induced to change his mind, and to alter his religion, vpon the ſtrength of other manner of arguments then Theologicall ſchooles, or the perſwaſions of the L. Cardinals fluent Rhetoricke, doe vſually afford, or could poſſibly ſuggeſt. Moreouer, who doeth not know, that in affaires of ſo high nature and conſequence, reſolutions once taken, Princes are to proceede with inſtructions by a formall courſe? As for the Kings abſolution, pretended to bee purchaſed of *Clement* 8. by the L. Cardinals good ſeruice; it had beene the part of ſo great a Cardinall, for the honour of his King, of the Realme, and of his owne place, to haue buried that piece of his notable ſeruice in perpetuall ſilence, and in the darke night of eternall obliuion: For in this matter of reconcilement, it is not vnknowne to the world, how ſhamefully and baſely hee proſtituted the inuiolable dignity of his King, when his Lordſhip repreſenting the perſon of his King, and couching on the ground by way of ſufficient penance, was glad (as I haue noted in the Preface to my Apologie) to haue his venerable ſhoulders gracefully ſaluted with ſtripes, and reuerently worſhipped with baſtonados of a Pontificiall cudgell. Which gracefull, or diſgracefull blemiſh rather, it pleaſed Pope *Clement* of his rare clemencie, to grace yet with a higher degree of ſpirituall graces; in giuing the L. Cardinall then Biſhop of *Eureux*, a certaine quantity of holy graines, croſſes, and medals, or little plates of ſiluer, or ſome other mettall, to hang about the necke, or to bee borne about againſt ſome euill: Which treaſures of the Popes grace, whoſoeuer ſhould graciouſly and reuerently kiſſe, they ſhould without faile purchaſe vnto themſelues a pardon for one hundred yeeres. Theſe feate and prety gugawes for children, were no doubt a ſpeciall comfort vnto the good Kings heart, after his Maieſtie had beene handſomely baſted vpon the L. Biſhops backe. But with what face can his Lordſhip brag, that he preuailed with Pope *Clement* for the Kings abſolution? The late Duke of *Neuers*, not long before had ſolicited his

Holines,

Holines, with all earneſt and humble inſtance to the ſame purpoſe; howſoeuer, the Kings affaires then ſeeming deſperate in the Popes eye, he was licenſed to depart for *France*, without any due and gracious reſpect vnto his errand. But ſo ſoone as the Pope receiued intelligence, of the Kings fortunes growing to the full, and the affaires of the League to be in the wane, and the principall cities, the ſtrongeſt places of garriſon through all *France* to ſtrike tops and tops gallant, and to hale the King; then the holy Ghoſt in good time inſpired the holy Father with a holy deſire and tender affection, to receiue this poore wandring ſheep againe into the flocke of Chriſt, and boſome of holy Church. His Holineſſe had reaſon: For he feared by his obſtinate ſeuerity to prouoke the patience of the French, and to driue that Nation (as they had many times threatned before) then to put in execution their auncient deſigne; which was, to ſhake off the Pope, and to ſet vp ſome of their owne tribes or kinreds for Patriarch ouer the French Church. But let his Lordſhippe vouchſafe to ſearch the ſecret of his owne boſome, and no doubt he wil not ſticke to acknowledge, that before he ſtirred one foote out of *France*, he had good aſſurance of the good ſucceſſe and iſſue of his honourable embaſſage.

Now the hearers thus prepared by his Preface, the L. Cardinall proceedeth in his purpoſe; namely to make proofe, how this Article of the third Eſtate, wherein doubtfull and queſtionable matters are mingled and confounded with certaine and indubitable principles, doth ſo debilitate and weaken the ſinewes and vertue of any remedy intended for the danger of Kings, as it maketh all remedies and receipts preſcribed for that purpoſe, to become altogether vnprofitable, and without effect. He yeelds this reaſon, (take it forſooth vpon my warrant) a reaſon full of pith and ſubſtance: The onely remedie againſt parricides, is to thunder the ſolemne curſes of the Church, and the puniſhments to be inflicted after death: which points, if they be not grounded vpon infallible authoritie, will neuer be ſetled in mens perſwaſions with any certaine aſſurance. Now in the ſolemne curſes of the Church, no man can attaine to the ſaid aſſurance, if things not denied be mingled with points not graunted, and not conſented vnto by the Vniuerſall Church. By a thing not denied and not conteſted, the L. Cardinall meanes prohibiting and condemning of King-killing: and by points conteſted, he meanes denying of the Popes power to depoſe Kings.

In this whole diſcourſe, I find neither pith of argument, nor courſe of proofe; but onely a caſt of the L. Cardinalls office by way of counſell: whereunto I make this anſwere. If there be in this Article of the third Eſtate any point, wherein all are not of one mind and the ſame iudgement; in whom lieth all the blame, from whence riſes the doubt, but from the Popes and Popiſh paraſites, by whom the certaintie of the ſaid point hath bin cunningly remooued and conueied away, and muſt be reſtored againe by publike authority? Now the way to reſtore certainty vnto a point, which againſt reaſon is called into doubt and queſtion, is to make it vp in one

maſſe,or to tie it vp in the ſame bundle, with other certaine points of the ſame nature.

Here I am forced to ſummon the conſciences of men,to make ſome ſtand or ſtay vpon this point,and with me to enter into deepe conſideration,how great and vnuanquiſhable force is euer found in the trewth: For theſe two queſtions, Whether Kings may lawfully be made away by aſſaſſins waged and hired for the act; and Whether the Pope hath lawfull power to chaſe Kings out of their Thrones,are by the L. Cardinals owne confeſſion, in ſo full aſpect of coniunction, that if either bee brought vnder any degree of doubt,the other alſo is fetcht within the ſame compaſſe.In which words he directly pointeth as with a finger to the very trew ſource of the maine miſchiefe,and to the baſilique and liuer veine,infected with peſtilential blood, inflamed to the deſtruction of Baſilicall Princes by deteſtable parricide:For whoſoeuer ſhall confidently beleeue that Popes are not armed with power to depoſe Kings; will beleeue with no leſſe confidence and aſſurance, it is not lawful by ſudden aſſaults to flie at their throats. For are not all deſperate villaines perſwaded,when they are hired to murder Kings, that in doing ſo damnable a feate,they doe it for a piece of notable and extraordinary ſeruice. to the Pope? This maxime therfore is to be held for a principle vnmooueable and indubitable; that,If ſubiects deſire the life of their Kings to bee ſecured; they muſt not yeeld the Pope one inch of power, to depriue their Kings of their Thrones and Crownes,by depoſing their Kings.

« The Lord Cardinall teſtifieth no leſſe himſelfe in theſe words: *If thoſe*
« *monſters of men, and furies of hell, by whom the life-blood of our two laſt Kings was*
« *let out,had euer beene acquainted with Lawes Eccleſiaſticall, they might haue read*
« *themſelues adiudged by the Councill of Conſtance to expreſſe damnation.* For in theſe words, the L. Cardinall preferreth a bill of inditement to caſt his Holineſſe; who,vpon the commencing of the Leaguers warres,in ſtead of giuing order for the publiſhing of the ſaid Eccleſiaſticall Lawes for the reſtraining of all parricidicall practiſes and attempts,fell to the terrour of his fulminations,which not long after were ſeconded and ratified by the moſt audatious and bloody murder of King *Henry* III. In like manner,the whole Clergy of *France* are wrapped vp by the L. Cardinals words, and inuolued in the perill of the ſaid inditement: For in ſtead of preaching the ſaid Eccleſiaſticall Lawes, by which all King-killing is inhibited; the Prieſts taught,vented, and publiſhed nothing but rebellion; and when the people in great deuotion came to powre their confeſſions into the Prieſts eares; then the Prieſts, with a kind of counterbuffe in the ſecond place when their turne was come, and with greater deuotion, powred blood into the eares of the people; out of which roote grewe the terrour of thoſe cruell warres,and the horrible parricide of that good King.

But let vs here take ſome neere ſight of theſe Eccleſiaſticall Lawes, whereby ſubiects are inhibited to kill, or deſperately to diſpatch their Kings out of the way. The Lord Cardinall, for full payment of all ſcores

vpon

vpon this reckoning, layeth downe the credit of the Councill at *Conſtance*, which neuertheleſſe affoardeth not one myte of trew and currant payment. The trewth of the hiſtory may bee taken from this briefe relation. *Iohn* Duke of Burgundy, procured *Lewis* Duke of Orleans to be murthered in Paris: To iuſtifie and make good this bloody acte, he produced a certaine petimaſter, one called by the name of *Iohn Petit*. This little *Iohn* cauſed nine propoſitions to be giuen foorth or ſet vp, to bee diſcuſſed in the famous Vniuerſitie of Paris: The ſumme of all to this purpoſe; It is lawfull, iuſt, and honourable, for euery ſubiect or priuate perſon either by open force and violence, or by deceit and ſecret lying in waite, or by ſome wittie ſtratagem, or by any other way of fact, to kil a Tyrant practiſing againſt his King, and other higher powers; yea the King ought in reaſon, to giue him a penſion or ſtipend, that hath killed any perſon diſloyal to his Prince. The words of *Petits* firſt propoſition be theſe: *It is lawfull for euery ſubiect, without any command or commiſsion from the higher powers by all the Lawes of nature, of man, and of God himſelfe, to kill or cauſe to be killed any Tyrant, who either by a couetous and greedie deſire, or by fraud, by diuination vpon caſting of Lots, by double and treacherous dealing, doeth plot or practiſe againſt his Kings corporall health, or the health of his higher powers.* In the third propoſition: *It is lawfull for euery ſubiect, honourable and meritorious, to kill the ſaid Tyrant, or cauſe him to be killed as a Traitor, diſloyall and trecherous to his King.* In the ſixt propoſition: *The King is to appoint a ſalarie and recompence for him that hath killed ſuch a Tyrant, or hath cauſed him to bee killed.* Theſe propoſitions of *Iohannes Paruus*, were condemned by the Councill of Conſtance, as impious, and tending to the ſcandall of the Church. Now then, whereas the ſaid Councill no doubt vnderſtood the name or word Tyrant in the ſame ſenſe, wherein it was taken by *Iohannes Paruus*; certaine it is, the Councill was not of any ſuch iudgement or mind, to condemne one that ſhould kill a King or Soueraigne Prince; but one that by treaſon, and without commandement ſhould kill a ſubiect, rebelling and practiſing againſt his King. For *Iohn Petit* had vndertaken to iuſtifie the making away of the Duke of Orleans to be a lawfull acte, and calls that Duke a Tyrant, albeit hee was no Soueraigne Prince; as all the aboue recited words of *Iohn Petit* doe teſtifie, that he ſpeaketh of ſuch a Tyrant, as being in ſtate of ſubiection, rebelleth againſt his free and abſolute Prince: So that whoſoeuer ſhall narrowly ſearch and looke into the mind and meaning of the ſaid Council, ſhal eaſily perceiue, that by their decrees the ſafetie of Kings was not confirmed but weakened, not augmented but diminiſhed; for as much as they inhibited priuate perſons to kill a Subiect, attempting by wicked counſels and practiſes to make away his King.

Gerſon.

But be it granted, the Councill of Conſtance is flat and altogether direct againſt King-killers; For I am not vnwilling to be perſwaded, that had the queſtion then touched the murdering of Soueraigne Princes, the ſaid Councill would haue paſſed a ſound and holy decree: But, I ſay, this gran-

ted, what ſheild of defence is hereby reached to Kings, to ward or beat off the thruſt of a murderers weapon, and to ſaue or ſecure their life? ſeeing the L. Cardinall, building vpon the ſubtile deuiſe and ſhift of the *Ieſuites*, hath taught vs out of their Schooles, that by Kings are vnderſtood Kings in *eſſe*, not yet fallen from the ſupreame degree of Soueraigne Royaltie: For being once depoſed by the Pope, (ſay the *Ieſuites*) they are no longer Kings, but are fallen from the rights of Soueraigne dignitie; and conſequently to make ſtrip and waſt of their blood, is not forſooth to make ſtrip and waſt of Royall blood. The *Ieſuiticall* maſters, in the file of their words are ſo ſupple and ſo limber, that by leauing ſtill in their ſpeech ſome ſtarting hole or other, they are able by the ſame, as by a poſterne or backdoore, to make an eſcape.

Meane while the Readers are here to note (for well they may) a tricke of monſtrous and moſt wicked cunning. The L. Cardinall contends for the bridling and hampering of King-killers by the Lawes Eccleſiaſticall. Now it might be preſumed, that ſo reuerend and learned a Cardinal intending to make vſe of Eccleſiaſticall Lawes, by vertue whereof the life of Kings may be ſecured, would fill his mouth and garniſh the point with diuine Oracles, that wee might the more gladly and willingly giue him the hearing, when hee ſpeakes as one furniſhed with ſufficient weight and authoritie of ſacred Scripture. But behold, in ſtead of the authenticall and moſt ancient word, hee propounds the decree of a lateborne Councill at Conſtance, neither for the Popes tooth, nor any way comming neere the point in controuerſie. And ſuppoſe it were pertinent vnto the purpoſe, the L. Cardinall beareth in his hand a forke of diſtinction, with two tines or teeth to beare off, nay to ſhift off and to auoid the matter with meere dalliance. The ſhorteſt and neereſt way (in ſome ſort of reſpects) to eſtabliſh a falſe opinion, is to charge or ſet vpon it with falſe and with ridiculous reaſons. The like way to worke the ouerthrow of trew doctrine, is to reſt or ground it vpon friuolous reaſons or authorities of ſtubble-weight. For example; if we ſhould thus argue for the immortalitie of the ſoule with *Plato*: The ſwan ſingeth before her death; *ergo*, the ſoule is immortall. Or thus with certaine ſeduced Chriſtians: The Pope hath ordained the word of God to be authenticall: *ergo*, all credit muſt be giuen to diuine Scripture. Vpon the ſpurkies or hookes of ſuch ridiculous arguments and friuolous reaſons, the L. Cardinall hangs the life and ſafetie of Kings.

In Phædone.

With like artificiall deuiſes hee pretendeth to haue the infamous murders, and appoſted cutting of Kings throats in extreame deteſtation; and yet by depoſing them from their Princely dignities, by degrading them from their ſupreame and Soueraigne authorities, hee brings their ſacred heads to the butchers blocke: For a King depoſed by the Pope, (let no man doubt) will not leaue any ſtone vnremooued, nor any meanes and wayes vnattempted, nor any forces or powers of men vnleuied or vnhired, to defend himſelfe and his Regall dignitie, to repreſſe and bring vnder his rebellious

bellious people, by the Pope discharged of their alleagiance. In this perplexitie of the publike affaires, in these tempestuous perturbations of the State, with what perils is the King not besieged and assaulted? His head is exposed to the chances of warre; his life a faire marke to the insidious practises of a thousand traitours; his Royall person obuious to the dreadfull storme of angry fortune, to the deadly malice, to the fatall and mortall weapons of his enemies. The reason: He is presupposed to be lawfully and orderly stripped of his Kingdome. Wil he yet hold the sterne of his Royall estate? Then is he necessarily taken for a Tyrant, reputed an vsurper, and his life is exposed to the spoile: For the publike lawes make it lawful and free, for any priuate person to enterprise against an vsurper of the Kingdome: *Euery man,* saith *Tertullian, is a souldier, to beare armes against all traitors and publike enemies.* Take from a King the title of lawfull King, you take from him the warrant of his life, and the weapons whereby he is maintained in greater securitie, then by his Royall Guard armed with swords and halberds, through whose wards and ranks, a desperate villaine will make himselfe an easie passage, being master of another mans life, because he is prodigall and careless of his owne. Such therefore as pretend so much pity towards Kings, to abhorre the bloody opening of their liuer-veine, and yet withall, to approoue their hoysting out of the Royall dignity, are iust in the veine and humour of those that say, Let vs not kill the King, but let vs disarme the King that he may die a violent death: let vs not depriue him of life, but of the meanes to defend his life: let vs not strangle the King and stop his vitall breath, so long as he remaineth King; O that were impious, O that were horrible and abominable; but let him be deposed, and then whosoeuer shall runne him through the body with a weapon vp to the very hilts, shall not beare the guilt of a King-killer. All this must be vnderstood to be spoken of Kings, who after they are despoiled of Regalitie, by sentence of deposition giuen by the Pope, are able to arme themselues, and by valiant armes doe defend their Soueraigne rights. But in case the King, blasted with Romane lightning, and stricken with Papall thunder, shall actually and speedily bee smitten downe from his high Throne of Regality, with present losse of his Kingdome; I beleeue it is almost impossible for him to warrant his owne life, who was not able to warrant his owne Kingdome. Let a cat be throwen from a high roofe to the bottome of a cellour or vault, she lighteth on her feet, and runneth away without taking any harme. A King is not like a cat, howsoeuer a cat may looke vpon a King: he cannot fall from the loftie pinacle of Royalty, to light on his feet vpon the hard pauement of a priuate state, without crushing all his bones in pieces. It hath bene the lot of very few Emperors and Kings, to outliue their Empire: For men ascend to the loftie Throne of Kings, with a soft and easie pace, by certaine steps and degrees; there be no stately staires to come downe, they tumble head and heeles together when they fall. He that hath once griped anothers Kingdome, thinks himselfe

In reos Maiestatis, & publicos hostes omnis homo miles est. Tertul. apol. cap. 2.

ſelfe in little ſafetie, ſo long as he ſhall of his courteſie ſuffer his diſſeiſed predeceſſour to draw his breath. And ſay that ſome Princes, after their fall from their Thrones, haue eſcaped both point and edge of the Tyrants weapon; yet haue they wandred like miſerable fugitiues in forreine countreys, or elſe haue bene condemned like captiues to perpetuall impriſonment at home, a thouſand-fold worſe and more lamentable then death it ſelfe. *Dionyſius* the Tyrant of *Syracuſa*, from a great King in *Sicilie* tur'nd Schoolemaſter in *Corinth*. It was the onely calling and kind of life, that as he thought bearing ſome reſemblance of rule and gouernment, might recreate his mind, as an image or picture of his former Soueraigntie ouer men. This *Dionyſius* was the onely man (to my knowledge) that had a humour to laugh after the loſſe of a Kingdome, and in the ſtate of a Pedant or gouernour of children, merily to ieaſt and to ſcorne his former ſtate and condition of a King. In this my Kingdome of *England*, ſundry Kings haue ſeene the walls as it were of their Princely fortreſſe diſmantled, razed, and beaten downe. By name, *Edward* and *Richard*, both II. and *Henrie* the VI. all which Kings were moſt cruelly murdered in priſon. In the reigne of *Edward* III. by Acte of Parliament, *Whoſoeuer ſhall imagine*, (that is the very word of the Statute) *or machinate the Kings death, are declared guiltie of Rebellion and high Treaſon.* The learned Iudges of the Land, grounding vpon this Law of *Edward* the third, haue euer ſince reputed and iudged them traitors according to Law, that haue dared onely to whiſper or talke ſoftly betweene the teeth, of depoſing the King: For they count it a cleare caſe, that no Crowne can be taken from a Kings head, without loſſe of Head and Crowne together, ſooner or later.

Page 95. The L. Cardinal therefore in this moſt weightie and ſerious point doth meerely dally and flowt after a ſort, when hee tells vs, *The Church doeth not intermeddle with releaſing of ſubiects, and knocking off their yrons of obedience, but onely before the Eccleſiaſticall tribunall ſeat; and that beſides this double cenſure, of abſolution to ſubiects, and excommunication to the Prince, the Church impoſeth none other penaltie. Vnder pretence of which two cenſures, ſo farre is the Church* (as the L. Cardinall pretendeth) *from conſenting that any man ſo cenſured ſhould bee touched for his life, that ſhe vtterly abhorreth all murder whatſoeuer; but eſpecially all ſudden and vnprepenced murders for feare of caſting away both body and ſoule; which often in ſudden murders goe both one way.* It hath bene made manifeſt before, that all ſuch proſcription and ſetting forth of Kings to port-ſale, hath alwaies for the traine thereof, either ſome violent and bloody death, or ſome other miſchiefe more intolerable then death it ſelfe. What are we the better, that parricides of Kings are neither ſet on, nor approued by the Church in their abominable actions; when ſhee layeth ſuch plots, and taketh ſuch courſes, as neceſſarily doe inferre the cutting of their throates? In the next place be it noted, that his Lordſhip againſt all reaſon, reckons the abſoluing of ſubiects from the oath of alleagiance, in the ranke of penalties awarded and enioyned before the Eccleſiaſticall tribunall ſeate: For this

penaltie

penaltie is not Eccleſiaſticall, but Ciuill, and conſequently not triable in Eccleſiaſticall Courts, without vſurping vpon the Ciuill Magiſtrate. But I wonder with what face the L. Cardinall can ſay, The Church neuer conſenteth to any practiſe againſt his life, whom ſhe hath once chaſtiſed with ſeuere cenſures: For can his Lordſhip be ignorant, what is written by Pope *Vrbanus*, *Can. Excommunicatorum. Wee take them not in any wiſe to bee man-ſlayers, who in a certaine heat of zeale towards the Catholike Church their Mother, ſhall happen to kill an excommunicate perſon.* More, if the Pope doth not approoue and like the practiſe of King-killing, wherefore hath not his Holineſſe impoſed ſome ſeuere cenſure vpon the booke of *Mariana* the Ieſuite (by whom parricides are commended, nay highly extolled) when his Holineſſe hath beene pleaſed to take the paines to cenſure and call in ſome other of *Mariana's* bookes? Againe, wherefore did his Holineſſe aduiſe himſelfe to cenſure the Decree of the Court of Parliament in *Paris* againſt *Iohn Chaſtell?* Wherefore did hee ſuffer *Garnet* and *Oldcorne* my powder-miners, both by bookes and pictures vendible vnder his noſe in *Rome*, to be inrowled in the Canon of holy Martyrs? And when hee ſaw two great Kings murdered one after another, wherefore by ſome publike declaration did not his Holineſſe teſtifie to all Chriſtendome, his inward ſenſe and trew apprehenſion of ſo great misfortune, as all *Europe* had iuſt cauſe to lament on the behalfe of *France?* Wherefore did not his Holineſſe publiſh ſome Law or Pontificiall Decree, to prouide for the ſecuritie of Kings in time to come? Trew it is, that he cenſured *Becanus* his booke: But wherefore? That by a captious and ſleight cenſure, he might preuent a more exact and rigorous Decree of the *Sorbone* Schoole: For the Popes checke to *Becanus*, was onely a generall cenſure and touch, without any particular ſpecification of matter touching the life of Kings. About ſome two moneths after, the ſaid booke was printed againe, with a dedication to the Popes *Nuntio* in *Germany*; yet without any alteration, ſaue onely of two articles conteining the abſolute power of the people ouer Kings. In recompence and for a counterchecke whereof, three or foure articles were inſerted into the ſaid booke, touching the Popes power ouer Kings; articles no leſſe wicked & iniurious to Regall rights; nay more iniurious then any of the other clauſes, whereof iuſt cauſe of exception and complaint had bene giuen before. If I would collect and heape vp examples of ancient Emperours, (as of *Henrie* IV. whoſe dead corps felt the rage and furie of the Pope; or of *Frederic* II. againſt whom the Pope was not aſhamed to whet and kindle the Sultane; or of Queene *Elizabeth* our Predeceſſour, of glorious memorie, whoſe life was diuers times aſſaulted by priuie murderers, expreſly diſpatched from *Rome* for that holy ſeruice) if I would gather vp other examples of the ſame ſtampe, which I haue layd forth in my Apologie for the oath of alleagiance; I could make it more cleare then day-light, how farre the L. Cardinals words are diſcrepant from the trewth, where his Lordſhip out of moſt rare confidence is bold to auow, *That neuer any*

Can. excom. Cauſ. 23. Quæſt. 6.

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any Pope went ſo farre, as to giue conſent or counſell for the deſperate murdering of Princes. That which already hath bene alleadged may ſuffice to conuince his Lordſhip: I meane, that his Holineſſe by depoſing of Kings, doeth lead them directly to their graues and tombes.

The Cardinall himſelfe ſeemeth to take ſome notice hereof. *The Church* (as he ſpeaketh) *abhorreth ſudden and vnprepenſed murders aboue the reſt.* Doth not his Lordſhip in this phraſe of ſpeech acknowledge, that murders committed by open force, are not ſo much diſauowed or diſclaimed by the Church? A little after he ſpeakes not in the teeth, as before, but with full and open mouth; that hee doeth not diſlike a King once depoſed by the Pope, ſhould be purſued with open warre: Whereupon it followes, that in warre the King may be lawfully ſlaine. No doubt a remarkeable degree of his Lordſhips clemencie. A King ſhall bee better entreated and more mildly dealt withal, if he be ſlaine by the ſhot of an harquebuſe or caleeuer in the field, then if hee bee ſtabd by the ſtroke or thruſt of a knife in his chamber: or if at a ſiege of ſome city hee be blowne vp with a myne, then by a myne made, and a traine of gunpowder laid vnder his Palace or Parliament houſe in time of peace. His reaſon: Forſooth, becauſe in ſudden murders, oftentimes the ſoule and the body periſh both together. O ſingular bountie, and rare clemencie! prouokers, inſtigators, ſtrong puffers and blowers of parricides, in mercifull compaſſion of the ſoule, become vnmercifull and ſhamefull murderers of the body. This deuice may well claime and challenge kinred of *Mariana* the *Ieſuites* inuention: For he liketh not at any hand the poiſoning of a Tyrant by his meat or drinke; for feare leſt he taking the poiſon with his owne hand, and ſwallowing or gulping it downe in his meate or drinke ſo taken, ſhould be found *felo de ſe*, (as the common Lawyer ſpeaketh) or culpable of his owne death. But *Mariana* likes better, to haue a Tyrant poyſoned by his chaire, or by his apparell and robes, after the example of the *Mauritanian* Kings; that being ſo poyſoned onely by ſent, or by contact, he may not be found guiltie of ſelfe-fellonie, and the ſoule of the poore Tyrant in her flight out of the body may be innocent. O hel-hounds, O diabolical wretches, O infernall monſters! Did they onely ſuſpect and imagine, that either in Kings there is any remainder of Kingly courage, or in their ſubiects any ſparke left of ancient libertie; they durſt as ſoone eat their nailes, or teare their owne fleſh from the bones, as once broach the veſſell of this diabolicall deuice. How long then, how long ſhall Kings whom the Lord hath called his Anointed, Kings the breathing Images of God vpon earth; Kings that with a wry or frowning looke, are able to cruſh theſe earth-wormes in pieces; how long ſhall they ſuffer this viperous brood, ſcotfree and without puniſhment, to ſpit in their faces? how long, the Maieſtie of GOD in their perſon and Royall Maieſtie, to be ſo notoriouſly vilified, ſo diſhonourably trampled vnder foot?

Pag. 95.

The L. Cardinall borads vs with a like manifeſt ieaſt, and notably trifles; firſt,

firſt, diſtinguiſhing betweene Tyrants by adminiſtration, and Tyrants by vſurpation; then ſhewing that he by no meanes doeth approue thoſe prophane and heatheniſh Lawes, whereby ſecret practiſes and conſpiracies againſt a Tyrant by adminiſtration are permitted. His reaſon; *Becauſe after depoſition there is a certaine habitude to Royall dignitie, and as it were a kinde of politicke Character inherent in Kings, by which they are diſcerned from perſons meerely priuate, or the common ſort of people; and the obſtacle, croſſe-barre, or ſparre once remooued and taken out of the way, the ſaid Kings depoſed are at length reinueſted and endowed againe with lawfull vſe of Royall dignitie, and with lawfull adminiſtration of the Kingdome.* Is it poſſible that his Lordſhip can ſpeake and vtter theſe words according to the inward perſwaſion of his heart? I beleeue it not. For admit a King caſt out of his Kingdome were ſure to eſcape with life; yet being once reduced to a priuate ſtate of life, after hee hath wound or wrought himſelfe out of deadly danger, ſo farre he is from holding or retayning any remainder of dignity or politike impreſſion, that on the contrary he falleth into greater contempt and miſery, then if he had bene a very peaſant by birth, and had neuer held or gouerned the ſterne of Royall eſtate. What fowle is more beautifull then the peacocke? Let her be plumed and bereft of her feathers; what owle, what iacke-daw more ridiculous, more without all pleaſant faſhion? The homely ſowter, the infamous catchpol, the baſe tincker, the rude artificer, the pack-horſe-porter, then liuing in Rome with libertie, when *Valentinian* was detain'd captiue by *Saporas* the Perſian King, was more happie then that Romane Emperour. And in caſe the L. Cardinall himſelfe ſhould bee ſo happie (I ſhould ſay ſo vnfortunate) to be ſtript of all his dignities and Eccleſiaſticall promotions; would it not redound to his Lordſhips wonderfull conſolation, that in his greateſt extremity, in the loweſt of his bareneſſe and nakedneſſe, he ſtill retaineth a certaine habituall right and character of a Cardinall, whereby to recouer the loſſe of his former dignities and honours? when hee beholds theſe prints and impreſſions of his foreſaid honours; would it not make him the more willing and glad, to forſake the backe of his venerable mule, to vſe his Cardinals foot-cloath no longer, but euer after like a Cardinall in print and character, to walke on foot?

But let vs examine his Lordſhips conſolation of Kings, thruſt out of their kingdomes by the Pope for hereſie. *The obſtacle* (as the L. Cardinall ſpeaketh) *being taken away*; that is to ſay, when the King ſhall be reformed; *this habituall right and character yet inherent in the perſon of a King, reſtores him to the lawfull adminiſtration of his Kingdome.* I take this to be but a cold comfort: For here his Lordſhip doeth onely preſuppoſe, and not prooue, that after a King is thruſt out of his Throne, when hee ſhall repent and turne trew Romane Catholike, the other by whom he hath bene caſt out, and by force diſſeiſed, will recall him to the Royall ſeat, and faithfully ſettle him againe in his ancient right, as one that reioyceth for the recouery of ſuch a loſt ſheepe. But I ſhould rather feare, the new King would preſſe and ſtand vpon

vpon other termes; as a terme of yeeres for a triall, whether the repentance of the King diſplaced be trew & ſound to the coare, or counterfeit, diſſembled, and painted holines; for the words, the ſorrowfull and heauie lookes, the ſad and formall geſtures, of men pretending repentance, are not alwayes to bee taken, to be reſpected, to be credited. Againe, I ſhould feare the afflicted King might be charged and borne downe too, that albeit hee hath renounced his former hereſie, hee hath ſtumbled ſince at an other ſtone, and runne the ſhip of his faith againſt ſome other rocke of new hereticall prauitie. Or I ſhould yet feare, he might be made to beleeue that hereſie maketh a deeper impreſſion, and a character more indeleble in the perſon, then is the other politike character of Regal Maieſtie. Alas, good Kings! in how hard, in how miſerable a ſtate doe they ſtand? Once depoſed, and euer barred of repentance: As if the ſcapes and errors of Kings, were all ſinnes againſt the Holy Ghoſt, or ſinnes vnto death, for which it is not lawfull to pray. Falls a priuate perſon? he may be ſet vp, and new eſtabliſhed. Falls a King? is a King depoſed? his repentance is euer fruitleſſe, euer vnprofitable. Hath a priuate perſon a traine of ſeruants? He can not be depriued of any one without his priuitie and conſent. Hath a King millions of ſubiects? He may be depriued by the Pope of a third part, when his Holineſſe will haue them turne Clerics or enter Cloiſters, without asking the King leaue: and ſo of ſubiects they may be made non-ſubiects.

But I queſtion yet further. A King falling into hereſie, is depoſed by the Pope; his ſonne ſtands pure Catholike: The Regal ſeat is empty. Who ſhall ſucceed in the depoſed Kings place? Shall a ſtranger be preferred by the Pope? That were to doe the innocent ſonne egregious and notorious wrong. Shall the ſonne himſelfe? That were a more iniurious part in the ſonne againſt his father: For if the ſonne bee touched with any feare of God, or mooued with any reuerence towards his father, hee will diligently and ſeriouſly take heed, that hee put not his father by the Kingdome, by whoſe meanes he himſelfe is borne to a Kingdome. Nor will hee tread in the ſteps of *Henry* the V. Emperour, who by the Popes inſtigation, expelled and chaſed his aaged father out of the Imperiall dignitie. Much leſſe wil he hearken to the voice and aduiſe of Doctor *Suares* the *Ieſuite*; who, in his booke written againſt my ſelfe, a booke applauded and approoued of many Doctours, after hee hath like a Doctour of the chaire, pronounced, *That a King depoſed by the Pope, cannot bee lawfully expelled or killed, but onely by ſuch as the Pope hath charged with ſuch execution*: falleth to adde a little after: *If the Pope ſhall declare a King to bee an heretike, and fallen from the Kingdome, without making further declaration touching execution*; that is to ſay, without giuing expreſſe charge vnto any to make away the King: *then the lawfull ſucceſſour beeing a Catholike, hath power to doe the feate; and if he ſhall refuſe, or if there ſhall be none ſuch, then it appertaineth to the comminaltie or body of the Kingdome*. A moſt deteſtable ſentence: For in hereditarie Kingdomes, who is the Kings lawfull ſucceſſour, but his ſonne? The

Lib. 6. cap. 4. Si Papa Regem deponat, ab illis tantum poterit, expelli vel interfici, quibus ipſe id commiſerit.

The ſonne then by this doctrine, ſhall imbrew his hands in his owne fathers blood, ſo ſoone as he ſhall be depoſed by the Pope. A matter ſo much the neerer and more deepely to bee apprehended, becauſe the ſaid moſt outragious booke flyeth like a furious maſtiffe directly at my throat, and withall inſtilleth ſuch precepts into the tender diſpoſition of my ſonne, as if hereafter hee ſhall become a Romane Catholike, ſo ſoone as the Pope ſhall giue me the lift out of my Throne, ſhall bind him forthwith to make effuſion of his owne fathers blood. Such is the religion of theſe reuerend Fathers, the pillars of the Pontificiall Monarchie: In compariſon of whoſe religion and holineſſe, all the impietie that euer was among the Infidels, and all the barbarous crueltie that euer was among the Canibals, may paſſe hencefoorth in the Chriſtian world for pure clemencie and humanitie. Theſe things ought his Lordſhip to haue pondered, rather then to babble of habitudes and politike characters, which to the common people are like the Bergamaſque or the wilde-Iriſh forme of ſpeach, and paſſe their vnderſtanding.

All theſe things are nothing in a maner, if we compare them with the laſt clauſe, which is the cloſer, and as it were the vpſhot of his Lordſhips diſcourſe: For therein he laboureth to perſwade concerning this Article, framed to bridle the Popes tyrannicall power ouer Kings, if it ſhould receiue gracious entertainement, and generall approbation; *That it would breed great danger, and worke effects of pernicious conſequence vnto Kings.* The reaſon: *becauſe it would prooue an introduction to ſchiſme; and ſchiſme would ſtirre vp ciuil warres, contempt of Kings, diſtempered inclinations and motions to intrap their life; and which is worſt of all, the fierce wrath of God, inflicting all ſorts of calamities.* An admirable paradoxe, and able to ſtrike men ſtone-blind: that his Holineſſe muſt haue power to depoſe Kings, for the better ſecurity and ſafegard of their life; that when their Crownes are made ſubiect vnto anothers will and pleaſure, then they are come to the higheſt altitude and eleuation of honour; that for the onely warrant of their life, their ſupreme and abſolute greatneſſe muſt be depreſſed; that for the longer keeping of their Crownes, another muſt plucke the Crowne from their heads. As if it ſhould be ſaid, Would they not be ſtript naked by another? the beſt way is, for themſelues to vntruſſe, for themſelues to put off all, and to goe naked of their owne accord. Wil they keepe their Souereigntie in ſafetie for euer? The beſt way is to let another haue their Soueraigne authoritie and ſupreme Eſtate in his power. But I haue bene euer of this mind, that when my goods are at no mans command or diſpoſing but mine own, then they are trewly and certainly mine owne. It may be this error is growen vpon me and other Princes for lacke of braines: whereupon it may be feared, or at leaſt coniectured, the Pope meanes to ſhaue our crownes, and thruſt vs into ſome cloiſter, there to hold ranke in the brotherhood of good King *Childeric.* Foraſmuch then as my dull capacitie doeth not ſerue mee to reach or comprehend the pith of this admirable reaſon, I haue thought good

good to ſeeke and to vſe the inſtruction of old and learned experience, which teacheth no ſuch matter: by name, that ciuill warres and fearefull perturbations of State in any nation of the world, haue at any time growen from this faithful credulity of ſubiects, that Popes in right haue no power to wreſt and lift Kings out of their dignities and poſſeſſions. On the other ſide, by eſtabliſhing the contrary maximes, to yoke and hamper the people with Pontificiall tyrannie; what rebellious troubles and ſtirres, what extreme deſolations hath *England* bene forced to feare and feele, in the Reigne of my Predeceſſours *Henrie* II. *Iohn* and *Henrie* III? Theſe be the maximes and principles, which vnder the Emperour *Henrie* IV. and *Frederic* the I. made all *Europe* flowe with channels and ſtreames of blood, like a riuer with water, while the Saracens by their incurſions and victories ouerflowed, and in a manner drowned the honour of the Chriſtian name in the Eaſt. Theſe be the maximes and principles, which made way for the warres of the laſt League into *France*; by which the very bowels of that moſt famous and flouriſhing Kingdome were ſet on ſuch a combuſtion, that *France* her ſelfe was brought within two fingers breadth of bondage to another Nation, and the death of her two laſt Kings moſt villenouſly and traiterouſly accompliſhed. The L. Cardinall then giuing theſe diabolicall maximes for meanes to ſecure the life and Eſtate of Kings, ſpeaketh as if he would giue men counſell to dry themſelues in the riuer, when they come as wet as a water ſpaniell out of a pond; or to warme themſelues by the light of the Moone, when they are ſtark-naked, and well neere frozen to death.

THE CONCLVSION OF THE LORD OF PERRON EXAMINED.

AFter the L. Cardinal hath ſtoutly ſhewed the ſtrength of his arme, and the deepe skill of his head in fortification; at laſt he leaues his loftie ſcaffolds, and falls to worke neerer the ground, with more eaſie tooles of humble praiers and gentle exhortations. The ſumme of the whole is this: *He adiures his auditors neuer to forge remedies, neuer ſo to prouide for the temporall ſafetie of Kings, as thereby to worke their finall falling from eternall ſaluation: neuer to make any rent or rupture in the vnitie of the Church, in this corrupt aage infected with peſtilent Hereſies, which already hauing made ſo great a breach in the walles of* France, *will no doubt double their ſtrength by the diſſentions, diuiſions, and ſchiſmes of Catholikes. If this infectious plague ſhall ſtill increaſe and grow to a carbuncle, it can by no meanes poyſon Religion, without bringing Kings to their winding ſheetes and wofull hearſes. The firſt rowlers of that ſtone of offence, aimed at no other*

other marke, then to make an ignominious and lamentable rent in the Church. Hee thinks the Deputies of the third Eſtate, had neither head nor firſt hand in contriuing this Article; but holds it rather a new deuice and ſubtile inuention, ſuggeſted by perſons, which beeing already cut off by their owne practiſes from the body of the Romane Church, haue likewiſe inueigled and inſnared ſome that beare the name of Catholiks, with ſome other Eccleſiaſtics; and vnder a faire pretence and goodly cloake, by name, the ſeruice of the King, haue ſurpriſed and played vpon their ſimplicitie. Theſe men (as the Cardinall ſaith) *doe imitate* Iulian *the Apoſtata, who to bring the Chriſtians to idolatrous worſhip of falſe gods, commaunded the idols of* Iupiter *and* Venus *to be intermingled with Imperiall ſtatues, and other Images of Chriſtian Emperours, &c.* Then after certaine Rhetoricall flouriſhes, his Lordſhip fals to proſecute his former courſe, and cries out of this Article; *A monſter hauing the tayle of a fiſh, as if it came cutting the narrow Seas out of* England: *For in full effect it is downright the* Engliſh *oath; ſauing that indeed the oath of* England *runneth in a more mild forme, and a more moderate ſtraine.* And here he ſuddenly takes occaſion to make ſome digreſſion: For out of the way, and cleane from the matter, he entreth into ſome purpoſe *of my praiſe and commendation*: He courteouſly forſooth is pleaſed to grace mee *with knowledge of learning, and with ciuill vertues*: He ſeemeth chiefly to reioyce in his owne behalfe, and to giue me thanks, *that I haue done him the honour to enter the liſts of Theologicall diſpute againſt his Lordſhip.* Howbeit he twitches and carpes at me withall, as at one that ſoweth ſeeds of diſſention and ſchiſme amongſt Romane Catholiks: And yet he would ſeeme to qualifie the matter, and to make all whole againe, by ſaying, *That in ſo doing I am perſwaded I doe no more then my duetie requires. But now* (as his Lordſhip followes the point) *it ſtandeth neither with godlineſſe, nor with equity, nor with reaſon, that Acts made, that Statutes, Decrees, and Ordinances ratified for the* State *and Gouernement of* England, *ſhould be thruſt for binding Laws vpon the Kingdome of* France: *nor that Catholikes, and much leſſe that Eccleſiaſtics, to the ende they may liue in ſafetie, and freely enioy their priuiledges or immunities in* France, *ſhould be forced to beleeue, and by oath to ſeale the ſame points, which* Engliſh *Catholikes to the end they may purchaſe libertie onely to breath, nay ſorrowfully to ſigh rather, are conſtrained to allow and to aduow beſides. And whereas in* England *there is no ſmall number of Catholikes, that lacke not conſtant and reſolute minds to endure all ſorts of puniſhment, rather then to take that oath of allegiance; will there not be found an other manner of number in* France, *armed with no leſſe conſtancie and Chriſtian reſolution? There will, moſt honourable Auditors, there will without all doubt: and we all that are of Epiſcopall dignity will ſooner ſuffer Martyrdome in the cauſe.* Then out of the ſuper-abundance and ouerweight of his Lordſhips goodnes, he cloſely coucheth and conuayeth a certaine diſtaſtfull oppoſition betweene mee and his King; with praiſes and thanks to God, that *his King is not delighted, & takes no pleaſure to make Martyrs.*

All this Artificiall and ſwelling diſcourſe like vnto puffe-paſt, if it be viewed at a neere diſtance, will be found like a bladder full of wind, without any ſoliditie of ſubſtantiall matter. For the Deputies of the third

Eſtate were neuer ſo voide of vnderſtanding, to beleeue that by prouiding for the life and ſafety of their King, they ſhould thruſt him headlong into eternall damnation. Their braines were neuer ſo much blaſted, ſo farre benummed, to dreame the ſoule of their King cannot mount vp to heauen, except he be diſmounted from his Princely Throne vpon earth, whenſoeuer the Pope ſhall hold vp his finger.

And whereas he is bold to pronounce, that heretikes of *France* doe make their benefit and aduantage of this diuiſion; that ſpeech is grounded vpon this propoſition; That profeſſors of the Chriſtian Religion reformed (which is to ſay, purged and cleanſed of all Popiſh dregs) are heretikes in fact, and ought ſo to bee reputed in right: Which propoſition his Lordſhip will neuer ſoundly and ſufficiently make good, before his Holineſſe hath compiled an other Goſpell, or hath forged an other Bible at his Pontificiall anuile. The L. Cardinall vndertooke to reade mee a lecture vpon that argument; but euer ſince hath played Mum-budget, and hath put himſelfe to ſilence, like one at a Non-plus in his enterpriſe. There be three yeeres already gone and paſt, ſince his Lordſhip beganne to ſhape ſome anſwere to a certaine writing diſpatched by mee in few daies: With forming and reforming, with filing and poliſhing, with labouring and licking his anſwere ouer and ouer againe, with reiterated extractions and calcinations, it may be coniectured that all his Lordſhips labour and coſt is long ſince evaporated and vaniſhed in the aire. Howbeit, as well the friendly conference of a King, (for I will not call it a contention) as alſo the dignitie, excellencie, and importance of the matter, long ſince deſerued, and as long ſince required the publiſhing of ſome or other anſwere. His Lordſhips long ſilence will neuer be imputed to lacke of capacity, wherewith who knoweth not how abundantly he is furniſhed; but rather to well aduiſed agnition of his owne working and building vpon a weake foundation.

But let vs returne vnto theſe heretikes, that make ſo great gaine by the diſagreement of Catholikes. It is no part of their dutie to aime at ſowing of diſſentions; but rather to intend and attend their faithfull performance of ſeruice to their King. If ſome be pleaſed, and others offended, when ſo good and loyall duties are ſincerely diſcharged; it is for all good ſubiects to grieue and to be ſory, that when they ſpeake for the ſafetie of their King & honour of the trewth, it is their hard hap to leaue any at all vnſatisfied. But ſuppoſe the ſaid heretiks were the Authors of this article preferred by the third Eſtate: What need they to conceale their names in that regard? What need they to diſclaime the credit of ſuch a worthy act? Would it not redound to their perpetuall honour, to be the onely ſubiects that kept watch ouer the Kings life and Crowne, that ſtood centinell, and walked the rounds for the preſeruation of his Princely diademe, when all other had no more touch, no more feeling thereof then ſo many ſtones? And what neede the Deputies for the third Eſtate, to receiue inſtructions from foraine Kingdomes, concerning a cauſe of that nature; when there was

no want

no want of domeſticall examples, and the French hiſtories were plentifull in that argument? What neede they to gape for this reformed doctrine, to come ſwimming with a fiſhes tayle out of an Iſland to the mayne continent, when they had before their eyes the murders of two Kings, with diuerſe ciuill warres, and many Arreſts of Court, all tending to inſinuate and ſuggeſt the introduction of the ſame remedy? Suggeſtions are needleſſe from abroad, when the miſchiefe is felt at home. It ſeemes to me that his Lordſhip in ſmoothing and tickling the Deputies for the third Eſtate, doth no leſſe then wring and wrong their great ſufficiencie with contumely and outragious abuſe; as if they were not furniſhed with ſufficient foreſight, and with loyall affection towards their King, for the preſeruation of his life and honour, if the remedie were not beaten into their heads by thoſe of the Religion, reputed heretikes.

Touching my ſelfe, ranged by his Lordſhip in the ſame ranke with ſowers of diſſention; I take my God to witnes, and my owne conſcience, that I neuer dream'd of any ſuch vnchriſtian proiect. It hath beene hitherto my ordinary courſe to follow honeſt counſells, and to walke in open waies. I neuer wonted my ſelfe to holes and corners, to crafty ſhifts, but euermore to plaine and open deſignes. I neede not hide mine intentions for feare of any mortall man, that puffeth breath of life out of his noſtrils. Nor in any ſort doe I purpoſe, to ſet *Iulian* the Apoſtata before mine eyes, as a patterne for me to follow. *Iulian* of a Chriſtian became a Pagan: I profeſſe the ſame faith of Chriſt ſtill, which I haue euer profeſſed: *Iulian* went about his deſignes with crafty conueiances; I neuer with any of his captious and cunning ſleights: *Iulian* forced his ſubiects to infidelitie againſt Ieſus Chriſt; I labour to induce my ſubiects vnto ſuch tearmes of loyalty towards my ſelfe, as Ieſus Chriſt hath preſcribed and taught in his word. But how farre I differ from *Iulian*, it is to be ſeene more at large in my anſwere to *Bellarmines* Epiſtles written to *Blackwell*; from whence the Lord Cardinall borrowing this example, it might well haue beſeemed his Lordſhip to borrow likewiſe my anſwere from the ſame place.

Now as it mooues me nothing at all, to be drawne by his Lordſhip into ſuſpitions of this nature and qualitie: ſo by the prayſes, that he rockes me withall, I will neuer be lulled aſleepe. To commend a man for his knowledge, and withall to take from him the feare of God, is to admire a ſouldier for his goodly head of haire or his curled locks, and withall to call him baſe coward, faint-hearted and freſh-water ſouldier. Knowledge, wit, and learning in an hereticke, are of none other vſe and ſeruice, but only to make him the more culpable, & conſequently obnoxious to the more grieuous puniſhments. All vertues turne to vices, when they become the ſeruants of impietie. The hand-maids which the Soueraigne Lady Wiſedome calleth to be of her traine in the 9. Prouerb. are morall vertues, and humane ſciences; which then become pernicious, when they run away from their Soueraigne Lady-Miſtris, and put ouer themſelues in ſeruice to the

diuel. What difference is betweene two men, both alike wanting the knowledge of God; the one furniſhed with arts and ciuill vertues, the other brutiſhly barbarous and of a deformed life, or of prophane maners? What is the difference betweene theſe two? I make this the onely difference: the firſt goeth to hell with a better grace, and falleth into perdition with more facilitie, then the ſecond: But hee becommeth exceedingly wicked, euen threefold and fourefold abominable, if he waſt his treaſure and ſtocke of ciuill vertues in perſecuting the Church of CHRIST: and if that may be layd in his diſh which was caſt in *Cæſars* teeth, that in plaine ſobernes and well-ſetled temper, he attempts the ruine of the Common-wealth, which from a drunken ſot might receiue perhaps a more eaſie fall. In briefe, I ſcorne all garlands of praiſes, which are not euer greene; but being dry and withered for want of ſap and radicall moyſture, doe flagge about barbarous Princes browes. I defie and renounce thoſe praiſes, which fit mee no more then they fit a *Mahumetane* King of *Marocco*. I conteſt againſt all praiſes which grace me with petie acceſſories, but rob me of the principall, that one thing neceſſary; namely, the feare and knowledge of my GOD: vnto whoſe Maieſtie alone, I haue deuoted my Scepter, my ſword, my penne, my whole induſtrie, my whole ſelfe, with all that is mine in whole and in part. I doe it, I doe it in all humble acknowledgement of his vnſpeakable mercie and fauour, who hath vouchſafed to deliuer me from the erroneous way of this aage, to deliuer my Kingdome from the Popes tyrannicall yoke, vnder which it hath lyen in times paſt moſt grieuouſly oppreſſed: My Kingdom where God is now purely ſerued, and called vpon in a tongue which all the vulgar vnderſtand: My Kingdome, where the people may now reade the Scriptures without any ſpecial priuiledge from the Apoſtolike See, and with no leſſe libertie then the people of Epheſus, of Rome, and of Corinth did reade the holy Epiſtles, written to their Churches by *S. Paul*: My Kingdome, where the people now pay no longer any tribute by the poll for Papall indulgences, as they did about an hundred yeeres paſt, and are no longer compelled to the mart, for pardons beyond the Seas and mountaines, but haue them now freely offered from God, by the doctrine of the Goſpel preached at home within their owne ſeuerall pariſhes and iuriſdictions. If the Churches of my Kingdome, in the L. Cardinals accompt, bee miſerable for theſe cauſes and the like; let him dreame on, and talke his pleaſure: for my part I will euer auow, that more worth is our miſery then all his felicitie. For the reſt, it ſhal by Gods grace be my daily endeauour and ſerious care, to paſſe my daies in ſhaping to my ſelfe ſuch a courſe of life, that without ſhamefull calumniating of my perſon, it ſhall not reſt in the tip of any tongue, to touch my life with iuſt reprehenſion or blame. Nor am I ſo priuie to mine owne guiltineſſe, as to thinke my ſtate ſo deſperate, ſo deplorable, as Popes haue made their owne: For ſome of them haue bene ſo open-hearted and ſo tongue-free, to pronounce that Popes themſelues, the key-bearers of Heauen and hell, cannot be

Aliquot annis poſt, Apoſtolicæ ſedis nuncius in Angliam ad colligendum S. Petri vectigal miſſus. Onuphri. in vit. Paul. 4. Vide & Math. Pariſ.

be ſaued. Two Popes, reckoned among the beſt of the whole bunch or packe, namely, *Adrian* the IV. and *Marcelline* the II. haue both ſung one and the ſame note; that in their vnderſtanding they could not conceiue any reaſon why, or any meanes how thoſe that ſway the Popedome can be partakers of ſaluation; But for my particular, grounding my faith vpon the promiſes of God contained in the Goſpel, I doe confidently and aſſuredly beleeue, that repenting me of my ſinnes, and repoſing my whole truſt in the merits of IESVS CHRIST, I ſhall obtaine forgiueneſſe of my ſinnes through his Name. Nor doe I feare, that I am now, or ſhall be hereafter caſt out of the Churches lap and boſome; that I now haue or hereafter ſhall haue no right to the Church as a putrified member thereof, ſo long as I do or ſhall cleaue to CHRIST IESVS, the Head of the Church: the appellation and name whereof, ſerueth in this corrupt aage, as a cloake to couer a thouſand new inuentions; and now no longer ſignifies the aſſembly of the faithfull or ſuch as beleeue in IESVS CHRIST according to his word, but a certaine glorious oſtentation and temporall Monarchie, whereof the Pope forſooth is the ſupreame head.

Onup. de vitis Pontif. in vit. Mar. 2. doeth teſtifie, that *Marcel.* alſo after *Adrian* the 4. vſed, theſe words: *Non video quo modo qui locum hunc altiſſ. tenent, ſaluari poſſint.*

But if the L. Cardinall by aſſured and certaine knowledge (as perhaps he may by common fame) did vnderſtand the horrible conſpiracies that haue bin plotted and contriued, not againſt my perſon and life alone, but alſo againſt my whole ſtocke: if he rightly knew & were inly perſwaded, of how many fowle periuries & wicked treaſons, diuers Eccleſiaſtical perſons haue bene lawfully conuicted: in ſtead of charging me with falſe imputations, that *I ſuffer not my Catholiks to fetch a ſigh, or to draw their breath; and that I thruſt my Catholikes vpon the ſharpe edge of puniſhment in euery kinde*; he would, and might well, rather wonder, how I my ſelfe, after ſo many dangers run, after ſo many proditorious ſnares eſcaped, do yet fetch my owne breath, and yet practiſe Princely clemencie towards the ſaid Catholiks, notorious trāſgreſſors of diuine & humane lawes. If the French king in the heart of his kingdom, ſhould nouriſh and foſter ſuch a neſt of ſtinging hornets and buſie waſps, I meane ſuch a pack of ſubiects, denying his abſolute Soueraignty, as many Romane Catholiks of my Kingdome do mine: It may wel be doubted, whether the L. Cardinal would aduiſe his king ſtil to feather the neſt of the ſaid Catholiks, ſtil to keep them warme, ſtil to beare them with an eaſie and gentle hand: It may wel be doubted, whether his Lordſhip would extol their conſtancie, that would haue the courage to ſheath vp their ſwords in his Kings bowels, or blow vp his King with gun-powder, into the neather ſtation of the loweſt regiō: It may wel be doubted, whether he would indure that Orator, who (like as himſelfe hath done) ſhould ſtir vp others to ſuffer Martyrdome after ſuch examples, and to imitate parricides & traitors in their conſtancy. The ſcope then of the L. Cardinall, in ſtriking the ſweet ſtrings, and ſounding the pleaſant notes of praiſes, which faine he would fil mine eares withal; is only by his excellent skil in the muſick of Oratory, to bewitch the harts of my ſubiects, to infatuate their minds, to ſettle them in a

reſolution to depriue me of my life. The reaſon: Becauſe the plotters and practiſers againſt my life, are honoured and rewarded with a glorious name of Martyrs: their conſtancie (what els?) is admired, when they ſuffer death for treaſon. Wheras hitherto during the time of my whole raigne to this day, (I ſpeake it in the word of a King, and trewth it ſelfe ſhall make good the Kings word) no man hath loſt his life, no man hath indured the Racke, no man hath ſuffered corporall puniſhment in other kinds, meerely or ſimply, or in any degree of reſpect, for his conſcience in matter of religion; but for wicked conſpiring againſt my life, or Eſtate, or Royall dignitie; or els for ſome notorious crime, or ſome obſtinate and wilfull diſobedience: Of which traiterous and viperous brood, I commanded one to be hanged by the necke of late in *Scotland*; a Ieſuite of intolerable impudencie, who at his arraignment and publike triall, ſtiffely maintained, that I haue robbed the Pope of his right, and haue no manner of right in the poſſeſſion of my Kingdome. His Lordſhip therefore in offering himſelfe to Martyrdome, after the rare example of Catholiks, as he ſaith, ſuffering all ſort of puniſhment in my Kingdome, doeth plainely profeſſe himſelfe a follower of traytors and parricides. Theſe be the Worthies, theſe the heroicall ſpirits, theſe the honourable Captaines and Coronels, whoſe vertuous parts neuer ſufficiently magnified and prayſed, his Lordſhippe propoundeth for imitation to the *French* Biſhops. O the name of Martyrs, in olde times a ſacred name! how is it now derided and ſcoffed? how is it in theſe daies filthily prophaned? O you the whole quire and holy company of Apoſtles, who haue ſealed the trewth with your deareſt blood! how much are you diſparaged? how vnfitly are you paragoned and matched, when traytors, bloody butchers, and King-killers are made your aſſiſtants, and of the ſame *Quorum*; or to ſpeake in milder tearmes, when you are coupled with Martyrs that ſuffer for maintaining the Temporall rites of the Popes Empire? with Biſhops that offer themſelues to a Problematicall Martyrdome, for a point decided neither by the authorities of your Spirit-inſpired pens, nor by the auncient and venerable teſtimonie of the Primitiue Church? for a point which they dare not vndertake to teach, otherwiſe then by a doubtfull, cold, fearefull way of diſcourſe, and altogether without reſolution. In good ſooth, I take the Cardinall for a perſonage of a quicker ſpirit and clearer ſight, (let his Lordſhip hold mee excuſed) then to perſwade my ſelfe, that in theſe matters his tongue and his heart, his pen and his inward iudgement, haue any concord or correſpondence one with another: For beeing very much againſt his minde (as hee doeth confeſſe) thruſt into the office of an Aduocate to pleade this cauſe; he ſuffered himſelfe to bee carried (after his engagement) with ſome heat, to vtter ſome things againſt his conſcience, murmuring and grumbling the contrary within; and to affirme ſome other things with confidence, whereof hee had not beene otherwiſe informed, then onely by vaine and lying report. Of which ranke is that bold aſſertion of his Lordſhip; That many Catholiks

liks in England, rather then they would ſubſcribe to the oath of allegiance in the forme thereof, haue vndergone all ſorts of puniſhment: For in *England* (as we haue trewly giuen the whole Chriſtian world to vnderſtand in our Preface to the Apologie) there is but one forme or kind of puniſhment ordained for all ſorts of traytors.

Hath not his Lordſhip now graced me with goodly teſtimonialls of prayſe and commendation? Am I not by his prayſes proclaimed a Tyrant, as it were inebriated with blood of the Saints, and a famous Enginer of torments for my Catholikes? To this exhortation for the ſuffering of Martyrdome, in imitation of my Engliſh traytors and parricides, if wee ſhall adde; how craftily and ſubtilly hee makes the Kings of *England* to hold of the Pope by fealty, and their kingdome in bondage to the Pope by Temporall recognizance; it ſhall eaſily appeare, that his holy-water of prayſes wherewith I am ſo reuerently beſprinkled, is a compoſition extracted out of a dram of hony and a pound of gall, firſt ſteeped in a ſtrong decoction of bitter wormewood, or of the wild gourd called Coloquintida: For after he hath in the beginning of his Oration, ſpoken of Kings that owe fealtie to the Pope, and are not Soueraignes in the higheſt degree of Temporall ſupremacie within their Kingdomes; to explaine his mind and meaning the better, he marſhals the Kings of *England* a little after in the ſame ranke. His words be theſe; *When King* Iohn *of* England, *not yet bound in any temporall recognizance to the Pope, had expelled his Biſhops, &c.* His Lordſhip means, that King *Iohn* became ſo bound to the Pope not long after. And what may this meaning be, but in plaine tearmes and broad ſpeach, to call me vſurper and vnlawfull King? For the feudatarie, or he that holdeth a Mannor by fealty, when he doeth not his homage, with all ſuit and ſeruice that he owes to the Lord *Paramount*, doeth fall from the propertie of his fee. This reproach of the L. Cardinals, is ſeconded with an other of *Bellarmines* his brother Cardinall; That *Ireland* was giuen to the Kings of *England* by the Pope. The beſt is that his moſt reuerend Lordſhip hath not ſhewed, who it was that gaue *Ireland* to the Pope.

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And touching *Iohn* King of *England*, thus in briefe ſtands the whole matter. Betweene *Henry* 2. and the Pope had paſſed ſundry bickerments, about collating of Eccleſiaſticall dignities. *Iohn* the ſonne, after his fathers death, reneweth, vndertaketh, and purſueth the ſame quarrell: Driueth certaine *Engliſh* Biſhops out of the Kingdome, for defending the Popes inſolent vſurpation vpon his Royall prerogatiue, and Regall rights: Sheweth ſuch Princely courage and reſolution in thoſe times, when all that ſtood and ſuffered for the Popes Temporall pretenſions againſt Kings, were enrowled Martyrs or Confeſſors. The Pope takes the matter in fowle ſcorne, and great indignation; ſhuts the King by his excommunicatory Bulls out of the Church; ſtirres vp his Barons, for other cauſes the Kings heauy friends, to riſe in armes; giues the Kingdome of *England* (like a maſterleſſe man turned ouer to a new maſter) to *Philippus Auguſtus* King of *France*;

France; bindes *Philip* to make a conqueſt of *England* by the ſword, or elſe no bargaine, or elſe no gift; promiſes *Philip*, in recompence of his trauell and Royall expences in that conqueſt, full abſolution and a generall pardon at large for all his ſinnes: to bee ſhort, cuts King *Iohn* out ſo much worke, and makes him keepe ſo many yrons in the fire for his worke, that he had none other way, none other meanes to pacifie the Popes high diſpleaſure, to correct or qualifie the malignitie of the Popes cholericke humour, by whom he was then ſo entangled in the Popes toyles, but by yeelding himſelfe to become the Popes vaſſal, and his Kingdome feudatary, or to hold by fealty of the Papall See. By this meanes his Crowne is made tributary, all his people liable to payment of taxes by the poll for a certaine yeerely tribute, and he is bleſſed with a pardon for all his ſinnes. Whether King *Iohn* was mooued to doe this diſhonourable act vpon any deuotion, or inflamed with any zeale of Religion; or inforced by the vnreſiſtable weapons of neceſſitie, who can be ſo blind, that he doeth not well ſee and clearely perceiue? For to purchaſe his owne freedome from this bondage to the Pope; what could he bee vnwilling to doe, that was willing to bring his Kingdome vnder the yoake of *Amirales Murmelinus* a Mahumetan Prince, then King of *Granado* and *Barbaria*? The Pope after that, ſent a Legat into *England*: The King now the Popes vaſſall, and holding his Crowne of the Pope, like a man that holds his land of another by Knights ſeruice, or by homage and fealtie, doeth faire homage for his Crowne to the Popes Legat, and layeth downe at his feet a great maſſe of the pureſt gold in coyne. The reuerend Legat, in token of his Maſters Soueraigntie, with more then vſuall pride falls to kicking and ſpurning the treaſure, no doubt with a paire of moſt holy feet: Not onely ſo; but likewiſe at ſolemne feaſts is eaſily entreated to take the Kings chaire of Eſtate. Heere I would faine know the Lord Cardinals opinion; whether theſe actions of the Pope were iuſt or vniuſt, lawfull or vnlawfull, according to right or againſt all right and reaſon. If he will ſay againſt right; it is then cleare, that againſt right his Lordſhip hath made way to this example: if according to right, let him then make it knowen, from whence or from whom this power was deriued and conueyed to the Pope, whereby hee makes himſelfe Souereigne Lord of Temporalties in that Kingdome, where neither he nor any of his predeceſſours euer pretended any right, or layd any claime to Temporall matters before. Are ſuch prankes to be played by the Pontificiall Biſhop? Is this an act of Holineſſe, to ſet a Kingdome on fire by the flaming brands of ſedition? to diſmember and quarter a Kingdome with inteſtine warres; onely to this end, that a King once reduced to the loweſt degree of miſerie, might be lifted by his Holineſſe out of his Royall prerogatiue, the very ſoule and life of his Royall Eſtate? When began this Papall power? In what aage began the Pope to practiſe this power? What! haue the ancient Canons, (for the Scripture in this queſtion beareth no pawme) haue the Canons of the ancient Church impoſed

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any ſuch ſatisfaction vpon a ſinner, that of a Souereigne and free King, he ſhould become vaſſall to his ghoſtly Father; that he ſhould make himſelfe together with all his people and ſubiects tributaries to a Biſhop, that ſhall rifle a whole Nation of their coine, that ſhall receiue homage of a King, and make a King his vaſſall? What! Shall not a ſinner be quitted of his faults, except his Paſtor turne robber, and one that goeth about to get a booty? except hee make his Paſtour a Feoffee in his whole Eſtate, and ſuffer himſelfe vnder a ſhadow of penance to freeze naked, to be turned out of all his goods and poſſeſſions of inheritance? But be it granted, admit his Holineſſe robs one Prince of his rights and reuenewes, to conferre the ſame vpon another: were it not an high degree of tyrannie to finger another mans eſtate, and to giue that away to a third, which the ſecond hath no right, no lawfull authoritie to giue? Well, if the Pope then ſhall become his owne caruer in the rights of another; if he ſhall make his owne coffers to ſwell with anothers reuenewes, if he ſhall decke and aray his owne backe in the ſpoiles of a ſinner, with whom in abſolution he maketh peace, and taketh truce; what can this be elſe, but running into further degrees of wickedneſſe and miſchiefe? what can this be elſe, but heaping of robbery vpon fraud, and impietie vpon robbery? For by ſuch deceitfull, craftie, and cunning practiſes, the nature of the Pontificiall See, meerely ſpirituall, is changed into the Kings-bench-Court, meerely temporall: the Biſhops chaire is changed into a Monarchs Throne. And not onely ſo; but beſides, the ſinners repentance is changed into a ſnare or pit-fall of couſening deceit; and S. *Peters* net is changed into a caſting-net or a flew, to fiſh for all the wealth of moſt flouriſhing Kingdomes. Moreouer, the King (a hard caſe) is driuen by ſuch wiles and ſubtilties, to worke impoſſibilities, to acte more then is lawfull or within the compaſſe of his power to practiſe: For the King neither may in right, nor can by power tranſ-nature his Crowne, impaire the Maieſtie of his Kingdome, or leaue his Royal dignitie leſſe free to his heire apparant, or next ſucceſſor, then he receiued the ſame of his predeceſſour: Much leſſe, by any diſhonourable capitulations, by any vnworthy contracts, degrade his poſteritie, bring his people vnder the grieuous burden of tributes and taxes to a forreine Prince: Leaſt of all, make them tributary to a Prieſt; vnto whom it no way apperteineth to haue any hand in the ciuill affaires of Kings, or to diſtaine, and vnhallow their Crownes. And therefore when the Pope diſpatched his *Nuntio* to *Philippus Auguſtus*, requeſting the King to auert *Lewis* his ſonne from laying any claime to the Kingdome of *England*; *Philip* anſwered the Legat (as we haue it in *Matth. Paris*;) *No King, no Prince can alienate or giue away his Kingdom, but by conſent of his Barons, bound by Knights ſeruice to defend the ſaid Kingdome: and in caſe the Pope ſhall ſtand for the contrary error, his Holines ſhall giue to Kingdomes a moſt pernicious example*. By the ſame Author it is teſtified, that King *Iohn* became odious to his ſubiects, for ſuch diſhonourable and vnworthy inthralling of his Crowne, and Kingdome. Therefore the Popes right pretended

tended to the Crowne of *England*, which is nothing elſe but a ridiculous vſurpation, hath long agoe vaniſhed into ſmoake, and required not ſo much as the drawing of one ſword to ſnatch and pull it by violence out of his hands: For the Popes power lying altogether in a certaine wilde and wandring conceit or opinion of men, and being onely an imaginary caſtle in the ayre, built by pride, and vnderpropped by ſuperſtition, is very ſpeedily diſperſed vpon the firſt riſing and appearing of the trewth in her glorious brightneſſe. There is none ſo very a dolt or block-head to deny, that in caſe this right of the Pope ouer *England*, is grounded vpon Gods word, then his Holineſſe may challenge the like right ouer all other Kingdomes: becauſe all other Kingdomes, Crownes, and Scepters are ſubiect alike to Gods word: For what priuiledge, what charter, what euidence can *France* fetch out of the Rolles, or any other treaſurie of her monuments or records, to ſhew that ſhe oweth leſſe ſubiection to God then *England*? Or was this yoke of bondage then brought vpon the Engliſh Nation; was it a prerogatiue, whereby they might more eaſily come to the libertie of the ſonnes of God? Or were the people of *England* perſwaded, that for all their ſubſtance, wealth, and life beſtowed on the Pope, his Holineſſe by way of exchange returned them better weight and meaſure of ſpirituall graces? It is ridiculous, onely to conceiue theſe toyes in thought; and yet with ſuch ridiculous, with ſuch toyes in conceit, his Lordſhip feeds and entertains his auditors.

From this point hee falleth to another bowt and fling at his heretikes, with whom he played no faire play before: *There is not one Synode of miniſters* (as he ſaith) *which would willingly ſubſcribe to this Article, whereunto wee ſhould bee bound to ſweare*. But herein his Lordſhip ſhooteth farre from the marke. This Article is approoued and preached by the Miniſters of my Kingdome: It is likewiſe preached by thoſe of *France*, and if need bee (I aſſſure my ſelfe) will bee ſigned by all the Miniſters of the French Church.

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The L. Cardinall proceedeth, (for hee meaneth not ſo ſoone to giue ouer theſe heretikes:) *All their Conſiſtories beleeue it as their Creed; that if Catholike Princes at any time ſhall offer force vnto their conſcience, then they are diſpenſed withall for their oath of alleagiance. Hence are theſe modifications and reſtrictions, toſſed ſo much in their mouthes; Prouided the King force vs not in our conſcience. Hence are theſe exceptions in the profeſſion of their faith, Prouided the Soueraigne power and authoritie of God, bee not in any ſort violated or infringed.* I am not able to conceiue what engine can bee framed of theſe materialls, for the bearing of Kings out of their eminent ſeates, by any lawfull authoritie or power in the Pope: For ſay, thoſe of the Religion ſhould be tainted with ſome like errour; how can that be any ſhelter of excuſe for thoſe of the Romiſh Church, to vndermine or to digge vp the Thrones of their Kings? But in this allegation of the L. Cardinall, there is nothing at all, which doeth not iumpe iuſt and accord to a haire with the Article of the third

third Eſtate, and with obedience due to the King: For they doe not profeſſe, that in caſe the King ſhall commaund them to doe any act contrarie to their conſcience, they would flie at his throat, would make any attempt againſt his life, would refuſe to pay their taxations, or to defend him in the warres: They make no profeſſion of depoſing the King, or diſcharging the people from the oath of allegiance tendred to the King: which is the very point or iſſue of the matter in controuerſie, and the maine miſcheife, againſt which the third Eſtate hath bin moſt worthily careſull to prouide a wholeſome remedie by this Article. There is a world of difference betweene the termes of diſobedience, and of depoſition. It is one thing to diſobey the Kings commaund in matters prohibited by diuine lawes, and yet in all other matters to performe full ſubiection vnto the King. It is another thing of a farre higher degree or ſtraine of diſloyaltie, to bare the King of his Royall robes, throne, and ſcepter, and when he is thus farre diſgraced, to degrade him and to put him from his degree and place of a King. If the holy Father ſhould charge the L. Cardinal to doe ſome act repugnant in his owne knowledge to the Law of God, I will religiouſly, and according to the rule of charitie preſume, that his Lordſhip in this caſe would ſtand out againſt his Holineſſe, and notwithſtanding would ſtill acknowledge him to be Pope.

His Lordſhip yet proſecutes and followes his former purpoſe: *Hence* " *are thoſe armes which they haue oftentimes borne againſt Kings, when Kings practiſed to take away the libertie of their conſcience and Religion. Hence are thoſe turbulent Commotions and ſeditions by them raiſed, as well in the Low-countryes againſt* " *the King of Spaine, as in Swethland againſt the Catholike King of Polonia.* Beſides, " he caſteth *Iunius Brutus, Buchananus, Barclaius*, and *Gerſon* in our teeth. To what end all this? I ſee not how it can bee auaileable to authorize the depoſing of Kings, eſpecially the Popes power to depoſe. And yet his Lordſhip here doth outface (by his leaue) and beare downe the trewth: For I could neuer yet learne by any good and trew intelligence, that in France thoſe of the Religion tooke armes at any time againſt their King: In the firſt ciuill warres they ſtood onely vpon their guard: they ſtood onely to their lawfull wards and locks of defence: they armed not, nor tooke the field before they were purſued with fire and ſword, burnt vp and ſlaughtred. Beſides, Religion was neither the root nor the rynde of thoſe inteſtine troubles. The trew ground of the quarrell was this: During the minority of King *Francis* II. the Proteſtants of France were a refuge and ſuccour to the Princes of the blood, when they were kept from the Kings preſence, and by the ouer powring power of their enemies, were no better then plaine driuen and chaſed from the Court. I meane, the Grand-father of the King now raigning, and the Grand-father of the Prince of *Conde*, when they had no place of ſafe retreate. In regard of which worthy and honourable ſeruice, it may ſeeme the French King hath reaſon to haue the Proteſtants in his gracious remembrance. With other commotion or inſurrection,

rection, the Proteſtants are not iuſtly to be charged. But on the contrary, certaine it is that King *Henry* III. rayſed and ſent forth ſeuerall armies againſt the Proteſtants, to ruine and roote them out of the Kingdome: howbeit, ſo ſoone as they perceiued the ſaid King was brought into dangerous tearms, they ranne with great ſpeed and ſpeciall fidelitie to the Kings reſcue and ſuccour, in the preſent danger. Certaine it is, that by their good ſeruice the ſaid King was deliuered, from a moſt extreame and imminent perill of his life in the city of Tours. Certaine it is, they neuer abandoned that *Henry* 3. nor his next ſucceſſor *Henry* 4. in all the heat of reuolts and rebellions, raiſed in the greateſt part of the Kingdome by the Pope, and the more part of the Clergie: but ſtood to the ſaid Kings in all their battels, to beare vp the Crowne then tottering and ready to fall. Certaine it is, that euen the heads and principalls of thoſe by whom the late King deceaſed was purſued with all extremities, at this day doe enioy the fruit of all the good ſeruices done to the King by the ſaid Proteſtants: And they are now diſgraced, kept vnder, expoſed to publike hatred. What, for kindling coales of queſtions and controuerſies about Religion? Forſooth, not ſo: but becauſe if they might haue equall and indifferent dealing, if credit might be giuen to their faithfull aduertiſements, the Crowne of their Kings ſhould bee no longer pinned to the Popes flie-flap; in France there ſhould bee no French exempted from ſubiection to the French King; cauſes of benefices or of matrimonie, ſhould bee no longer citable and ſummonable to the Romiſh Court; and the Kingdome ſhould bee no longer tributarie vnder the colour of annats, the firſt fruits of Benefices after the remooue or death of the Incumbent, and other like impoſitions.

But why doe I ſpeake ſo much in the behalfe of the French Proteſtants? The Lord Cardinall himſelfe quittes them of this blame, when he telleth vs this doctrine for the depoſing of Kings by the Popes mace or verge, had credit and authoritie through all France, vntill *Caluins* time. Doth not his Lordſhip vnder-hand confeſſe by theſe words, that Kings had beene alwaies before *Caluins* time, the more diſhonoured, and the worſe ſerued? Item, that Proteſtants, whom his Lordſhip calls heretikes, by the light of holy Scripture made the world then and euer ſince to ſee the right of Kings, oppreſſed ſo long before? As for thoſe of the Low Countries, and the ſubiects of Swethland, I haue little to ſay of their caſe, becauſe it is not within ordinary compaſſe, and indeed ſerueth nothing to the purpoſe. Theſe Nations, beſides the cauſe of Religion, doe ſtand vpon certaine reaſons of State, which I will not here take vpon me like a Iudge to determine or to ſift.

Iunius Brutus, Whom the Lord Cardinall obiecteth, is an author vnknowne; and perhaps of purpoſe patcht vp by ſome Romaniſt, with a wyly deceit to draw the reformed Religion into hatred with Chriſtian Princes.

Buchanan I reckon and ranke among Poets, not among Diuines, claſſicall

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or common. If the man hath burſt out here and there into ſome tearmes of exceſſe, or ſpeach of bad temper; that muſt be imputed to the violence of his humour, and heate of his ſpirit, not in any wiſe to the rules and concluſions of trew Religion, rightly by him conceiued before.

Barclaius alledged by the Cardinall, meddles not with depoſing of Kings; but deals with diſavowing them for Kings, when they ſhal renounce the right of Royalty, and of their owne accord giue ouer the Kingdome. Now he that leaues it in the Kings choice, either to hold or to giue ouer his Crowne, leaues it not in the Popes power to take away the Kingdome.

Of *Gerſon* obtruded by the Cardinal, we haue ſpoken ſufficiently before, Where it hath beene ſhewed how *Gerſon* is diſguiſed, masked, and peruerted by his Lordſhip. In briefe, I take not vpon me to iuſtifie and make good all the ſayings of particular authors: We glory (and well we may) that our religion affordeth no rules of rebellion; nor any diſpenſation to ſubiects for the oath of their allegiance; and that none of our Churches giue entertainement vnto ſuch monſtrous and abhominable principles of diſloyaltie.

If any of the French, otherwiſe perſwaded in former times, now hauing altered and changed his iudgement, doth contend for the Soueraignty of Kings againſt Papall vſurpation: He doubtles, for winding himſelfe out of the Laborinth of an error ſo intricate & pernicious, deſerueth great honour and ſpeciall praiſe: He is worthy to hold a place of dignity aboue the L. Cardinall; who hath quitted and betrayed his former iudgement, which was holy and iuſt: Their motions are contrary, their markes are oppoſite: The one reclineth from euill to good, the other declineth from good to euill. *Richerius.*

At laſt his Lordſhip commeth to the cloſe of his Oration, and bindes vp his whole harangue with a feate wreath of praiſes, proper to his King. He ſtyles the King the eldeſt Sonne of the Church, a young ſhoot of the lilly, which King Salomon in all his Royaltie was not able to match. He leades vs by the hand into the pleaſant meadowes of Hiſtories, there to learne vpon the very firſt ſight and view, That ſo long, ſo oft as the Kings of France embraced vnion, and kept good tearmes of concord with Popes and the Apoſtolike See; ſo long as the ſpouſe of the Church was paſtured and fed among the lillies, all ſorts of ſpirituall and temporall graces abundantly ſhowred vpon their Crownes, and vpon their people: On the contrary, when they made any rent or ſeparation from the moſt holy See; then the lillies were pricked and almoſt choaked with ſharpe thornes; they beganne to droope, to ſtoope, and to beare their beautifull heads downe to the very ground, vnder the ſtrong flawes and guſts of boyſtrous windes and tempeſts.

My anſwere to this flouriſhing cloſe and vpſhot, ſhall be no leſſe apert then apt. It ſauours not of good and faithfull ſeruice, to ſmooth and ſtroake the Kings head with a ſoft hand of oyled ſpeech, and in the meane time to take away the Crowne from his head, and to defile it with dirt. But let vs

try the cauſe by euidence of Hiſtorie, yea by the voice and verdict of experience; to ſee whether the glorious beauty of the French lillies hath beene at any time blaſted, and thereupon hath faded, by ſtarting aſide, and making ſeparation from the holy See. Vnder the raigne of King *Philip* the Faire, France was bleſſed with peace and proſperity, notwithſtanding ſome outragious acts done againſt the Papall See, and contumelious crying quittance by King *Philip* with the Pope. *Lewis* 12. in ranged battell defeated the armies of Pope *Iulius* 2. and his Confederates: proclaimed the ſaid Pope to be fallen from the Popedome: ſtamped certaine coynes and pieces of gold with a diſhonourable mot, euen to Rome it ſelfe, *Rome is Babylon*: yet ſo much was *Lewis* loued and honoured of his people, that by a peculiar title he was called, *the Father of the Country*. Greater bleſſings of God, greater outward peace and plenty, greater inward peace with ſpirituall and celeſtiall treaſures, were neuer heaped vpon my Great Brittaine, then haue beene ſince my Great Brittaine became Great in the greateſt and chiefeſt reſpect of all; to wit, ſince my Great Brittaine hath ſhaken off the Popes yoke; ſince ſhe hath refuſed to receiue and to entertaine the Popes Legats, employed to collect S. *Peters* tribute or *Peter-pence*; ſince the Kings of England, my Great Brittaine, haue not beene the Popes vaſſals to doe him homage for their Crowne, and haue no more felt the laſhings, the ſcourgings of baſe and beggarly Monkes. Of Holland, Zeland, and Friſeland, what neede I ſpeake? yet a word and no more. Were they not a kinde of naked and bare people, of ſmall value, before God lighted the torch of the Goſpel, and aduanced it in thoſe Nations? were they not an ill fedde and ſcragged people, in compariſon of the ineſtimable wealth and proſperity (both in all military actions and mechanicall trades, in trafficke as merchants, in marting as men of warre, in long nauigation for diſcouerie) to which they are now rayſed and mounted by the mercifull bleſſing of God, ſince the darknes of Poperie hath beene ſcattered, and the bright Sunne of the Goſpel hath ſhined in thoſe Countryes? Behold the Venetian Republique: Hath ſhee now leſſe beautie, leſſe glory, leſſe peace and proſperitie, ſince ſhe lately fell to bicker and contend with the Pope? ſince ſhe hath wrung out of the Popes hand, the one of his two ſwords? ſince ſhe hath plumed and ſhaked his Temporall dominion? On the contrarie; after the French Kings had honoured the Popes, with munificent graunts and gifts of all the cities and territories, lands and poſſeſſions, which they now hold in Italy, and the auncient Earledome of *Auignon* in France for an ouer-plus; were they not rudely recompenced, and homely handled by their moſt ingratefull fee-farmers and copy-holders? Haue not Popes forged a donation of *Conſtantine*, of purpoſe to blot out all memory of *Pepins* and *Charlemaignes* donation? Haue they not vexed and troubled the State? haue they not whetted the ſonnes of *Lewis* the Courteous againſt their owne Father, whoſe life was a patterne and example of innocencie? Haue they not by their infinite exactions, robbed and ſcoured

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the Kingdome of all their treaſure? Were not the Kings of France, driuen to ſtoppe their violent courſes by the pragmaticall ſanction? Did they not ſundry times interdict the Kingdome, degrade the Kings, ſolicite the neighbour-Princes to inuade and lay hold on the Kingdome, and ſtirre vp the people againſt the King, whereby a gate was opened to a world of troubles and parricides? Did not *Rauaillac* render this reaſon for his monſtrous and horrible attempt, That King *Henry* had a deſigne to warre with God, becauſe he had a deſigne to take armes againſt his Holineſſe, who is God? This makes me to wonder, what mooued the L. Cardinall to marſhall the laſt ciuill warres and motions in *France*, in the ranke of examples of vnhappy ſeparation from the Pope, when the Pope himſelfe was the trumpetor of the ſame troubleſome motions. If the Pope had bene wronged and offended by the French King, or his people, and the Kingdome of *France* had been ſcourged with peſtilence, or famine, or ſome other calamitie by forraine enemies; it might haue beene taken in probabilitie, as a vengeance of God for ſome iniurie done vnto his Vicar: But his Holineſſe being the roote, the ground, the maſter-workeman and artificer of all theſe miſchiefes; how can it be ſaid, that God puniſheth any iniurie done to the Pope? but rather that his Holineſſe doth reuenge his owne quarrell; and which is worſt of all, when his Holineſſe hath no iuſt cauſe of quarrell or offence. Now then; to exhort a Nation (as the L. Cardinall hath done) by the remembrance of former calamities, to curry fauour with the Pope, and to hold a ſtrict vnion with his Holineſſe, is no exhortation to beare the Pope any reſpect of loue, or of reuerence, but rather a rubbing of memory, and a calling to minde of thoſe grieuous calamities, whereof the Pope hath been the only occaſion. It is alſo a threatning and obtruding of the Popes terrible thunder-bolts, which neuer ſcorched nor parched any skinne, (except crauens and meticulous bodies) and haue brought many great ſhowres of bleſſings vpon my Kingdome.

As for *France*, if ſhe hath enioyed proſperity in the times of her good agreement with Popes, it is becauſe the Pope ſeekes the amity of Princes that are in proſperitie, haue the meanes to curbe his pretenſions, and to put him to ſome plunge. Kings are not in proſperity, becauſe the Pope holds amitie with Kings; but his Holineſſe vſeth all deuiſes, & ſeeketh all meanes to haue amitie with Kings, becauſe he ſees them flouriſh & ſayle with proſperous winds. The ſwallow is no cauſe, but a companion of the ſpring: the Pope is no worker of a Kingdoms felicity, but a wooer of kings when they ſit in felicities lap · he is no founder, but a follower of their good fortunes. On the other ſide: let a Kingdome fall into ſome grieuous diſaſter or calamitie, let ciuill warres boile in the bowels of the Kingdom; ciuil wars no leſſe dangerous to the State, then fearefull and grieuous to the people; who riſeth ſooner then the Pope, who ruſheth ſooner into the troubled ſtreames then the Pope, who thruſteth himſelfe ſooner into the heate of the quarrell then the Pope, who runneth ſooner to raiſe his gaine by the publike wrack then the

Pope, and all vnder colour of a heart wounded and bleeding for the ſaluation of ſoules? If the lawfull King happen to be foyled, to be oppreſſed, and thereupon the State by his fall to get a new maſter by the Popes practiſe; then the ſaid new maſter muſt hold the Kingdome as of the Popes free gift, and rule or guide the ſterne of the State at his becke, and by his inſtruction. If the firſt and right Lord, in deſpite of all the Popes fulminations and fireworkes, ſhall get the honourable day, and vpper hand of his enemies; then the holy Father with a cheerfull and pleaſant grace, yea with fatherly gratulation, opens the rich cabinet of his iewells, I meane the treaſurie of his indulgences, and falls now to dandle and cocker the King in his fatherly lap, whoſe throat if he could, he would haue cut not long before.

This peſtilent miſchiefe hath now a long time taken roote, and is growne to a great head in the Chriſtian world, through the ſecret, but iuſt iudgement of God; by whom Chriſtian Kings haue beene ſmitten with a ſpirit of dizzineſſe: Chriſtian Kings, who for many aages paſt haue liued in ignorance, without any ſound inſtruction, without any trew ſenſe and right feeling of their owne right and power, whileſt vnder a ſhadow of Religion and falſe cloake of pietie, their Kingdomes haue beene ouer-burdened, yea ouer-borne with tributes, and their Crownes made to ſtoope euen to miſerable bondage. That God in whoſe hand the hearts of Kings are poiſed, and at his pleaſure turned as the water-courſes; that mighty God alone, in his good time, is able to rouze them out of ſo deepe a ſlumber, and to take order (their drowzy fits once ouer and ſhaken off with heroicall ſpirits) that Popes hereafter ſhall play no more vpon their patience, nor preſume to put bits and ſnaffles in their noble mouthes, to the binding vp of their power with weake ſcruples, like mighty buls lead about by litle children with a ſmall twiſted thred. To that God, that King of Kings I deuote my ſcepter; at his feet in all humblenes I lay downe my Crowne; to his holy decrees and commaunds I will euer be a faithfull ſeruant, and in his battels a faithfull champion. To conclude; in this iuſt cauſe and quarrell, I dare ſend the challenge, and will require no ſecond, to maintaine as a defendant of honour, that my brother-Princes and my ſelfe, whom God hath aduanced vpon the Throne of Soueraigne Maieſtie and ſupreame dignity, doe hold the Royall dignitie of his Maieſtie alone; to whoſe ſeruice, as a moſt humble homager and vaſſall, I conſecrate all the glory, honour, ſplendor, and luſtre of my earthly Kingdomes.

A SPEACH,

A SPEACH, AS IT WAS DELIVERED IN THE VPPER HOVSE OF THE PARLIAMENT TO THE LORDS SPIRITVALL AND Temporall, and to the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses there assembled,

ON MVNDAY THE XIX. DAY OF MARCH 1603. BEING THE FIRST DAY OF THE first Parliament.

IT did no sooner please God to lighten his hand, and relent the violence of his deuouring Angel against the poore people of this Citie, but as soone did I resolue to call this Parliament, and that for three chiefe and principall reasons: The first whereof is, (and which of it selfe, although there were no more, is not onely a sufficient, but a most full and necessary ground and reason for conuening of this Assembly) This first reason I say is, That you who are here presently assembled to represent the Body of this whole Kingdome, and of all sorts of people within the same, may with your owne eares heare, and that I out of mine owne mouth may deliuer vnto you the assurance of my due thankefulnes for your so ioyfull and generall applause to the declaring and receiuing of mee in this Seate (which GOD by my Birthright and lineall descent had in the fulnesse of time prouided for me) and that, immediatly after it pleased God to call your late Soueraigne of famous memory, full of dayes, but fuller of immortall trophes of Honour, out of this transitorie life. Not that I am able to ex-

preſſe by wordes, or vtter by eloquence the viue Image of mine inward thankfulnes, but onely that out of mine owne mouth you may reſt aſſured to expect that meaſure of thankefulnes at my hands, which is according to the infinitenes of your deſerts, and to my inclination and abilitie for requitall of the ſame. Shall I euer? nay, can I euer be able, or rather ſo vnable in memorie, as to forget your vnexpected readineſſe and alacritie, your euer memorable reſolution, and your moſt wonderfull coniunction and harmonie of your hearts in declaring and embracing mee as your vndoubted and lawfull King and Gouernour? Or ſhall it euer bee blotted out of my minde, how at my firſt entrie into this Kingdome, the people of all ſorts rid and ran, nay rather flew to meet mee? their eyes flaming nothing but ſparkles of affection, their mouthes and tongues vttering nothing but ſounds of ioy, their hands, feete, and all the reſt of their members in their geſtures diſcouering a paſſionate longing, and earneſtneſſe to meete and embrace their new Soueraigne. *Quid ergo retribuam?* Shall I allow in my ſelfe, that which I could neuer beare with in another? No I muſt plainely and freely confeſſe here in all your audiences, that I did euer naturally ſo farre miſlike a tongue to ſmoothe, and diligent in paying their creditors with lip payment and verball thankes, as I euer ſuſpected that ſort of people meant not to pay their debtors in more ſubſtantiall ſort of coyne. And therefore for expreſſing of my thankefulneſſe, I muſt reſort vnto the other two reaſons of my conuening of this Parliament, by them in action to vtter my thankefulneſſe: Both the ſaid reaſons hauing but one ground, which is the deedes, whereby all the dayes of my life, I am by Gods grace to expreſſe my ſaid thankfulneſſe towards you, but diuided in this, That in the firſt of theſe two, mine actions of thankes, are ſo inſeparably conioyned with my Perſon, as they are in a maner become indiuidually annexed to the ſame: In the other reaſon, mine actions are ſuch, as I may either doe them, or leaue them vndone, although by Gods grace I hope neuer to be weary of the doing of them.

As to the firſt: It is the bleſſings which God hath in my Perſon beſtowed vpon you all, wherein I proteſt, I doe more glorie at the ſame for your weale, then for any particular reſpect of mine owne reputation, or aduantage therein.

I THe firſt then of theſe bleſſings, which God hath ioyntly with my Perſon ſent vnto you, is outward Peace: that is, peace abroad with all forreine neighbours: for I thanke God I may iuſtly ſay, that neuer ſince I was a King, I either receiued wrong of any other Chriſtian Prince or State, or did wrong to any: I haue euer, I praiſe God, yet kept Peace and amitie with all, which hath bene ſo farre tyed to my perſon, as at my comming here you are witneſſes I found the State embarqued in a great and tedious warre, and onely by mine arriuall here, and by the Peace in my Perſon, is now amitie kept, where warre was before, which is no ſmal bleſſing

blessing to a Christian Common-wealth: for by Peace abroad with their neighbours the Townes flourish, the Merchants become rich, the Trade doeth encrease, and the people of all sorts of the Land enioy free libertie to exercise themselues in their seuerall vocations, without perill or disturbance. Not that I thinke this outward Peace so vnseparably tyed to my Person, as I dare assuredly promise to my selfe and to you, the certaine continuance thereof: but thus farre I can very well assure you, and in the word of a King promise vnto you, That I shall neuer giue the first occasion of the breach thereof, neither shall I euer be moued for any particular or priuate passion of mind to interrupt your publique Peace, except I be forced thereunto, either for reparation of the honour of the Kingdom, or else by necessitie for the weale and preseruation of the same: In which case, a secure and honourable warre must be preferred to an vnsecure and dishonourable Peace: yet doe I hope by my experience of the by-past blessings of Peace, which God hath so long euer since my Birth bestowed vpon mee, that hee wil not be weary to continue the same, nor repent him of his grace towards me, transferring that sentence of King *Dauids* vpon his by-past victories of warre, to mine of Peace, That, *that God who preserued me from the deuouring iawes of the Beare and of the Lion, and deliuered them into my hands, shall also now grant me victory ouer that vncircumcised Philistine.*

BVt although outward Peace be a great blessing; yet is it as farre inferiour to peace within, as Ciuill warres are more cruell and vnnaturall then warres abroad. And therefore the second great blessing that GOD hath with my Person sent vnto you, is Peace within, and that in a double forme. First, by my descent lineally out of the loynes of *Henry* the seuenth, is reunited and confirmed in mee the Vnion of the two Princely Roses of the two Houses of LANCASTER and YORKE, whereof that King of happy memorie was the first Vniter, as he was also the first ground-layer of the other Peace. The lamentable and miserable euents by the Ciuill and bloody dissention betwixt these two Houses was so great and so late, as it need not be renewed vnto your memories: which, as it was first setled and vnited in him, so is it now reunited and confirmed in me, being iustly and lineally descended, not onely of that happie coniunction, but of both the Branches thereof many times before. But the Vnion of these two princely Houses, is nothing comparable to the Vnion of two ancient and famous Kingdomes, which is the other inward Peace annexed to my Person.

And here I must craue your patiences for a little space, to giue me leaue to discourse more particularly of the benefits that doe arise of that Vnion which is made in my blood, being a matter that most properly belongeth to me to speake of, as the head wherein that great Body is vnited. And first, if we were to looke no higher then to naturall and Physicall reasons, we may easily be perswaded of the great benefits that by that Vnion do redound

dound to the whole Iſland: for if twentie thouſand men be a ſtrong Armie, is not the double thereof, fourtie thouſand, a double the ſtronger Armie? If a Baron enricheth himſelfe with double as many lands as hee had before, is he not double the greater? Nature teacheth vs, that Mountaines are made of Motes, and that at the firſt, Kingdomes being diuided, and euery particular Towne or little Countie, as Tyrants or Vſurpers could obtaine the poſſeſſion, a Segniorie apart, many of theſe little Kingdomes are now in proceſſe of time, by the ordinance of God, ioyned into great Monarchies, whereby they are become powerfull within themſelues to defend themſelues from all outward inuaſions, and their head and gouernour thereby enabled to redeeme them from forreine aſſaults, and puniſh priuate tranſgreſſions within. Do we not yet remember, that this Kingdome was diuided into ſeuen little Kingdomes, beſides Wales? And is it not now the ſtronger by their vnion? And hath not the vnion of Wales to England added a greater ſtrength thereto? Which though it was a great Principalitie, was nothing comparable in greatneſſe and power to the ancient and famous Kingdome of Scotland. But what ſhould we ſticke vpon any naturall appearance, when it is manifeſt that God by his Almightie prouidence hath preordained it ſo to be? Hath not God firſt vnited theſe two Kingdomes both in Language, Religion, and ſimilitude of maners? Yea, hath hee not made vs all in one Iſland, compaſſed with one Sea, and of it ſelfe by nature ſo indiuiſible, as almoſt thoſe that were borderers themſelues on the late Borders, cannot diſtinguiſh, nor know, or diſcerne their owne limits? Theſe two Countries being ſeparated neither by Sea, nor great Riuer, Mountaine, nor other ſtrength of nature, but onely by little ſmall brookes, or demoliſhed little walles, ſo as rather they were diuided in apprehenſion, then in effect; And now in the end and fulneſſe of time vnited, the right and title of both in my Perſon, alike lineally deſcended of both the Crownes, whereby it is now become like a little World within it ſelfe, being intrenched and fortified round about with a naturall, and yet admirable ſtrong pond or ditch, whereby all the former feares of this Nation are now quite cut off: The other part of the Iſland being euer before now not onely the place of landing to all ſtrangers, that was to make inuaſion here, but likewiſe moued by the enemies of this State by vntimely incurſions, to make inforced diuerſion from their Conqueſts, for defending themſelues at home, and keeping ſure their backe-doore, as then it was called, which was the greateſt hinderance and let that euer my Predeceſſors of this Nation gat in diſturbing them from their many famous and glorious conqueſts abroad: What God hath conioyned then, let no man ſeparate. I am the Husband, and all the whole Iſle is my lawfull Wife; I am the Head, and it is my Body; I am the Shepherd, and it is my flocke: I hope therefore no man will be ſo vnreaſonable as to thinke that I that am a Chriſtian King vnder the Goſpel, ſhould be a Polygamiſt and husband to two wiues; that I being the Head, ſhould haue a diuided and monſtrous

Body;

Body; or that being the Shepheard to ſo faire a Flocke (whoſe fold hath no wall to hedge it but the foure Seas) ſhould haue my Flocke parted in two. But as I am aſſured, that no honeſt Subiect of whatſoeuer degree within my whole dominions, is leſſe glad of this ioyfull Vnion then I am; So may the friuolous obiection of any that would bee hinderers of this worke, which God hath in my Perſon already eſtabliſhed, bee eaſily anſwered, which can be none, except ſuch as are either blinded with Ignorance, or els tranſported with Malice, being vnable to liue in a well gouerned Commonwealth, and onely delighting to fiſh in troubled waters. For if they would ſtand vpon their reputation and priuiledges of any of the Kingdomes, I pray you was not both the Kingdomes Monarchies from the beginning, and conſequently could euer the Body bee counted without the Head, which was euer vnſeparably ioyned thereunto? So that as Honour and Priuiledges of any of the Kingdomes could not be diuided from their Soueraigne; So are they now confounded & ioyned in my Perſon, who am equall and alike kindly Head to you both. When this Kingdome of *England* was diuided into ſo many little Kingdoms as I told you before; one of them behooued to eate vp another, till they were all vnited in one. And yet can *Wiltſhire* or *Deuonſhire*, which were of the *Weſt Saxons*, although their Kingdome was of longeſt durance, and did by Conqueſt ouercome diuers of the reſt of the little Kingdomes, make claime to Prioritie of Place or Honour before *Suſſex*, *Eſſex*, or other Shires which were conquered by them? And haue we not the like experience in the Kingdome of *France*, being compoſed of diuers Dutchies, and one after another conquered by the ſword? For euen as little brookes loſe their names by their running and fall into great Riuers, and the very name and memorie of the great Riuers ſwallowed vp in the Ocean: ſo by the coniunction of diuers little Kingdomes in one, are all theſe priuate differences and queſtions ſwallowed vp. And ſince the ſucceſſe was happie of the *Saxons* Kingdomes being conquered by the ſpeare of *Bellona*; How much greater reaſon haue wee to expect a happie iſſue of this greater Vnion, which is only faſtened and bound vp by the wedding Ring of *Aſtrea*? And as God hath made *Scotland* the one halfe of this Iſle to enioy my Birth, and the firſt and moſt vnperfect halfe of my life, and you heere to enioy the perfect and the laſt halfe thereof; ſo can I not thinke that any would be ſo iniurious to me, no not in their thoughts and wiſhes, as to cut aſunder the one halfe of me from the other. But in this matter I haue farre enough inſiſted, reſting aſſured that in your hearts and mindes you all applaud this my diſcourſe.

Mars.

Loue and Peace.

NOw although theſe bleſſings before rehearſed of Inward and Outward peace, be great: yet ſeeing that in all good things, a great part of their goodneſſe and eſtimation is loſt, if they haue not apparance of perpetuity or long continuance; ſo hath it pleaſed Almighty God to accompany my perſon alſo with that fauour, hauing healthful and hope-

3

full

full Issue of my body, whereof some are here present, for continuance and propagation of that vndoubted right which is in my Person; vnder whom I doubt not but it will please God to prosper and continue for many yeeres this Vnion, and all other blessings of Inward and outward Peace, which I haue brought with me.

4 BVt neither Peace outward, nor Peace inward, nor any other blessings that can follow thereupon, nor appearance of the perpetuitie thereof, by propagation in the posteritie, is but a weake pillar and a rotten reed to leane vnto, if God doe not strengthen and by the staffe of his blessing make them durable: For in vaine doeth the Watchman watch the Citie, if the Lord be not the principall defence thereof: In vaine doeth the builder build the house, if God giue not the successe: And in vaine (as *Paul* saith) doeth *Paul* plant and *Apollo* water, if God giue not the increase: For all worldly blessings are but like swift passing shadowes, fading flowers, or chaffe blowen before the wind, if by the profession of trew Religion, and works according thereunto, God be not moued to maintaine and settle the Thrones of Princes. And although that since mine entry into this Kingdome, I haue both by meeting with diuers of the Ecclesiastical Estate, and likewise by diuers Proclamations clearely declared my minde in points of Religion, yet doe I not thinke it amisse in this so solemne an Audience, I should now take occasion to discouer somewhat of the secrets of my heart in that matter: For I shall neuer (with Gods grace) bee ashamed to make publike profession thereof at all occasions, lest God should bee ashamed to professe and allow mee before men and Angels, especially lest that at this time men might presume further vpon the misknowledge of my meaning to trouble this Parliament of ours then were conuenient. At my first comming, although I found but one Religion, and that which by my selfe is professed, publikely allowed, and by the Law maintained: Yet found I another sort of Religion, besides a priuate Sect, lurking within the bowels of this Nation. The first is the trew Religion, which by me is professed, and by the Law is established: The second is the falsly called Catholikes, but trewly Papists: The third, which I call a sect rather then Religion, is the *Puritanes* and *Nouelists*, who doe not so farre differ from vs in points of Religion, as in their confused forme of Policie and Paritie, being euer discontented with the present gouernment, & impatient to suffer any superiority, which maketh their sect vnable to be suffred in any wel gouerned Cõmon wealth. But as for my course toward them, I remit it to my Proclamations made vpon that Subiect. And now for the Papists, I must put a difference betwixt mine owne priuate profession of mine owne saluation, and my politike gouernment of the Realme for the weale and quietnes thereof. As for mine owne profession, you haue me your Head now amongst you of the same Religion that the body is of. As I am no stranger to you in blood, no more am I a stranger to you in Faith, or in the matters concerning the house

of

of God. And although this my profeſſion be according to mine education, wherein (I thanke God) I ſucked the milke of Gods trewth, with the milke of my Nurſe: yet do I here proteſt vnto you, that I would neuer for ſuch a conceit of conſtancy or other preiudicate opinion, haue ſo firmly kept my firſt profeſſion, if I had not found it agreeable to all reaſon, and to the rule of my Conſcience. But I was neuer violent nor vnreaſonable in my profeſſion: I acknowledge the Romane Church to be our Mother Church, although defiled with ſome infirmities and corruptions, as the Iewes were when they crucified Chriſt: And as I am none enemie to the life of a ſicke man, becauſe I would haue his bodie purged of ill humours; no more am I enemie to their Church, becauſe I would haue them reforme their errors, not wiſhing the downethrowing of the Temple, but that it might be purged and cleanſed from corruption: otherwiſe how can they wiſh vs to enter, if their houſe be not firſt made cleane? But as I would be loather to diſpenſe in the leaſt point of mine owne Conſcience for any worldly reſpect, then the fooliſheſt Preciſian of them all; ſo would I bee as ſory to ſtraight the politique Gouernement of the bodies and mindes of all my Subiectes to my priuate opinions: Nay, my minde was euer ſo free from perſecution, or thralling of my Subiects in matters of Conſcience, as I hope that thoſe of that profeſſion within this Kingdome haue a proofe ſince my comming, that I was ſo farre from encreaſing their burdens with *Rehoboam*, as I haue ſo much as either time, occaſion, or law could permit, lightened them. And euen now at this time haue I bene carefull to reuiſe and conſider deepely vpon the Lawes made againſt them, that ſome ouerture may be proponed to the preſent Parliament for clearing theſe Lawes by reaſon (which is the ſoule of the Law) in caſe they haue bene in times paſt further, or more rigorouſly extended by Iudges, then the meaning of the Law was, or might tend to the hurt aſwell of the innocent as of guiltie perſons. And as to the perſons of my Subiects which are of that profeſſion, I muſt diuide them into two rankes, Clerickes and Layickes; for the part of the Layicks, certainely I euer thought them farre more excuſable then the other ſort, becauſe that ſort of Religion containeth ſuch an ignorant, doubtfull, and implicit kinde of faith in the Layickes grounded vpon their Church, as except they doe generally beleeue whatſoeuer their Teachers pleaſe to affirme, they cannot be thought guilty of theſe particular points of hereſies and corruptions, which their Teachers doe ſo wilfully profeſſe. And againe I muſt ſubdiuide the ſame Layickes into two rankes, that is, either quiet and well minded men, peaceable Subiects, who either being old, haue retayned their firſt drunken in liquor vpon a certaine ſhamefaſtneſſe to be thought curious or changeable: Or being young men, through euill education haue neuer bene nurſed or brought vp, but vpon ſuch venim in place of wholeſome nutriment. And that ſort of people I would be ſorry to puniſh their bodies for the errour of their minds, the reformation whereof muſt onely come of God and the trew Spirit. But the other ranke of Layicks, who either through Curioſitie,

affectation

affectation of Noueltie, or diſcontentment in their priuat humours, haue changed their coates, onely to be factious ſtirrers of Sedition, and Perturbers of the common wealth, their backwardneſſe in their Religion giueth a ground to me the Magiſtrate, to take the better heed to their proceeding, and to correct their obſtinacie. But for the part of the Clerickes, I muſt directly ſay and affirme, that as long as they maintaine one ſpeciall point of their doctrine, and another point of their practiſe, they are no way ſufferable to remaine in this Kingdome. Their point of doctrine is that arrogant and ambitious Supremacie of their Head the Pope, whereby he not onely claimes to bee Spirituall head of all Chriſtians, but alſo to haue an Imperiall ciuill power ouer all Kings and Emperors, dethroning and decrowning Princes with his foot as pleaſeth him, and diſpenſing and diſpoſing of all Kingdomes and Empires at his appetite. The other point which they obſerue in continuall practiſe, is the aſſaſſinates and murthers of Kings, thinking it no ſinne, but rather a matter of ſaluation, to doe all actions of rebellion and hoſtilitie againſt their naturall Soueraigne Lord, if he be once curſed, his ſubiects diſcharged of their fidelitie, and his Kingdome giuen a prey by that three crowned Monarch, or rather Monſter their Head. And in this point, I haue no occaſion to ſpeake further here, ſauing that I could wiſh from my heart, that it would pleaſe God to make me one of the members of ſuch a generall Chriſtian vnion in Religion, as laying wilfulneſſe aſide on both hands, wee might meete in the middeſt, which is the Center and perfection of all things. For if they would leaue, and be aſhamed of ſuch new and groſſe Corruptions of theirs, as themſelues cannot maintaine, nor denie to bee worthy of reformation, I would for mine owne part be content to meete them in the mid-way, ſo that all nouelties might be renounced on either ſide. For as my faith is the Trew, Ancient, Catholike and Apoſtolike faith, grounded vpon the Scriptures and expreſſe word of God: ſo will I euer yeeld all reuerence to antiquitie in the points of Eccleſiaſticall pollicy; and by that meanes ſhall I euer with Gods grace keepe my ſelfe from either being an hereticke in Faith, or ſchiſmatick in matters of Pollicie. But of one thing would I haue the Papiſts of this Land to bee admoniſhed, That they preſume not ſo much vpon my Lenitie (becauſe I would be loath to be thought a Perſecuter) as thereupon to thinke it lawfull for them dayly to encreaſe their number and ſtrength in this Kingdome, whereby if not in my time, at leaſt in the time of my poſteritie, they might be in hope to erect their Religion againe. No, let them aſſure themſelues, that as I am a friend to their perſons if they be good ſubiects: ſo am I a vowed enemie, and doe denounce mortall warre to their errors: And that as I would be ſory to bee driuen by their ill behauiour from the protection and conſeruation of their bodies and liues; So will I neuer ceaſe as farre as I can, to tread downe their errors and wrong opinions. For I could not permit the encreaſe and growing of their Religion, without firſt betraying of my ſelfe, and mine owne conſcience:

science: Secondly, this whole Isle, aswell the part I am come from, as the part I remaine in, in betraying their Liberties, and reducing them to the former slauish yoke, which both had casten off, before I came amongst them: And thirdly, the libertie of the Crowne in my posteritie, which I should leaue againe vnder a new slauery, hauing found it left free to me by my Predecessors. And therefore would I wish all good Subiects that are deceiued with that corruption, first if they find any beginning of instinction in themselues of knowledge and loue to the Trewth, to foster the same by all lawfull meanes, and to beware of quenching the spirit that worketh within them; And if they can find as yet no motion tending that way, to be studious to reade and conferre with learned men, and to vse all such meanes as may further their Resolution, assuring themselues, that as long as they are disconformable in Religion from vs, they cannot bee but halfe my Subiects, bee able to doe but halfe seruice, and I to want the best halfe of them, which is their soules. And here haue I occasion to speake to you my Lords the Bishops: For as you, my Lord of Durham, said very learnedly to day in your Sermon, Correction without instruction, is but a Tyrannie: So ought you, and all the Clergie vnder you, to be more carefull, vigilant, and diligent then you haue bene, to winne Soules to God, aswell by your exemplary life, as doctrine. And since you see how carefull they are, sparing neither labour, paines, nor extreme perill of their persons to diuert, (the Deuill is so busie a Bishop) yee should bee the more carefull and wakefull in your charges. Follow the rule prescribed you by S. *Paul, Bee carefull to exhort and to instruct in season, and out of season*: and where you haue beene any way sluggish before, now waken your selues vp againe with a new diligence in this point, remitting the successe to God, who calling them either at the second, third, tenth or twelfth houre, as they are alike welcome to him, so shall they bee to mee his Lieutenant here.

The third reason of assembling the Parliament.

The third reason of my conuening of you at this time, which conteineth such actions of my thankefulnesse toward you, as I may either doe, or leaue vndone, yet shall with Gods grace euer presse to performe all the dayes of my life: It consists in these two points; In making of Lawes at certaine times, which is onely at such times as this in Parliament; or in the carefull execution thereof at all other times. As for the making of them, I will thus farre faithfully promise vnto you, That I will euer preferre the weale of the body, and of the whole Common-wealth, in making of good Lawes and constitutions, to any particular or priuate ends of mine, thinking euer the wealth and weale of the Common-wealth to bee my greatest weale and worldly felicitie: A point wherein a lawfull King doeth directly differ from a Tyrant. But at this time I am onely thus farre to forewarne you in that point, That you beware to seeke the making of too many Lawes, for two especiall reasons: First, because *Incorruptissima*

tissima Republica plurimæ leges; and the execution of good Lawes is farre more profitable in a Common-wealth, then to burden mens memories with the making of too many of them. And next, becauſe the making of too many Lawes in one Parliament, will bring in confuſion, for lacke of leiſure wiſely to deliberate before you conclude: For the Biſhop ſaid well to day, That to Deliberation would a large time be giuen, but to Execution a greater promptneſſe was required. As for the execution of good Lawes, it hath bene very wiſely and honourably foreſeene and ordered by my predeceſſours in this Kingdome, in planting ſuch a number of Iudges, and all ſorts of Magiſtrates in conuenient places for the execution of the ſame: And therefore muſt I now turne mee to you that are Iudges and Magiſtrates vnder mee, as mine Eyes and Eares in this caſe. I can ſay none otherwiſe to you, then as *Ezekias* the good King of *Iuda* ſaid to their Iudges, *Remember that the Thrones that you ſit on are Gods, and neither yours nor mine*: And that as you muſt be anſwerable to mee, ſo muſt both you and I be anſwerable to GOD, for the due execution of our Offices. That place is no place for you to vtter your affections in, you muſt not there hate your foe nor loue your friend, feare the offence of the greater partie, or pity the miſerie of the meaner; yee muſt be blinde and not ſee diſtinctions of perſons, handleſſe, not to receiue bribes; but keepe that iuſt temper and mid-courſe in all your proceedings, that like a iuſt ballance ye may neither ſway to the right nor left hand. Three principall qualities are required in you; Knowledge, Courage, and Sincerity: that you may diſcerne with knowledge, execute with courage, and doe both in vpright ſincerity. And as for my part, I doe vow and proteſt here in the preſence of God, and of this honourable Audience, I neuer ſhall be wearie, nor omit no occaſion, wherein I may ſhew my carefulneſſe of the execution of good Lawes. And as I wiſh you that are Iudges not to be weary in your Office in doing of it; ſo ſhall I neuer be wearie, with Gods grace, to take account of you, which is properly my calling.

And thus hauing tolde you the three cauſes of my conuening of this Parliament, all three tending onely to vtter my thankefulneſſe, but in diuers formes, the firſt by word, the other two by action; I doe confeſſe that when I haue done and performed all that in this Speech I haue promiſed, *Inutilis ſeruus ſum*: Inutile, becauſe the meaning of the word *Inutilis* in that place of Scripture is vnderſtood, that in doing all that ſeruice which wee can to God, it is but our due, and wee doe nothing to God but that which wee are bound to doe. And in like maner, when I haue done all that I can for you, I doe nothing but that which I am bound to doe, and am accomptable to God vpon the contrary: For I doe acknowledge, that the ſpeciall and greateſt point of difference that is betwixt a rightfull King and an vſurping Tyrant is in this; That whereas the proude and ambitious Tyrant doeth thinke his Kingdome and people are

are onely ordeined for ſatisfaction of his deſires and vnreaſonable appetites; The righteous and iuſt King doeth by the contrary acknowledge himſelfe to bee ordeined for the procuring of the wealth and proſperitie of his people, and that his greateſt and principall worldly felicitie muſt conſiſt in their proſperitie. If you bee rich I cannot bee poore, if you bee happy I cannot but bee fortunate, and I proteſt that your welfare ſhall euer be my greateſt care and contentment: And that I am a Seruant it is moſt trew, that as I am Head and Gouernour of all the people in my Dominion who are my naturall vaſſals and Subiects, conſidering them in numbers and diſtinct Rankes; So if wee will take the whole People as one body and Maſſe, then as the Head is ordeined for the body and not the Body for the Head; ſo muſt a righteous King know himſelfe to bee ordeined for his people, and not his people for him: For although a King and people be *Relata*; yet can hee be no King if he want people and Subiects. But there be many people in the world that lacke a Head, wherefore I will neuer bee aſhamed to confeſſe it my principall Honour to bee the great Seruant of the Common-wealth, and euer thinke the proſperitie thereof to be my greateſt felicitie, as I haue already ſaid.

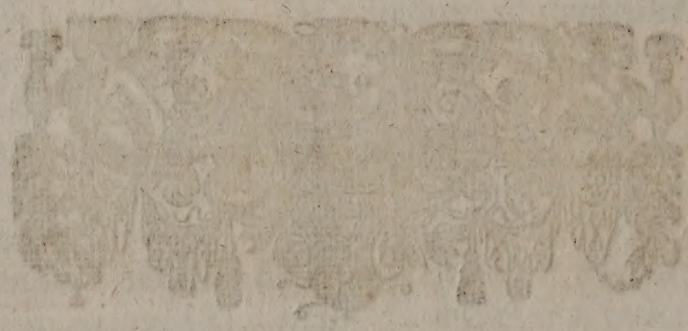
But as it was the whole Body of this Kingdome, with an vniforme aſſent and harmonie, as I tolde you in the beginning of my Speech, which did ſo farre oblige mee in good will and thankefulneſſe of requitall by their alacritie and readineſſe in declaring and receiuing mee to that place which God had prouided for mee, and not any particular perſons: (for then it had not bene the body) So is my thankefulneſſe due to the whole State. For euen as in matter of faults, *Quod à multis peccatur, impunè peccatur*: Euen ſo in the matter of vertuous and good deedes, what is done by the willing conſent and harmonie of the whole body, no particular perſon can iuſtly claime thankes as proper to him for the ſame. And therefore I muſt heere make a little Apologie for my ſelfe, in that I could not ſatiſfie the particular humours of euery perſon, that looked for ſome aduancement or reward at my hand ſince my entrie into this Kingdome. Three kinde of things were craued of mee: Aduancement to honour, Preferment to place of Credit about my Perſon, and Reward in matters of land or profit. If I had beſtowed Honour vpon all, no man could haue beene aduanced to Honour: for the degrees of Honour doe conſiſt in perferring ſome aboue their fellowes. If euery man had the like acceſſe to my Priuy or Bed-chamber, then no man could haue it, becauſe it cannot containe all. And if I had beſtowed Lands and Rewards vpon euery man, the fountaine of my liberalitie would be ſo exhauſted and dried, as I would lacke meanes to bee liberall to any man. And yet was I not ſo ſparing, but I may without vaunting affirme that I haue enlarged my fauour in all the three degrees, towards as many and more then euer King of *England* did in ſo ſhort a ſpace: No, I rather craue your pardon that I haue beene

ſo bountifull: for if the meanes of the Crowne bee waſted, I behoued then to haue recourſe to you my Subiects, and bee burdenſome to you, which I would bee lotheſt to bee of any King aliue. For as it is trew, that as I haue already ſaid, it was a whole Body which did deſerue ſo well at my hand, and not euery particular perſon of the people: yet were there ſome who by reaſon of their Office, credit with the people or otherwiſe, tooke occaſion both before, and at the time of my comming amongſt you, to giue proofe of their loue and affection towa ds me. Not that I am any way in doubt, that if other of my Subiects had beene in their places, and had had the like occaſion, but they would haue vttered the like good effects, (ſo generall and ſo great were the loue and affection of you all towards mee:) But yet this hauing beene performed by ſome ſpeciall perſons, I could not without vnthankfulneſſe but requite them accordingly. And therefore had I iuſt occaſion to aduance ſome in Honour, ſome to places of ſeruice about mee, and by rewarding to enable ſome who had deſerued well of mee, and were not otherwiſe able to maintaine the rankes I thought them capable of, and others who although they had not particularly deſerued before, yet I found them capable and worthy of place of preferment and credit, and not able to ſuſtaine thoſe places for which I thought them fit, without my helpe. Two eſpeciall cauſes moued mee to be ſo open handed: whereof the one was reaſonable and honourable; but the other I will not bee aſhamed to confeſſe vnto you, proceeded of mine owne infirmitie. That which was iuſt and honourable, was: That being ſo farre beholding to the body of the whole State, I thought I could not refuſe to let runne ſome ſmall brookes out of the fountaine of my thankefulneſſe to the whole, for refreſhing of particular perſons that were members of that multitude. The other which proceeded out of mine owne infirmitie, was the multitude and importunitie of Sutors. But although reaſon come by infuſion in a maner, yet experience groweth with time and labour: And therefore doe I not doubt, but experience in time comming will both teach the particular Subiects of this Kingdome, not to be ſo importune and vndiſcreete in crauing: And mee not to be ſo eaſily and lightly mooued, in granting that which may be harmefull to my Eſtate, and conſequently to the whole Kingdome.

And thus hauing at length declared vnto you my minde in all the points, for the which I called this Parliament: My concluſion ſhall onely now be to excuſe my ſelfe, in caſe you haue not found ſuch Eloquence in my Speech, as peraduenture you might haue looked for at my hands. I might, if I liſt, alledge the great weight of my Affaires and my continuall buſineſſe and diſtraction, that I could neuer haue leaſure to thinke vpon what I was to ſpeake, before I came to the place whe e I was to ſpeake: And I might alſo alledge that my firſt ſight of this ſo famous and Honourable an Aſſembly, might likewiſe breede ſome impediment. But leauing

leauing theſe excuſes, I will plainely and freely in my maner tell you the trew cauſe of it, which is; That it becommeth a King, in my opinion, to vſe no other Eloquence then plainneſſe and ſinceritie. By plaineneſſe I meane, that his Speeches ſhould be ſo cleare and voyd of all ambiguitie, that they may not be throwne, nor rent aſunder in contrary ſences like the old Oracles of the Pagan gods. And by ſinceritie, I vnderſtand that vprightneſſe and honeſtie which ought to be in a Kings whole Speeches and actions: That as farre as a King is in Honour erected aboue any of his Subiects, ſo farre ſhould he ſtriue in ſinceritie to be aboue them all, and that his tongue ſhould be euer the trew Meſſenger of his heart: and this ſort of Eloquence may you euer aſſuredly looke for at my hands.

(***)



A SPEACH IN THE PARLIAMENT HOVSE,

AS NEERE THE VERY WORDS As Covld Be Gathered at the instant.

MY Lords Spirituall and Temporall, and you the Knights and Burgesses of this Parliament, It was farre from my thoughts till very lately before my comming to this place, that this Subiect should haue bene ministred vnto mee, whereupon I am now to speake. But now it so falleth out, That whereas in the preceding Session of this Parliament, the principall occasion of my Speach was, to thanke and congratulate all you of this House, and in you, all the whole Common-wealth (as being the representatiue body of the State) for your so willing, and louing receiuing and embracing of mee in that place, which GOD and Nature by descent of blood, had in his owne time prouided for me: So now my Subiect is, to speake of a farre greater Thankesgiuing then before I gaue to you, being to a farre greater person, which is to GOD, for the great and miraculous Deliuery he hath at this time granted to me, and to you all, and consequently to the whole body of this Estate.

I must therefore begin with this old and most approued Sentence of Diuinitie, *Misericordia Dei supra omnia opera eius.* For Almightie God did not furnish so great matter to his glory by the Creation of this great World, as he did by the Redemption of the same. Neither did his generation of the little world in our old & first Adam, so much set forth the praises of God in his Iustice and Mercy, as did our Regeneration in the last & second Adam.

And

And now I muſt craue a little pardon of you, That ſince Kings are in the word of GOD it ſelfe called Gods, as being his Lieutenants and Vicegerents on earth, and ſo adorned and furniſhed with ſome ſparkles of the Diuinitie; to compare ſome of the workes of GOD the great KING, towards the whole and generall world, to ſome of his workes towards mee, and this little world of my Dominions, compaſſed and ſeuered by the Sea from the reſt of the earth. For as GOD for the iuſt puniſhment of the firſt great ſinnes in the originall world, when the ſonnes of GOD went in to the daughters of men, and the cup of their iniquities of all ſorts was filled, and heaped vp to the full, did by a generall deluge and ouerflowing of waters, baptize the world to a generall deſtruction, and not to a generall purgation (onely excepted NOAH and his family, who did repent and beleeue the threatnings of GODS iudgement:) So now when the world ſhall waxe old as a garment, and that all the impieties and ſinnes that can be deuiſed againſt both the firſt and ſecond Table, haue and ſhall bee committed to the full meaſure; GOD is to puniſh the world the ſecond time by fire, to the generall deſtruction and not purgation thereof. Although as was done in the former to NOAH and his family by the waters; So ſhall all we that beleeue be likewiſe purged, and not deſtroyed by the fire. In the like ſort, I ſay, I may iuſtly compare theſe two great and fearefull *Domeſ-dayes*, wherewith GOD threatned to deſtroy mee and all you of this little world that haue intereſt in me. For although I confeſſe, as all mankinde, ſo chiefly Kings, as being in the higher places like the high Trees, or ſtayeſt Mountaines, and ſteepeſt Rockes, are moſt ſubiect to the dayly tempeſts of innumerable dangers; and I amongſt all other Kings haue euer bene ſubiect vnto them, not onely euer ſince my birth, but euen as I may iuſtly ſay, before my birth: and while I was yet in my mothers belly: yet haue I bene expoſed to two more ſpeciall and greater dangers then all the reſt.

The firſt of them, in the Kingdome where I was borne, and paſſed the firſt part of my life: And the laſt of them here, which is the greateſt. In the former I ſhould haue bene baptized in blood, and in my deſtruction not onely the Kingdom wherein I then was, but ye alſo by your future intereſt, ſhould haue taſted of my ruine: Yet it pleaſed GOD to deliuer mee, as it were from the very brinke of death, from the point of the dagger, and ſo to purge me by my thankefull acknowledgement of ſo great a benefite. But in this, which did ſo lately fall out, and which was a deſtruction prepared not for me alone, but for you all that are here preſent, and wherein no ranke, aage, nor ſexe ſhould haue bene ſpared; This was not a crying ſinne of blood, as the former, but it may well bee called a roaring, nay a thundring ſinne of fire and brimſtone, from the which GOD hath ſo miraculouſly deliuered vs all. What I can ſpeake of this, I know not: Nay rather, what can I not ſpeake of it? And therefore I muſt for horror ſay with the Poet, *Vox faucibus hæret.*

In

In this great and horrible attempt, whereof the like was neuer either heard or read, I obſerue three wonderfull, or rather miraculous euents.

Three miraculous euents be to be obſerued in the Attempt.

FIrſt, in the crueltie of the Plot it ſelfe, wherein cannot be enough admired the horrible and fearefull crueltie of their deuice, which was not onely for the deſtruction of my Perſon, nor of my Wife and poſteritie onely, but of the whole body of the State in generall; wherein ſhould neither haue bene ſpared, or diſtinction made of yong nor of old, of great nor of ſmall, of man nor of woman: The whole Nobilitie, the whole reuerend Clergie, Biſhops, and moſt part of the good Preachers, the moſt part of the Knights and Gentrie; yea, and if that any in this Societie were fauourers of their profeſſion, they ſhould all haue gone one way: The whole Iudges of the land, with the moſt of the Lawyers, and the whole Clerkes: And as the wretch himſelfe which is in the Tower, doeth confeſſe, it was purpoſely deuiſed by them, and concluded to be done in this houſe; That where the cruell Lawes (as they ſay) were made againſt their Religion, both place and perſons ſhould all be deſtroyed and blowne vp at once. And then conſider therewithall the cruel fourme of that practiſe: for by three different ſorts in generall may mankinde be put to death.

1. The crueltie of the Plot.

Three wayes how mankind may come to death.

The firſt, by other men, and reaſonable creatures, which is leaſt cruell: for then both defence of men againſt men may be expected, and likewiſe who knoweth what pitie God may ſtirre vp in the hearts of the Actors at the very inſtant? beſides the many wayes and meanes, whereby men may eſcape in ſuch a preſent furie.

1. By Man.

And the ſecond way more cruell then that, is by *Animal* and vnreaſonable creatures: for as they haue leſſe pitie then men, ſo is it a greater horror and more vnnaturall for men to deale with them: But yet with them both reſiſtance may auaile, and alſo ſome pitie may be had, as was in the Lions, in whoſe denne *Daniel* was throwne; or that thankefull Lion, that had the Romane in his mercie.

2. By vnreaſonable creatures.

But the third, which is moſt cruel and vnmercifull of all, is the deſtruction by inſenſible and inanimate things, and amongſt them all, the moſt cruell are the two Elements of Water and Fire; and of thoſe two, the fire moſt raging and mercileſſe.

3. By inſenſible things.

SEcondly, how wonderfull it is when you ſhall thinke vpon the ſmall, or rather no ground, whereupon the practiſers were entiſed to inuent this Tragedie. For if theſe Conſpirators had onely bene bankrupt perſons, or diſcontented vpon occaſion of any diſgraces done vnto them; this might haue ſeemed to haue bene but a worke of reuenge. But for my owne part, as I ſcarcely euer knew any of them, ſo cannot they alledge ſo much as a pretended cauſe of griefe: And the wretch himſelfe in hands doeth confeſſe, That there was no cauſe moouing him or them,

2. The ſmall ground the Conſpirators had to moue them.

them, but meerely and only Religion. And ſpecially that chriſtian men, at leaſt ſo called, Engliſhmen, borne within the Countrey, and one of the ſpecials of them my ſworne Seruant in an Honourable place, ſhould practiſe the deſtruction of their King, his Poſterity, their Countrey and all: Wherein their following obſtinacie is ſo ioyned to their former malice, as the fellow himſelfe that is in hand, cannot be moued to diſcouer any ſignes or notes of repentance, except onely that he doeth not yet ſtand to auow, that he repents for not being able to performe his intent.

3 Miraculous euent, the diſcouerie.

THirdly, the diſcouery hereof is not a little wonderfull, which would bee thought the more miraculous by you all, if you were aſwell acquainted with my naturall diſpoſition, as thoſe are who be neere about me: For as I euer did hold Suſpition to be the ſicknes of a Tyrant, ſo was I ſo farre vpon the other extremity, as I rather contemned all aduertiſements, or apprehenſions of practiſes. And yet now at this time was I ſo farre contrary to my ſelfe, as when the Letter was ſhewed to me by my Secretary, wherein a generall obſcure aduertiſement was giuen of ſome dangerous blow at this time, I did vpon the inſtant interpret and apprehend ſome darke phraſes therein, contrary to the ordinary Grammer conſtruction of them, (and in an other ſort then I am ſure any Diuine, or Lawyer in any Vniuerſitie would haue taken them) to be meant by this horrible forme of blowing vs vp all by Powder; And thereupon ordered that ſearch to be made, whereby the matter was diſcouered, and the man apprehended: whereas if I had apprehended or interpreted it to any other ſort of danger, no worldly prouiſion or preuention could haue made vs eſcape our vtter deſtruction.

And in that alſo was there a wonderfull prouidence of God, that when the party himſelfe was taken, he was but new come out of his houſe from working, hauing his Fireworke for kindling ready in his pocket, wherewith as he confeſſeth, if he had bene taken but immediatly before when he was in the Houſe, he was reſolued to haue blowen vp himſelfe with his Takers.

One thing for mine owne part haue I cauſe to thanke GOD in, That if GOD for our ſinnes had ſuffered their wicked intents to haue preuailed, it ſhould neuer haue bene ſpoken nor written in aages ſucceeding, that I had died inglorioufly in an Ale-houſe, a Stews, or ſuch vile place, but mine end ſhould haue bene with the moſt Honourable and beſt company, and in that moſt Honourable and fitteſt place for a King to be in, for doing the turnes moſt proper to his Office. And the more haue We all cauſe to thanke and magnifie GOD for this his mercifull Deliuery; And ſpecially I for my part, that he hath giuen me yet once leaue, whatſoeuer ſhould come of me hereafter, to aſſemble you in this Honourable place; And here in this place, where our generall deſtruction ſhould haue bene, to magnifie and praiſe him for Our generall deliuery: That I may iuſtly now ſay of mine

Enemies

Enemies and yours, as *Dauid* doeth often say in the Psalme, *Inciderunt in foueam quam fecerunt.* And since *Scipio* an Ethnick, led onely by the light of Nature, That day when he was accused by the *Tribunes* of the people of *Rome* for mispending and wasting in his *Punick* warres the Cities Treasure, euen vpon the sudden brake out with that diuersion of them from that matter, calling them to remembrance how that day, was the day of the yeere, wherein God had giuen them so great a victory against *Hannibal*, and therefore it was fitter for them all, leauing other matters, to runne to the Temple to praise God for that so great deliuery, which the people did all follow with one applause: How much more cause haue we that are Christians to bestow this time in this place for Thankes-giuing to God for his great Mercy, though we had had no other errant of assembling here at this time? wherein if I haue spoken more like a Diuine then would seeme to belong to this place, the matter it selfe must plead for mine excuse: For being here commen to thanke God for a diuine worke of his Mercy, how can I speake of this deliuerance of vs from so hellish a practise, so well as in language of Diuinitie, which is the direct opposite to so damnable an intention? And therefore may I iustly end this purpose, as I did begin it with this Sentence, *The Mercie of God is aboue all his workes.*

It resteth now that I should shortly informe you what is to bee done hereafter vpon the occasion of this horrible and strange accident. As for your part that are my faithfull and louing Subiects of all degrees, I know that your hearts are so burnt vp with zeale in this errant, and your tongues so ready to vtter your duetifull affections, and your hands and feete so bent to concurre in the execution thereof, (for which as I neede not to spurre you, so can I not but praise you for the same:) As it may very well be possible that the zeale of your hearts shall make some of you in your speaches rashly to blame such as may bee innocent of this attempt; But vpon the other part I wish you to consider, That I would be sorie that any being innocent of this practise, either domesticall or forraine, should receiue blame or harme for the same. For although it cannot be denied, That it was the onely blinde superstition of their errors in Religion, that led them to this desperate deuice; yet doth it not follow, That all professing that *Romish* religion were guiltie of the same. For as it is trew, That no other sect of heretiques, not excepting *Turke*, *Iew*, nor *Pagan*, no not euen those of *Calicute*, who adore the deuill, did euer maintaine by the grounds of their religion, That it was lawfull, or rather meritorious (as the *Romish* Catholickes call it) to murther Princes or people for quarrell of Religion. And although particular men of all professions of Religion haue beene some Theeues, some Murtherers, some Traitors, yet euer when they came to their end and iust punishment, they confessed their fault to bee in their nature, and not in their profession, (These *Romish* Catholicks onely excepted:) Yet it is trew on the other side, that many honest men blinded peraduenture with some opinions of Popery, as if they be not sound in the questions of the

Reall

Reall preſence, or in the number of the Sacraments, or ſome ſuch Schoole-queſtion: yet doe they either not know, or at leaſt not beleeue all the trew grounds of Popery, which is in deed *The myſterie of iniquitie*. And therefore doe we iuſtly confeſſe, that many Papiſts, eſpecially our forefathers, laying their onely truſt vpon CHRIST and his Merits at their laſt breath, may be, and often times are ſaued; deteſting in that point, and thinking the crueltie of Puritanes worthy of fire, that will admit no ſaluation to any Papiſt. I therefore thus doe conclude this point, That as vpon the one part many honeſt men, ſeduced with ſome errors of Popery, may yet remaine good and faithfull Subiects: So vpon the other part, none of thoſe that trewly know and beleeue the whole grounds, and Schoole concluſions of their doctrine, can euer proue either good Chriſtians, or faithfull Subiects: And for the part of forraine Princes and States, I may ſo much the more acquite them, and their Miniſters of their knowledge and conſent to any ſuch villanie, as I may iuſtly ſay, that in that point I better know all Chriſtian Kings by my ſelfe, That no King nor Prince of Honour will euer abaſe himſelfe ſo much, as to thinke a good thought of ſo baſe and diſhonourable a Treachery, wiſhing you therefore, that as God hath giuen me an happie Peace and Amitie, with all other Chriſtian Princes my neighbours (as was euen now very grauely told you by my L. Chancellor) that ſo you will reuerently iudge and ſpeake of them in this caſe. And for my part I would wiſh with thoſe ancient Philoſophers, that there were a Chriſtall window in my breſt, wherein all my people might ſee the ſecreteſt thoughts of my heart, for then might you all ſee no alteration in my minde for this accident, further then in theſe two points. The firſt, Caution and warineſſe in gouernment, to diſcouer and ſearch out the myſteries of this wickedneſſe as farre as may be: The other, after due triall, Seueritie of puniſhment vpon thoſe that ſhall bee found guilty of ſo deteſtable and vnheard of villanie. And now in this matter if I haue troubled your eares with an abrupt ſpeach, vndigeſted in any good methode or order; you haue to conſider that an abrupt, and vnaduiſed ſpeach doeth beſt become in the relation of ſo abrupt and vnorderly an accident.

And although I haue ordained the proroguing of this Parliament vntil after Chriſtmas vpon two neceſſary reſpects: whereof the firſt is, that neither I nor my Councell can haue leiſure at this time both to take order for the Apprehenſion and triall of theſe Conſpiratours, and alſo to wait vpon the dayly affaires of the Parliament, as the Councell muſt doe: And the other reaſon is, the neceſſitie at this time of diuers of your preſences in your Shires that haue Charges and Commandements there. For as theſe wretches thought to haue blowen vp in a maner the whole world of this Iſland, euery man being now commen vp here, either for publike cauſes of Parliament, or elſe for their owne priuate cauſes in Law, or otherwiſe: So theſe Rebels that now wander through the Countrey, could neuer haue gotten ſo fit a time of ſafetie in their paſſage, or whatſoeuer vnlawfull Actions,

ons,as now when the Countrey by the foreſaid occaſions is in a maner left deſolate,and waſte vnto them. Beſides that,it may be that I ſhall deſire you at your next Seſſion, to take vpon you the Iudgement of this Crime: For as ſo extraordinary a Fact deſerues extraordinary Iudgement, So can there not I thinke (following euen their owne Rule) be a fitter Iudgement for them, then that they ſhould be meaſured with the ſame meaſure where-with they thought to meaſure vs: And that the ſame place and perſons, whom they thought to deſtroy, ſhould be the iuſt auengers of their ſo vn-naturall a Parricide: Yet not knowing that I will haue occaſion to meete with you my ſelfe in this place at the beginning of the next Seſſion of this Paliament, (becauſe if it had not been for deliuering of the Articles agreed vpon by the Commiſſioners of the Vnion, which was thought moſt con-uenient to be done in my preſence,where both Head and Members of the Parliament were met together, my preſence had not otherwiſe been requi-ſite here at this time.) I haue therefore thought good for concluſion of this Meeting, to diſcourſe to you ſomewhat anent the trew nature and de-finition of a Parliament, which I will remit to your memories till your next ſitting downe, that you may then make vſe of it as occaſion ſhall bee miniſtred.

For albeit it be trew,that at the firſt Seſſion of my firſt Parliament,which was not long after mine Entrie into this Kingdome, It could not become me to in-forme you of any thing belonging to Law or State heere: (for all knowledge muſt either bee infuſed or acquired, and ſeeing the former ſort thereof is now with Prophecie ceaſed in the world, it could not be poſſible for me at my firſt Entry here,before Experience had taught it me,to be able to vnderſtand the particular myſteries of this State:) yet now that I haue reigned almoſt three yeeres amongſt you, and haue beene carefull to ob-ſerue thoſe things that belong to the office of a King, albeit that Time be but a ſhort time for experience in others, yet in a King may it be thought a reaſonable long time,eſpecially in me, who,although I be but in a maner a new King heere, yet haue bene long acquainted with the office of a King in ſuch another Kingdome, as doeth neereſt of all others agree with the Lawes and cuſtomes of this State. Remitting to your conſideration to iudge of that which hath beene concluded by the Commiſſioners of the Vnion, wherein I am at this time to ſignifie vnto you, That as I can beare witneſſe to the foreſaid Commiſſioners,that they haue not agreed nor con-cluded therein any thing,wherein they haue not foreſeen as well the weale and commodity of the one Countrey,as of the other; So can they all beare mee record, that I was ſo farre from preſſing them to agree to any thing, which might bring with it any preiudice to this people; as by the contrary I did euer admoniſh them, neuer to conclude vpon any ſuch Vnion, as might cary hurt or grudge with it to either of the ſaid Nations: for the leauing of any ſuch thing, could not but be the greateſt hinderance that might be to ſuch an Action,which God by the lawes of Nature had proui-

ded to be in his owne time, and hath now in effect perfected in my Person, to which purpose my Lord Chancellour hath better spoken, then I am able to relate.

And as to the nature of this high Court of Parliament, It is nothing else but the Kings great Councell, which the King doeth assemble either vpon occasion of interpreting, or abrogating old Lawes, or making of new, according as ill maners shall deserue, or for the publike punishment of notorious euill doers, or the praise and reward of the vertuous and well deseruers; wherein these foure things are to be considered.

1 First, whereof this Court is composed.
2 Secondly, what matters are proper for it.
3 Thirdly, to what end it is ordeined.
4 And fourthly, what are the meanes and wayes whereby this end should bee brought to passe.

As for the thing it selfe, It is composed of a Head and a Body: The Head is the King, the Body are the members of the Parliament. This Body againe is subdiuided into two parts; The Vpper and Lower House: The Vpper compounded partly of Nobility, Temporall men, who are heritable Councellors to the high Court of Parliament by the honour of their Creation and Lands: And partly of Bishops, Spirituall men, who are likewise by the vertue of their place and dignitie Councellours, Life Renters, or *Ad vitam* of this Court. The other House is composed of Knights for the Shire; and Gentry, and Burgesses for the Townes. But because the number would be infinite for all the Gentlemen and Burgesses to bee present at euery Parliament, Therefore a certaine number is selected and chosen out of that great Body, seruing onely for that Parliament, where their persons are the representation of that Body.

Now the matters whereof they are to treate ought therefore to be generall, and rather of such matters as cannot well bee performed without the assembling of that generall Body, and no more of these generals neither, then necessity shall require: for as *in Corruptissima Republica sunt plurimæ leges:* So doeth the life and strength of the Law consist not in heaping vp infinite and confused numbers of Lawes, but in the right interpretation and good execution of good and wholesome Lawes. If this be so then, neither is this a place on the one side for euery rash and harebrained fellow to propone new Lawes of his owne inuention: nay rather I could wish these busie heads to remember that Law of the Lacedemonians, That whosoeuer came to propone a new Law to the people, behooued publikely to present himselfe with a rope about his necke, that in case the Law were not allowed, he should be hanged therwith. So warie should men be of proponing Nouelties, but most of all not to propone any bitter or seditious Laws, which can produce nothing but grudges and discontentment betweene the Prince and his people. Nor yet is it on the other side a conuenient place for priuate men vnder the colour of general Lawes, to pro-

to propone nothing but their owne particular gaine, either to the hurt of their priuate neighbours, or to the hurt of the whole State in generall, which many times vnder faire and pleasing Titles, are smoothly passed ouer, and so by stealth procure without consideration, that the priuate meaning of them tendeth to nothing but either to the wrecke of a particular partie, or else vnder colour of publike benefite to pill the poore people, and serue as it were for a generall Impost vpon them for filling the purses of some priuate persons.

And as to the end for which the Parliament is ordeined, being only for the aduancement of Gods glory, and the establishment and wealth of the King and his people: It is no place then for particular men to vtter there their priuate conceipts, nor for satisfaction of their curiosities, and least of all to make shew of their eloquence by tyning the time with long studied and eloquent Orations: No, the reuerence of God, their King, and their Countrey being well setled in their hearts, will make them ashamed of such toyes, and remember that they are there as sworne Councellours to their King, to giue their best aduise for the furtherance of his Seruice, and the florishing Weale of his Estate.

And lastly, if you will rightly consider the meanes and wayes how to bring all your labours to a good end, you must remember, That you are heere assembled by your lawfull King to giue him your best aduises, in the matters proposed by him vnto you, being of that nature, which I haue already told, wherein you are grauely to deliberate, and vpon your consciences plainely to determine how farre those things propounded doe agree with the weale, both of your King and of your Countrey, whose weales cannot be separated. And as for my selfe, the world shall euer beare mee witnesse, That I neuer shall propone any thing vnto you, which shall not as well tend to the weale publike, as to any benefite for me: So shall I neuer oppone my selfe to that, which may tend to the good of the Commonwealth, for the which I am ordeined, as I haue often said. And as you are to giue your aduise in such things as shall by your King be proposed: So is it on your part your dueties to propone any thing that you can after mature deliberation iudge to be needefull, either for these ends already spoken of, or otherwise for the discouery of any latent euill in the Kingdome, which peraduenture may not haue commen to the Kings eare. If this then ought to bee your graue maner of proceeding in this place, Men should bee ashamed to make shew of the quickneſſe of their wits here, either in taunting, scoffing, or detracting the Prince or State in any point, or yet in breaking iests vpon their fellowes, for which the Ordinaries or Ale-houses are fitter places, then this Honourable and high Court of Parliament.

In conclusion then since you are to breake vp, for the reasons I haue already told you, I wish such of you as haue any charges in your Countreys, to hasten you home for the repressing of the insolencies of these Rebels, and apprehension of their persons, wherin as I heartily pray to the Almighty for

tie for your prosperous succesſe: So doe I not doubt, but we ſhall ſhortly heare the good newes of the ſame; And that you ſhall haue an happie returne, and meeting here to all our comforts.

Here the Lord Chancellor ſpake touching the proroguing of the Parliament: And hauing done, his Maieſtie roſe againe, and ſaid,

SInce it pleaſed God to graunt mee two ſuch notable Deliueries vpon one day of the weeke, which was Tueſday, and likewiſe one day of the Moneth, which was the fifth; Thereby to teach mee, That as it was the ſame deuill that ſtill perſecuted mee; So it was one and the ſame GOD that ſtill mightily deliuered mee: I thought it therefore not amiſſe, That the one and twentieth day of Ianuary, which fell to be vpon Tueſday, ſhould bee the day of meeting of this next Seſſion of Parliament, hoping and aſſuring my ſelfe, that the ſame GOD, who hath now granted me and you all ſo notable and gracious a deliuerie, ſhall proſper all our affaires at that next Seſſion, and bring them to an happie concluſion. And now I conſider GOD hath well prouided it, that the ending of this Parliament hath bene ſo long continued: For as for my owne part, I neuer had any other intention, but onely to ſeeke ſo farre my weale, and proſperitie, as might coniunctly ſtand with the flouriſhing State of the whole Common-wealth, as I haue often told you; So on the other part I confeſſe, if I had bene in your places at the beginning of this Parliament, (which was ſo ſoone after mine entry into this Kingdome, wherein ye could not poſſibly haue ſo perfect a knowledge of mine inclination, as experience ſince hath taught you,) I could not but haue ſuſpected, and miſ-interpreted diuers things, In the trying whereof, now I hope, by your experience of my behauiour and forme of gouernment, you are well ynough cleared, and reſolued.

(***)

A SPEACH

A SPEACH TO BOTH THE HOVSES OF PARLIAMENT, DELIVERED IN THE GREAT CHAMBER AT WHITE-HALL,

THE LAST DAY OF March 1607.

YE Lords of the higher Houſe, and you Knights and Burgeſſes of the Lower houſe, All men at the beginning of a Feaſt bring foorth good Wine firſt, and after, worſe. This was the ſaying of the Gouernour of the Feaſt at *Cana* in *Galile*, where CHRIST wrought his firſt miracle by changing water into Wine. But in this caſe now whereof I am to ſpeake vnto you, I muſt follow that Gouernours rule, and not CHRISTS example, in giuing you the worſt and ſowreſt Wine laſt. For all the time of this long Seſſion of the Parliament you haue bene ſo fed and cloy'd, (ſpecially you of the Lower houſe) with ſuch banquets, and choiſe of delicate ſpeeches, and your eares ſo ſeaſoned with the ſweetneſſe of long precogitate Orations; as this my Speach now in the breaking vp of this Aſſembly, cannot but appeare vnto your taſte as the worſt Wine propoſed in the end of the Banquet, ſince I am onely to deliuer now vnto you matter without curious forme, ſubſtance without ceremonie, trewth in all ſinceritie. Yet conſidering the Perſon that ſpeaketh, the parties to whom I ſpeake, the matter whereof I meane to ſpeake; it fits better to vtter mat-

ter, rather then wordes, in regard of the greatneſſe of my place who am to ſpeake to you, the grauitie of you the Auditorie, which is the high Court of Parliament; the weight of the matter, which concernes the ſecuritie and eſtabliſhment of this whole Empire, and litle world. Studied Orations and much eloquence vpon little matter is fit for the Vniuerſities, where not the Subiect which is ſpoken of, but the triall of his wit that ſpeaketh, is moſt commendable: but on the contrary, in all great Councels of Parliaments, feweſt wordes with moſt matter doeth become beſt, where the diſpatch of the great errands in hand, and not the praiſe of the perſon is moſt to bee looked vnto: like the garment of a chaſte woman, who is onely ſet forth by her naturall beautie, which is properly her owne: other deckings are but enſignes of an harlot that flies with borrowed feathers. And beſides the conueniencie, I am forced hereunto by neceſſitie, my place calling me to action, and not leauing me to the libertie of contemplation, hauing alwayes my thoughts buſied with the publique care of you all, where euery one of you hauing but himſelfe, and his owne priuate to thinke of, are at more leiſure to make ſtudied ſpeeches. And therefore the matter which I deliuer you confuſedly as in a ſacke, I leaue it to you when you are in your chambers, and haue better leyſure then I can haue, to ranke them in order, euery one in their owne place.

Thus much by way of Preface. But I proceed to the matter: Whereof I might ſay with *S. Paul*, I could ſpeake in as many tongues as you all, but I had rather ſpeake three wordes to edification, then talke all day without vnderſtanding. In vaine (ſaith the *Pſalmiſt*) doeth the builder build the houſe, or the watchman watch the Citie, vnleſſe the Lord giue his bleſſing thereunto. And in the New Teſtament S. *Paul* ſaith, That hee may plant, *Apollo* may water, but it is GOD onely that muſt giue the increaſe. This I ſpeake, becauſe of the long time which hath bene ſpent about the Treatie of the Vnion. For my ſelfe, I proteſt vnto you all, When I firſt propounded the Vnion, I then thought there could haue bene no more queſtion of it, then of your declaration and acknowledgement of my right vnto this Crowne, and that as two Twinnes, they would haue growne vp together. The errour was my miſtaking; I knew mine owne ende, but not others feares: But now finding many croſſings, long diſputations, ſtrange queſtions, and nothing done; I muſt needs thinke it proceeds either of miſtaking of the errand, or elſe from ſome iealouſie of me the Propounder, that you ſo adde delay vnto delay, ſearching out as it were the very bowels of Curioſitie, and conclude nothing. Neither can I condemne you for being yet in ſome iealouſie of my intention in this matter, hauing not yet had ſo great experience of my behauiour and inclination in theſe few yeeres paſt, as you may peraduenture haue in a longer time hereafter, and not hauing occaſion to conſult dayly with my ſelfe, and heare mine owne opinion in all thoſe particulars which are debated among you.

But

But here I pray you now mistake mee not at the first, when as I seeme to finde fault with your delayes and curiositie, as if I would haue you to resolue in an houres time, that which will take a moneths aduisement: for you all know, that *Rex est lex loquens*; And you haue oft heard mee say, That the Kings will and intention being the speaking Law, ought to bee *Luce clarius*: and I hope you of the Lower house haue the proofe of this my clearenesse by a Bil sent you downe from the Vpper house within these few dayes, or rather few houres: wherein may very well appeare vnto you the care I haue to put my Subiects in good securitie of their possessions for all posterities to come. And therefore that you may clearely vnderstand my meaning in that point, I doe freely confesse, you had reason to aduise at leasure vpon so great a cause: for great matters doe euer require great deliberation before they be well concluded. *Deliberandum est diu quod statuendum est semel.* Consultations must proceed *lento pede*, but the execution of a sentence vpon the resolution would be speedie. If you will goe on, it matters not though you goe with leaden feet, so you make still some progresse, and that there be no let or needlesse delay, and doe not *Nodum in scirpo quærere*. I am euer for the *Medium* in euery thing. Betweene foolish rashnesse and extreame length, there is a middle way. Search all that is reasonable, but omit that which is idle, curious and vnnecessary; otherwise there can neuer be a resolution or end in any good worke.

And now from the generall I wil descend to particulars, and wil onely for the ease of your memories diuide the matter that I am to speake of, into foure heads, by opening vnto you, First, what I craue: Secondly, in what maner I desire it: Thirdly, what commodities will ensue to both the Kingdomes by it: Fourthly, what the supposed inconueniencie may be that giues impediments thereunto.

For the first, what I craue, I protest before GOD who knowes my heart, and to you my people before whom it were a shame to lie, that I claime nothing but with acknowledgement of my Bond to you; that as yee owe to me subiection and obedience: So my Soueraignty obligeth mee to yeeld to you loue, gouernment and protection: Neither did I euer wish any happinesse to my selfe, which was not conioyned with the happinesse of my people. I desire a perfect Vnion of Lawes and persons, and such a Naturalizing as may make one body of both Kingdomes vnder mee your King, That I and my posteritie (if it so please God) may rule ouer you to the worlds ende; Such an Vnion as was of the Scots and Pictes in Scotland, and of the Heptarchie here in England. And for Scotland I auow such an Vnion, as if you had got it by Conquest, but such a Conquest as may be cemented by loue, the onely sure bond of subiection or friendship: that as there is ouer both but *vnus Rex*, so there may be in both but *vnus Grex & vna Lex*: For no more possible is it for one King to gouerne two Countreys *Contiguous*, the one a great, the other a lesse, a richer and a poorer, the greater drawing like an Adamant the lesser to the Commodities

dities thereof, then for one head to gouerne two bodies, or one man to be husband of two wiues, whereof Christ himselfe said, *Ab initio non fuit sic.*

But in the generall Vnion you must obserue two things: for I will discouer my thoughts plainly vnto you; I study clearenes, not eloquence, And therefore with the olde Philosopers, I would heartily wish my brest were a transparent glasse for you all to see through, that you might looke into my heart, and then would you be satisfied of my meaning. For when I speake of a perfect Vnion, I meane not confusion of all things: you must not take from Scotland those particular Priuiledges that may stand as well with this Vnion, as in England many particular customes in particular Shires, (as the Customes of Kent, and the Royalties of the Countie Palatine of Chester) do with the Common Law of the Kingdome: for euery particular Shire almost, and much more euery Countie, haue some particular customes that are as it were naturally most fit for that people. But I meane of such a generall Vnion of Lawes as may reduce the whole Iland, that as they liue already vnder one Monarch, so they may all bee gouerned by one Law: For I must needs confesse by that little experience I haue had since my comming hither, and I thinke I am able to prooue it, that the grounds of the Common Law of England, are the best of any Law in the world, either Ciuil or Municipall, and the fittest for this people. But as euery Law would be clear and full, so the obscuritie in some points of this our written Law, and want of fulnesse in others, the variation of Cases and mens curiositie, breeding euery day new questions, hath enforced the Iudges to iudge in many Cases here, by Cases and presidents, wherein I hope Lawyers themselues will not denie but that there must be a great vncertaintie, and I am sure all the rest of you that are Gentlemen of other professions were long agoe wearie of it, if you could haue had it amended: For where there is varietie and vncertaintie, although a iust Iudge may do rightly, yet an ill Iudge may take aduantage to doe wrong; and then are all honest men that succeede him, tied in a maner to his vniust and partiall conclusions. Wherefore, leaue not the Law to the pleasure of the Iudge, but let your Lawes be looked into: for I desire not the abolishing of the Lawes, but onely the clearing and the sweeping off the rust of them, and that by Parliament our Lawes might be cleared and made knowen to all the Subiects. Yea rather it were lesse hurt, that all the approued Cases were set downe and allowed by Parliament for standing Lawes in all time to come: For although some of them peraduenture may bee vniust as set downe by corrupt Iudges; yet better it is to haue a certaine Law with some spots in it, nor liue vnder such an vncertaine and arbitrarie Law, since as the prouerbe is, It is lesse harme to suffer an inconuenience then a mischiefe. And now may you haue faire occasion of amending and polishing your Lawes, when Scotland is to bee vnited with you vnder them: for who can blame Scotland to say, If you will take away our owne Lawes, I pray you giue vs a better and cleerer in place thereof.

But

But this is not possible to bee done without a fit preparation. Hee that buildeth a Ship, must first prouide the timber; and as Christ himselfe said, No man will build an house, but he will first prouide the materials: nor a wise King will not make warre against another, without he first make prouision of money: and all great workes must haue their preparation: and that was my end in causing the Instrument of the Vnion to be made. Vnion is a mariage: would he not bee thought absurd that for furthering of a mariage betweene two friends of his, would make his first motion to haue the two parties be laid in bedde together, and performe the other turnes of mariage? must there not precede the mutuall sight and acquaintance of the parties one with another, the conditions of the contract, and Ioincture to be talked of and agreed vpon by their friends, and such other things as in order ought to goe before the ending of such a worke? The vnion is an eternall agreement and reconciliation of many long bloody warres that haue beene betweene these two ancient Kingdomes. Is it the readiest way to agree a priuate quarell betweene two, to bring them at the first to shake hands, and as it were kisse other, and lie vnder one roofe or rather in one bedde together, before that first the ground of their quarell be communed vpon, their mindes mitigated, their affections prepared, and all other circumstances first vsed, that ought to be vsed to proceed to such a finall agreement? Euery honest man desireth a perfect Vnion, but they that say so, and admit no preparation thereto, haue *mel in ore, fel in corde.* If after your so long talke of Vnion in all this long Session of Parliament, yee rise without agreeing vpon any particular; what will the neighbour Princes iudge, whose eyes are all fixed vpon the conclusion of this Action, but that the King is refused in his desire, whereby the Nation should bee taxed, and the King disgraced? And what an ill preparation is it for the mindes of Scotland toward the Vnion, when they shall heare that ill is spoken of their whole Nation, but nothing is done nor aduanced in the matter of the Vnion it selfe? But this I am glad was but the fault of one, and one is no number: yet haue your neighbours of Scotland this aduantage of you, that none of them haue spoken ill of you (nor shall as long as I am King) in Parliament, or any such publique place of Iudicature. Consider therefore well, if the mindes of Scotland had not neede to be well prepared to perswade their mutuall consent, seeing you here haue all the great aduantage by the Vnion. Is not here the personall residence of the King, his whole Court and family? Is not here the seate of Iustice, and the fountaine of Gouernment? must they not be subiected to the Lawes of England, and so with time become but as Cumberland and Northumberland, and those other remote and Northerne Shires? you are to be the husband, they the wife: you conquerours, they as conquered, though not by the sword, but by the sweet and sure bond of loue. Besides that, they as other Northerne Countreys will be seldome seene and saluted by their King, and that as it were but in a posting or hunting iourney.

How

How little cauſe then they may haue of ſuch a change of ſo ancient a Monarchie into the caſe of priuate Shires, iudge rightly herein. And that you may be the more vpright Iudges, ſuppoſe your ſelues the Patients of whom ſuch ſentence ſhould be giuen. But what preparation is it which I craue? onely ſuch as by the entrance may ſhew ſomething is done, yet more is intended. There is a conceipt intertained, and a double iealouſie poſſeſſeth many, wherein I am miſiudged.

Firſt, that this Vnion will be the *Criſis* to the ouerthrow of England, and ſetting vp of Scotland: England will then bee ouerwhelmed by the ſwarming of the Scots, who if the Vnion were effected, would raigne and rule all.

The ſecond is, my profuſe liberalitie to the Scottiſh men more then the Engliſh, and that with this Vnion all things ſhalbe giuen to them, and you turned out of all: To you ſhall bee left the ſweat and labour, to them ſhall bee giuen the fruite and ſweet; and that my forbearance is but till this Vnion may be gained. How agreeable this is to the trewth, Iudge you; And that not by my wordes, but by my Actions. Doe I craue the Vnion without exceptions? doe I not offer to binde my ſelfe and to reſerue to you, as in the Inſtrument, all places of Iudicature? doe I intend any thing which ſtandeth not with the equall good of both Nations? I could then haue done it, and not ſpoken of it: For all men of vnderſtanding muſt agree, that I might diſpoſe without aſſent of Parliament, Offices of Iudicature, and others, both Eccleſiaſticall and Temporall: But herein I did voluntarily offer by my Letters from Royſton to the Commiſſioners, to bind my Prerogatiue.

Some thinke that I will draw the Scottiſh Nation hither, talking idlely of tranſporting of Trees out of a barren ground into a better, and of leane cattell out of bad paſture into a more fertile ſoile. Can any man diſplant you, vnleſſe you will? or can any man thinke that Scotland is ſo ſtrong to pull you out of your houſes? or doe you not thinke I know England hath more people, Scotland more waſt ground? So that there is roumth in Scotland rather to plant your idle people that ſwarme in London ſtreets, and other Townes, and diſburden you of them, then to bring more vnto you; And in caſes of Iuſtice, if I bee partiall to either ſide, let my owne mouth condemne me, as vnworthy to be your King.

I appeale to your ſelues, if in fauour or Iuſtice I haue beene partiall: Nay, my intention was euer, you ſhould then haue moſt cauſe to praiſe my diſcretion, when you ſaw I had moſt power. If hitherto I haue done nothing to your preiudice, much leſſe meane I hereafter. If when I might haue done it without any breach of promiſe; Thinke ſo of mee, that much leſſe I will doe it, when a Law is to reſtraine me. I owe no more to the Scottiſh men then to the Engliſh. I was borne there, and ſworne here, and now raigne ouer both. Such particular perſons of the Scottiſh Nation, as might claime any extraordinary merit at my handes, I haue already

reaſonably

reasonably rewarded, and I can assure you that there is none left, whom for I meane extraordinary to straine my selfe further, then in such ordinary benefit as I may equally bestow without mine owne great hurt, vpon any Subiect of either Nation; In which case no Kings handes can euer be fully closed. To both I owe Iustice and protection, which with Gods grace I shall euer equally ballance.

For my Liberalitie, I haue told you of it heretofore: my three first yeeres were to me as a Christmas, I could not then be miserable: should I haue bene ouersparing to them? they might haue thought *Ioseph* had forgotten his brethren, or that the King had beene drunke with his new Kingdome. But Suites goe not now so cheape as they were wont, neither are there so many fees taken in the Hamper and Pettibagge for the great Seale as hath beene. And if I did respect the English when I came first, of whom I was receiued with ioy, and came as in a hunting iourney, what might the Scottish haue iustly said, if I had not in some measure dealt bountifully with them that so long had serued me, so farre aduentured themselues with me, and beene so faithfull to mee. I haue giuen you now foure yeeres proofe since my comming, and what I might haue done more to haue raised the Scottish nation you all know, and the longer I liue, the lesse cause haue I to be acquainted with them, and so the lesse hope of extraordinary fauour towards them: For since my comming from them I doe not already know the one halfe of them by face, most of the youth being now risen vp to bee men, who were but children when I was there, and more are borne since my comming thence.

Now for my lands and reuenues of my Crowne which you may thinke I haue diminished, They are not yet so farre diminished, but that I thinke no prince of Christendome hath fairer possessions to his Crowne then yet I haue: and in token of my care to preserue the same to my posteritie for euer, the intaile of my lands to the Crowne hath beene long agoe offered vnto you: and that it is not yet done, is not my fault as you know. My Treasurer here knoweth my care, and hath already in part declared it, and if I did not hope to treble my Reuenue more then I haue empaired it, I should neuer rest quietly in my bed. But notwithstanding my comming to the Crowne, with that extraordinarie applause which you all know, and that I had two Nations to bee the obiects of my liberalitie, which neuer any Prince had here before; will you compare my gifts out of mine inheritance with some Princes here that had onely this Nation to respect, and whose whole time of reigne was litle longer then mine hath bene already? It will be found that their gifts haue farre surpassed mine, albeit as I haue already said, they had nothing so great cause of vsing their liberalitie.

For the maner of the Vnion presently desired, It standeth in 3. parts: The first, taking away of hostile Lawes: for since there can bee now no Warres betwixt you, is it not reason hostile Lawes should cease? For,

Secondly

For, *deficiente causa deficit effectus.* The King of England now cannot haue warres with the King of Scotland, therefore this failes of it selfe. The second is communitie of Commerce. I am no stranger vnto you: for you all know I came from the loynes of your ancient Kings. They of Scotland be my Subiects as you are. But how can I bee naturall Liege Lord to you both, and you strangers one to the other? Shall they which be of one alleagance with you, be no better respected of you, nor freer amongst you, then Frenchmen and Spaniards? Since I am Soueraigne ouer both, you as Subiects to one King, it must needes follow that you conuerse and haue Commerce together. There is a rumour of some ill dealings that should be vsed by the Commissioners, Merchants of Scotland. They be heere in England, and shall remaine till your next meeting, and abide triall, to prooue themselues either honest men or knaues.

3. For the third point, of Naturalization, All you agree that they are no Aliens, and yet will not allow them to bee naturall. What kinde of prerogatiue will you make? But for the *Post nati*, your owne Lawyers and Iudges at my first comming to this Crowne, informed me, there was a difference betweene the *Antè* and the *Post nati* of each Kingdome, which caused mee to publish a Proclamation, that the *Post nati* were Naturalized (*Ipso facto*) by my Accession to this Crowne. I doe not denie but Iudges may erre as men, and therefore I doe not presse you here to sweare to all their reasons. I onely vrge at this time the conueniencie for both Kingdomes, neither pressing you to iudge nor to be iudged. But remember also it is as possible and likely your owne Lawyers may erre as the Iudges: Therefore as I wish you to proceede herein so farre as may tend to the weale of both Nations; So would I haue you on the other part to beware to disgrace either my Proclamations or the Iudges, who when the Parliament is done, haue power to trie your lands and liues, for so you may disgrace both your King and your Lawes. For the doing of any acte that may procure lesse reuerence to the Iudges, cannot but breede a loosenesse in the Gouernement, and a disgrace to the whole Nation. The reason that most mooues mee for ought I haue yet heard, that there cannot but bee a difference betweene the *Antè nati* and the *Post nati*, and that in the fauour of the last, is that they must bee neerer vnto you being borne vnder the present Gouernement and common Allegiance: but in point of conueniencie, there is no question but the *Post nati* are more to bee respected: For if you would haue a perfect and perpetuall Vnion, that cannot be in the *Antè nati*, who are but few in comparison of those that shall be in all aages succeeding, and cannot liue long. But in the *Post nati* shall the Vnion be continued and liue euer aage after aage, which wanting a difference cannot but leaue a perpetuall marke of separation in the worke of the Vnion: as also that argument of iealousie will be so farre remooued in the case of the *Post nati* which are to reape the benefit in all succeeding aages, as by the contrary there will then rise *Pharaos* which neuer knew *Ioseph*. The Kings my

Succes-

Succeſſours, who beeing borne and bred heere, can neuer haue more occaſion of acquaintance with the Scottiſh Nation in generall, then any other Engliſh King that was before my time. Bee not therefore abuſed with the flattering ſpeeches of ſuch as would haue the *Antè nati* preferred, alleadging their merit in my Seruice, and ſuch other reaſons which indeede are but Sophiſmes: For, my rewarding out of my Liberalitie of any particular men, hath nothing adoe with the generall acte of the Vnion, which muſt not regard the deſerts of priuate perſons, but the generall weale and conioyning of the Nations. Beſides that, the actuall Naturalizing, which is the onely point that is in your handes, is already graunted to by your ſelues to the moſt part of ſuch particular perſons as can haue any vſe of it heere: and if any other well deſeruing men were to ſue for it hereafter, I doubt not but there would neuer bee queſtion mooued among you for the granting of it. And therefore it is moſt euident, that ſuch diſcourſers haue *mel in ore, fel in corde*, as I ſaid before; carying an outward appearance of loue to the Vnion, but indeed a contrary reſolution in their hearts. And as for limitations and reſtrictions, ſuch as ſhall by me be agreed vpon to be reaſonable and neceſſary after you haue fully debated vpon them, you may aſſure your ſelues I will with indifferencie grant what is requiſite without partiall reſpect of Scotland. I am, as I haue often ſaid, borne and ſworne King ouer both Kingdomes; onely this farre let me entreat you, in debating the point at your next meeting, That yee be as ready to reſolue doubts as to mooue them, and to be ſatisfied when doubts are cleered.

And as for Commodities that come by the Vnion of theſe Kingdoms, they are great and euident; Peace, Plentie, Loue, free Intercourſe and common Societie of two great Nations. All forreigne Kings that haue ſent their Ambaſſadours to congratulate with me ſince my comming, haue ſaluted me as Monarch of the whole Iſle, and with much more reſpect of my greatneſſe, then if I were King alone of one of theſe Realmes: and with what comfort doe your ſelues behold Iriſh, Scottiſh, Welſh, and Engliſh, diuers in Nation, yet all walking as Subiects and ſeruants within my Court, and all liuing vnder the allegiance of your King, beſides the honour and luſtre that the encreaſe of gallant men in the Court of diuers Nations carries in the eyes of all ſtrangers that repaire hither? Thoſe confining places which were the Borders of the two Kingdomes, where heretofore much blood was ſhed, and many of your anceſtours loſt their liues; yea, that lay waſte and deſolate, and were habitations but for runnagates, are now become the Nauell or Vmbilick of both Kingdomes, planted and peopled with Ciuilitie and riches: their Churches begin to bee planted, their doores ſtand now open, they feare neither robbing nor ſpoiling: and where there was nothing before heard nor ſeene in thoſe parts but bloodſhed, oppreſſions, complaints and outcries, they now liue euery man peaceably vnder his owne figgetree, and all their

former cryes and complaints turned onely into prayers to God for their King, vnder whom they enioy ſuch eaſe and happy quietneſſe. The Marches beyond and on this ſide Twede, are as fruitfull and as peaceable as moſt parts of England: If after all this there ſhall be a Sciſſure, what inconuenience will follow, iudge you.

And as for the inconueniences that are feared on Englands part, It is alleadged, that the Scots are a populous Nation, they ſhall be harboured in our neſts, they ſhall be planted and flouriſh in our good Soile, they ſhall eate our commons bare, and make vs leane: Theſe are fooliſh and idle ſurmiſes. That which you poſſeſſe, they are not to enioy; by Law they cannot, nor by my partialitie they ſhall not: for ſet apart conſcience and honour, (which if I ſhould ſet apart indeede, I had rather wiſh my ſelfe to bee ſet apart and out of all being) can any man conclude either out of common reaſon or good policie, that I will preferre thoſe which perhaps I ſhall neuer ſee, or but by poſte for a moneth, before thoſe with whom I muſt alwayes dwell? Can they conquer or ouercome you with ſwarmes of people, as the Goths and the Vandals did *Italy*? Surely the world knowes they are nothing ſo populous as you are: and although they haue had the honour and good fortune neuer to be conquered, yet were they euer but vpon the defenſiue part, and may in a part thanke their hilles and inacceſſible paſſages that preſerued them from an vtter ouerthrow at the handes of all that pretended to conquer them. Or are they ſo very poore and miſerable in their owne habitations, that neceſſitie ſhould force them all to make incurſions among you?

And for my part, when I haue two Nations vnder my gouernment, can you imagine I will reſpect the leſſer, and neglect the greater? would I not thinke it a leſſe euill and hazard to mee that the plague were at Northampton or Barwicke, then at London, ſo neere Weſtminſter, the Seat of my habitation, and of my wife and children? will not a man bee more carefull to quench the fire taken in his neereſt neighbours houſe, then if a whole Towne were a fire farre from him? You know that I am carefull to preſerue the woods and game through all England, nay, through all the Iſle: yet none of you doubts, but that I would be more offended with any diſorder in the Forreſt of Waltham, for ſtealing of a Stagge there, which lieth as it were vnder my noſe, and in a maner ioyneth with my garden, then with cutting of timber, or ſtealing of a Deare in any Forreſt of the North parts of Yorkeſhire or the Biſhopricke. Thinke you that I will preferre them that be abſent, leſſe powerfull, and farther off to doe me good or hurt, before you, with whom my ſecurity and liuing muſt be, and where I deſire to plant my poſterity? If I might by any ſuch fauours raiſe my ſelfe to a greatneſſe, it might bee probable: All I cannot draw, and to loſe a whole ſtate here to pleaſe a few there, were madneſſe. I neede ſpeake no more of this with proteſtations. Speake but of wit, it is not likely: and to doubt of my intention in this, were more then deuiliſh.

For

For mine owne part, I offer more then I receiue, and conueniencie I preferre before law, in this point. For, three parts, wherein I might hurt this Nation, by partiality to the Scots, you know doe absolutely lie in my hands and power: for either in disposition of rents, or whatsoeuer benefit, or in the preferring of them to any dignitie or office, ciuill or Ecclesiasticall, or in calling them to the Parliament, it doeth all fully and onely lie within the compasse of my Prerogatiue, which are the parts wherein the Scottish men can receiue either benefite or preferment by the Vnion, and wherein for the care I haue of this people, I am content to binde my selfe with some reasonable restrictions.

As for the fourth part, the Naturalizing, which onely lieth in your hands; It is the point wherein they receiue least benefit of any: for in that they can obteine nothing, but what they buy by their purse, or acquire by the selfe same meanes that you doe. And as for the point of naturalizing, which is the point thought so fit, and so precisely belonging to Parliament; not to speake of the Common law, wherein as yet I can professe no great knowledge, but in the Ciuill law wherein I am a little better versed, and which in the point of Coniunction of Nations should beare a great sway, it being the Law of Nations; I will mainteine two principles in it, which no learned and graue Ciuilian will deny, as being clearely to be proued, both out of the text it selfe in many places, and also out of the best approued Doctours and interpreters of that law; The one, that it is a speciall point of the Kings owne Prerogatiue, to make Aliens Citizens, and *donare Ciuitate*; The other, that in any case wherein the Law is thought not to be cleare (as some of your selues doe doubt, that in this case of the *post nati*, the Law of England doth not clearely determine) then in such a question wherein no positiue Law is resolute, *Rex est Iudex*, for he is *Lex loquens*, and is to supply the Law, where the Law wants, and if many famous histories be to be beleeued, they giue the example for mainteining of this Law in the persons of the Kings of England and France especially, whose speciall Prerogatiue they alleadge it to be. But this I speake onely as knowing what belongeth to a King, although in this case I presse no further then that which may agree with your loues, and stand with the weale and conueniencie of both Nations.

And whereas some may thinke this Vnion will bring preiudice to some Townes and Corporations within England; It may bee, a Merchant or two of Bristow, or Yarmouth, may haue an hundred pounds lesse in his packe: But if the Empire gaine, and become the greater, it is no matter: You see one Corporation is euer against another, and no priuate Companie can be set vp, but with some losse to another.

Fourth. For the supposed inconueniences rising from Scotland, they are three. First, that there is an euill affection in the Scottish Nation to the Vnion. Next, the Vnion is incompatible betweene two such Nations. Thirdly, that the gaine is smal or none. If this be so, to what end do we talke of an Vnion?

For proofe of the firſt point, there is alleadged an auerſeneſſe in the Scottiſh Nation expreſſed in the Inſtrument, both in the preface and body of their Acte; In the preface, where they declare, That they will remaine an abſolute and free Monarchie; And in the body of the Acte, where they make an exception of the ancient fundamentall Lawes of that Kingdome. And firſt for the generall of their auerſenes, All the maine current in your Lower-houſe ranne this whole Seſſion of Parliament with that opinion, That Scotland was ſo greedy of this Vnion, and apprehended that they ſhould receiue ſo much benefit by it, as they cared not for the ſtrictneſſe of any conditions, ſo they might attaine to the ſubſtance: And yet you now ſay, they are backwards and auerſe from the Vnion. This is a direct contradiction *in adiecto*: For how can they both be beggers and backwards, in one and the ſelfe ſame thing, at the ſame time?

But for anſwere to the particulars, It is an old Schoole point, *Eius eſt explicare, cuius eſt condere*. You cannot interpret their Lawes, nor they yours; I that made them with their aſſent, can beſt expound them.

And firſt I confeſſe, that the Engliſh Parliaments are ſo long, and the Scottiſh ſo ſhort, that a meane betweene them would doe well: For the ſhortneſſe of their continuing together, was the cauſe of their haſtie miſtaking, by ſetting theſe wordes of exception of fundamentall Lawes in the body of the Acte, which they onely did in preſſing to imitate word by word the Engliſh Inſtrument, wherein the ſame wordes be conteined in your Preface. And as to their meaning and interpretation of that word, I will not onely deliuer it vnto you out of mine owne conceipt, but as it was deliuered vnto mee by the beſt Lawyers of Scotland, both Counſellours and other Lawyers, who were at the making thereof in Scotland, and were Commiſſioners here for performance of the ſame.

Their meaning in the word of Fundamentall Lawes, you ſhall perceiue more fully hereafter, when I handle the obiection of the difference of Lawes: For they intend thereby onely thoſe Lawes whereby confuſion is auoyded, and their Kings deſcent mainteined, and the heritage of the ſucceſſion and Monarchie, which hath bene a Kingdome, to which I am in deſcent, three hundreth yeeres before CHRIST: Not meaning it as you doe, of their Common Law, for they haue none, but that which is called IVS REGIS: and their deſire of continuing a free Monarchie, was onely meant, That all ſuch particular Priuiledges (whereof I ſpake before) ſhould not bee ſo confounded, as for want either of Magiſtrate, Law, or Order, they might fall in ſuch a confuſion, as to become like a naked Prouince, without Law or libertie vnder this Kingdome. I hope you meane not I ſhould ſet Garriſons ouer them, as the Spaniards doe ouer Sicily and Naples, or gouerne them by Commiſſioners, which are ſeldome found ſucceedingly all wiſe and honeſt men.

This I muſt ſay for Scotland, and I may trewly vaunt it; Here I ſit and gouerne

gouerne it with my Pen, I write and it is done, and by a Clearke of the Councell I gouerne Scotland now, which others could not doe by the ſword. And for their auerſenſſe in their heart againſt the Vnion, It is trew indeede, I proteſt they did neuer craue this Vnion of me, nor ſought it either in priuate, or the State by letters, nor euer once did any of that Nation preſſe mee forward or wiſh mee to accelerate that buſineſſe. But on the other part, they offered alwayes to obey mee when it ſhould come to them, and all honeſt men that deſire my greatneſſe haue beene thus minded, for the perſonall reuerence and regard they beare vnto my Perſon, and any of my reaſonable and iuſt deſires.

I know there are many *Piggots* amongſt them, I meane a number of ſeditious and diſcontented particular perſons, as muſt be in all Commonwealths, that where they dare, may peraduenture talke lewdly enough: but no Scottiſh man euer ſpake dishonourably of England in Parliament. For here muſt I note vnto you the difference of the two Parliaments in theſe two Kingdomes, for there they muſt not ſpeake without the Chauncellors leaue, and if any man doe propound or vtter any ſeditious or vncomely ſpeeches, he is ſtraight interrupted and ſilenced by the Chauncellors authoritie: where as here, the libertie for any man to ſpeake what hee liſt, and as long as he liſt, was the onely cauſe he was not interrupted.

It hath bin obiected, that there is a great Antipathy of the Lawes and Cuſtomes of theſe two Nations. It is much miſtaken: for Scotland hath no Common Law as here, but the Law they haue is of three ſorts.

All the Lawe of Scotland for Tenures, Wards and Liueries, Seigniories and Lands, are drawen out of the Chauncerie of England, and for matters of equitie and in many things elſe, differs from you but in certaine termes: *Iames* the firſt, bred here in England, brought the Lawes thither in a written hand. The ſecond is Statute lawes, which be their Acts of Parliament, wherein they haue power as you, to make and altar Lawes: and thoſe may be looked into by you, for I hope you ſhall be no more ſtrangers to that Nation. And the principall worke of this Vnion will be, to reconcile the Statute Lawes of both Kingdomes. The third is the Ciuill Law: *Iames* the fift brought it out of France by eſtabliſhing the Seſſion there, according to the forme of the Court of Parliament of Fraunce, which he had ſeene in the time of his being there: who occupie there the place of Ciuill Iudges in all matters of Plee or controuerſie, yet not to gouerne abſolutely by the Ciuill Law as in Fraunce. For if a man plead that the Law of the Nation is otherwiſe, it is a barre to the Ciuill, and a good Chauncellor or Preſident, will oftentimes repell and put to ſilence an Argument that the Lawyers bring out of the Ciuill Law, where they haue a cleare ſolution in their owne Law. So as the Ciuil Law in Scotland is admitted in no other caſes, but to ſupply ſuch caſes wherein the Municipall Law is defectiue. Then may you ſee it is not ſo hard a matter as is thought, to reduce that Countrey to bee vnited with you vnder this Law, which neither are

ſubiect to the Ciuill Lawe, nor yet haue any olde Common Law of their owne, but ſuch as in effect is borrowed from yours. And for their Statute Lawes in Parliament, you may alter and change them as oft as occaſion ſhall require, as you doe here. It hath likewiſe beene obiected as an other impediment, that in the Parliament of Scotland the King hath not a negatiue voice, but muſt paſſe all the Lawes agreed on by the Lords and Commons. Of this I can beſt reſolue you: for I am the eldeſt Parliament man in Scotland, and haue ſit in more Parliaments then any of my Predeceſſors. I can aſſure you, that the forme of Parliament there, is nothing inclined to popularitie. About a twentie dayes or ſuch a time before the Parliament, Proclamation is made throughout the Kingdome, to deliuer in to the Kings Clearke of Regiſter (whom you heere call the Maſter of the Rolles) all Bills to be exhibited that Seſſion before a certaine day. Then are they brought vnto the King, and peruſed and conſidered by him, and onely ſuch as I allowe of are put into the Chancellors handes to bee propounded to the Parliament, and none others; And if any man in Parliament ſpeake of any other matter then is in this forme firſt allowed by mee, The Chancellor tells him there is no ſuch Bill allowed by the King.

Beſides, when they haue paſſed them for lawes, they are preſented vnto me, and I with my Scepter put into my hand by the Chancellor, muſt ſay, *I ratifie and approue all things done in this preſent Parliament.* And if there bee any thing that I diſlike, they raſe it out before. If this may bee called a negatiue voyce, then I haue one I am ſure in that Parliament.

The laſt impediment is the French liberties: which is thought ſo great, as except the Scots forſake Fraunce, England cannot bee vnited to them. If the Scottiſh Nation would bee ſo vnwilling to leaue them as is ſaid, it would not lye in their hands: For the League was neuer made betweene the people, as is miſtaken, but betwixt the *Princes* onely and their Crownes. The beginning was by a Meſſage from a King of Fraunce, *Charlemaine* I take it (but I cannot certainely remember) vnto a King of Scotland, for a League defenſiue and offenſiue betweene vs and them againſt England, Fraunce being at that time in Warres with England.

The like at that time was then deſired by England againſt Fraunce, who alſo ſent their Ambaſſadours to Scotland. At the firſt, the Diſputation was long maintained in fauour of England, that they being our neereſt Neighbours ioyned in one continent, and a ſtrong and powerfull Nation, it was more fitte for the weale and ſecuritie of the State of Scotland, to be in League and Amitie with them, then with a Countrey, though neuer ſo ſtrong, yet diuided by Sea from vs: eſpecially England lying betwixt vs and them, where we might be ſure of a ſuddaine miſchiefe, but behooued to abide the hazard of wind and weather, and other accidents that might hinder our reliefe.

But

But after, when the contrary part of the Argument was maintained: wherein allegation was made, that England euer ſought to conquer Scotland, and therefore in regarde of their pretended intereſt in the Kingdoome, would neuer keepe any ſound Amitie with them longer, then they ſaw their aduantage; whereas France lying more remote and clayming no intereſt in the Kingdome, would therefore bee found a more conſtant and faithfull friend: It was vnhappily concluded in fauour of the laſt partie, through which occaſion Scotland gate many miſchiefes after: And it is by the very tenour thereof ordered, to bee renewed and confirmed from King to King ſucceſſiuely, which accordingly was euer performed by the mediation of their Ambaſſadours, and therefore meerely perſonall, and ſo was it renewed in the Queene my mothers time, onely betweene the two Kings, and not by aſſent of Parliament or conuention of the three Eſtates, which it could neuer haue wanted if it had beene a League betweene the people. And in my time when it came to be ratified, becauſe it appeared to be in *odium tertii*, it was by me left vnrenewed or confirmed as a thing incompatible to my Perſon, in conſideration of my Title to this Crowne. Some Priuiledges indeede in the Merchants fauour for point of Commerce, were renewed and confirmed in my time: wherein for my part of it, there was ſcarce three Counſellours more then my Secretarie, to whoſe place it belonged, that medled in that matter.

It is trew, that it behooued to be enterteined, as they call it, in the Court of Parliament of *Paris*: but that onely ſerues for publication, and not to giue it Authoritie: That Parliament (as you know) being but a Iudiciall Seate of Iudges and Lawyers, and nothing agreeing with the definition or office of our Parliaments in this Iſle. And therefore that any fruites or Priuiledges poſſeſſed by the League with Fraunce is able now to remaine in Scotland, is impoſſible: For ye may be ſure, that the French King ſtayes onely vpon the ſight of the ending of this Vnion, to cut it off himſelfe. Otherwiſe when this great worke were at an end, I would be forced for the generall care I owe to all my Subiects, to craue of France like Priuiledges to them all as Scotland alreadie enioyes, ſeeing the perſonall friendſhip remaines as great betweene vs as betweene our Progenitors; and all my Subiects muſt be alike deare vnto me: which either hee will neuer grant, and ſo all will fall to the ground; or elſe it will turne to the benefite of the whole Iſland: and ſo the Scottiſh Priuiledges cannot hold longer then my League with France laſteth.

And for another Argument to prooue that this league is only betweene the Kings, and not betweene the people: They which haue Penſions, or are priuie Intelligence giuers in France without my leaue, are in no better caſe by the Law of Scotland, then if they were Penſioners to Spaine.

As for the Scottiſh Guard in France, the beginning thereof was, when an Earle of *Boghan* was ſent in aide of the French with tenne thouſand men, and there being made Conſtable, and hauing obtained a victorie,

was

was murthered with the moſt of the Scottiſh Armie. In recompenſe whereof, and for a future ſecuritie to the Scottiſh Nation, the Scottiſh Guard was ordeined to haue the priuiledge and prerogatiue before all other Guards in guarding the Kings perſon.

And as for the laſt point of this ſubdiuiſion concerning the gaine that England may make by this Vnion, I thinke no wiſe nor honeſt man will aske any ſuch queſtion. For who is ſo ignorant, that doeth not know the gaine will bee great? Doe you not gaine by the Vnion of Wales? And is not Scotland greater then Wales? Shall not your Dominions bee encreaſed of Landes, Seas, and perſons added to your greatneſſe? And are not your Landes and Seas adioyning? For who can ſet downe the limits of the Borders, but as a Mathematicall line or *Idæa*? Then will that backe doore bee ſhut, and thoſe portes of *Ianus* be for euer cloſed: you ſhall haue them that were your enemies to moleſt you, a ſure backe to defend you: their bodies ſhall bee your aides, and they muſt bee partners in all your quarrels: Two ſnow-balls put together, make one the greater: Two houſes ioyned, make one the larger: two Caſtle walles made in one, makes one as thicke and ſtrong as both. And doe you not ſee in the Low countreys how auaileable the Engliſh and the Scottiſh are being ioyned together? This is a point ſo plaine, as no man that hath wit or honeſtie, but muſt acknowledge it feelingly.

And where it is obiected that the Scottiſhmen are not tyed to the ſeruice of the King in the warres aboue forty dayes; It is an ignorant miſtaking. For the trewth is, That in reſpect the Kings of Scotland did not ſo abound in Treaſure and money to take vp an Armie vnder pay, as the Kings of England did; Therefore was the Scottiſh Army wont to be rayſed onely by Proclamation, vpon the penaltie of their breach of alleageance; So as they were all forced to come to the Warre like Snailes who carry their houſe about with them; Euery Nobleman and Gentleman bringing with him their Tents, money, prouiſion for their houſe, victuals of all ſorts, and all other neceſſaries, the King ſupplying them of nothing: Neceſſitie thereupon enforcing a warning to be giuen by the Proclamation of the ſpace of their attendance, without which they could not make their prouiſion accordingly, eſpecially as long as they were within the bounds of Scotland, where it was not lawfull for them to helpe themſelues by the ſpoile or waſting of the Countrey. But neither is there any Law Preſcribing preciſely ſuch a certaine number of dayes, nor yet is it without the limits of the Kings power to keepe them together, as many more dayes as hee liſt, to renew his Proclamations from time to time ſome reaſonable number of dayes, before the expiring of the former, they being euer bound to ſerue and waite vpon him, though it were an hundreth yeere if need were.

Now to conclude, I am glad of this occaſion, that I might *Liberare animam meam*; You are now to recede: when you meete againe, remember

I pray

I pray you, the trewth and ſincerity of my meaning, which in ſeeking Vnion, is onely to aduance the greatneſſe of your Empire ſeated here in England; And yet with ſuch caution I wiſh it, as may ſtand with the weale of both States. What is now deſired, hath oft before bene ſought when it could not bee obteined: To refuſe it now then, were double iniquitie. Strengthen your owne felicitie, *London* muſt bee the Seate of your King, and Scotland ioyned to this kingdome by a Golden conqueſt; but cymented with loue, (as I ſaid before) which within will make you ſtrong againſt all Ciuill and inteſtine Rebellion, as without wee will bee compaſſed and guarded with our walles of braſſe. Iudge mee charitably, ſince in this I ſeeke your equall good, that ſo both of you might bee made fearefull to your Enemies, powerfull in your ſelues, and auaileable to your friendes. Studie therefore hereafter to make a good Concluſion, auoyd all delayes, cut off all vaine queſtions, that your King may haue his lawfull deſire, and be not diſgraced in his iuſt endes. And for your ſecuritie in ſuch reaſonable points of reſtrictions, whereunto I am to agree, yee need neuer doubt of my inclination: For I will not ſay any thing which I will not promiſe, nor promiſe any thing which I will not ſweare;

What I ſweare I will ſigne, and what I ſigne,

I ſhall with GODS grace euer

performe.

A SPEACH TO THE LORDS AND COMMONS OF THE PARLIAMENT AT *WHITE-HALL*,

ON WEDNESDAY THE XXI. OF MARCH.

ANNO 1609.

WE being now in the middeſt of this ſeaſon appointed for penitence and prayer, it hath ſo fallen out, that theſe two laſt dayes haue bene ſpent in a farre other ſort of exerciſe, I meane in Euchariſticke Sacrifice, and gratulation of thankes, preſented vnto mee by both the parts of this body of Parliament: and therefore to make vp the number of three, (which is the number of Trinitie, and perfection) I haue thought good to make this the third Day, to be ſpent in this exerciſe.

As ye made mee a faire Preſent indeed in preſenting your thankes and louing dueties vnto mee: So haue I now called you here, to recompence you againe with a great and a rare Preſent, which is a faire and a Chriſtall Mirror; Not ſuch a Mirror wherein you may ſee your owne faces, or ſhadowes; but ſuch a Mirror, or Chriſtall, as through the tranſparantneſſe thereof, you may ſee the heart of your King. The Philoſophers wiſh, That euery mans breaſt were a Chriſtall, where-through his heart might be ſeene, is vulgarly knowne, and I touched it in one of my former Speaches vnto you: But though that were impoſſible in the generall, yet will I now performe this for my part, That as it is a trew Axiome in Diuinitie,

nitie, That *Cor Regis* is *in manu Domini*, So wil I now set *Cor Regis in oculis populi*. I know that I can say nothing at this time, whereof some of you that are here, haue not at one time or other, heard me say the like already: Yet as corporall food nourisheth and mainteineth the body, so doeth *Reminiscentia* nourish and mainteine memory.

I Will reduce to three generall and maine grounds, the principall things that haue bene agitated in this Parliament, and whereof I will now speake.

First, the Arrand for which you were called by me; And that was, for supporting of my state, and necessities.

The second is, that which the people are to mooue vnto the King: To represent vnto him such things, whereby the Subiects are vexed, or wherein the state of the Common wealth is to be redressed: And that is the thing which you call grieuances.

The third ground that hath bene handled amongst you, and not onely in talke amongst you in the Parliament, but euen in many other peoples mouthes, aswell within, as without the Parliament, is of a higher nature then any of the former (though it be but an Incident?) and the reason is, because it concernes a higher point; And this is a doubt, which hath bene in the heads of some, of my Intention in two things.

First, whether I was resolued in the generall, to continue still my gouernment according to the ancient forme of this State, and the Lawes of this Kingdome: Or if I had an intention not to limit my selfe within those bounds, but to alter the same when I thought conuenient, by the absolute power of a King.

The other branch is anent the Common Law, which some had a conceit I disliked, and (in respect that I was borne where another forme of Law was established) that I would haue wished the Ciuill Law to haue bene put in place of the Common Law for gouernment of this people. And the complaint made amongst you of a booke written by doctour *Cowell*, was a part of the occasion of this incident: But as touching my censure of that booke, I made it already to bee deliuered vnto you by the Treasurer here sitting, which he did out of my owne directions and notes; and what he said in my name, that had he directly from me: But what hee spake of himselfe therein without my direction, I shal alwayes make good; for you may be sure I will be loth to make so honest a man a lyer, or deceiue your expectations: alwayes within very few dayes my Edict shall come forth anent that matter, which shall fully discouer my meaning.

There was neuer any reason to mooue men to thinke, that I could like of such grounds: For there are two qualities principally, or rather priuations that make Kings subiect to flatterie; *Credulitie* and *Ignorance*; and I hope none of them can bee iustly obiected to mee: For if *Alexander* the great, for all his learning, had bene wise in that point to haue considered the

state

ſtate of his owne naturall body and diſpoſition, hee would neuer haue thought himſelfe a god. And now to the matter. As it is a Chriſtan duety in euery man, *Reddere rationem fidei*, and not to be aſhamed to giue an account of his profeſſion before men, and Angels, as oft as occaſion ſhall require: So did I euer hold it a neceſſitie of honour in a iuſt and wiſe King, though not to giue an account to his people of his actions, yet clearely to deliuer his heart and intention vnto them vpon euery occaſion. But I muſt inuert my order, and begin firſt with that incident which was laſt in my diuiſion (though higheſt of nature) and ſo goe backward.

THe State of MONARCHIE is the ſupremeſt thing vpon earth: For Kings are not onely GODS Lieutenants vpon earth, and ſit vpon GODS throne, but euen by GOD himſelfe they are called Gods. There bee three principall ſimilitudes that illuſtrate the ſtate of MONARCHIE: One taken out of the word of GOD; and the two other out of the grounds of Policie and Philoſophie. In the Scriptures Kings are called Gods, and ſo their power after a certaine relation compared to the Diuine power. Kings are alſo compared to Fathers of families: for a King is trewly *Parens patriæ*, the politique father of his people. And laſtly, Kings are compared to the head of this Microcoſme of the body of man.

Kings are iuſtly called Gods, for that they exerciſe a manner or reſemblance of Diuine power vpon earth: For if you wil conſider the Attributes to God, you ſhall ſee how they agree in the perſon of a King. God hath power to create, or deſtroy, make, or vnmake at his pleaſure, to giue life, or ſend death, to iudge all, and to bee iudged nor accomptable to none: To raiſe low things, and to make high things low at his pleaſure, and to God are both ſoule and body due. And the like power haue Kings: they make and vnmake their ſubiects: they haue power of raiſing, and caſting downe: of life, and of death: Iudges ouer all their ſubiects, and in all cauſes, and yet accomptable to none but God onely. They haue power to exalt low things, and abaſe high things, and make of their ſubiects like men at the Cheſſe; A pawne to take a Biſhop or a Knight, and to cry vp, or downe any of their ſubiects, as they do their money. And to the King is due both the affection of the ſoule, and the ſeruice of the body of his ſubiects: And therefore that reuerend Biſhop here amongſt you, though I heare that by diuers he was miſtaken or not wel vnderſtood, yet did he preach both learnedly and trewly annent this point concerning the power of a King: For what he ſpake of a Kings power in *Abſtracto*, is moſt trew in Diuinitie: For to Emperors, or Kings that are Monarches, their Subiects bodies & goods are due for their defence and maintenance. But if I had bene in his place, I would only haue added two words, which would haue cleared all: For after I had told as a Diuine, what was due by the Subiects to their Kings in general, I would then haue concluded as an Engliſhman, ſhewing this people,

That as in generall all Subiects were bound to relieue their King; So to exhort them, that as wee liued in a ſetled ſtate of a Kingdome which was gouerned by his owne fundamentall Lawes and Orders, that according thereunto, they were now (being aſſembled for this purpoſe in Parliament) to conſider how to helpe ſuch a King as now they had; And that according to the ancient forme, and order eſtabliſhed in this Kingdome: putting ſo, a difference betweene the generall power of a King in Diuinity, and the ſetled and eſtabliſhed State of this Crowne, and Kingdome. And I am ſure that the Biſhop meant to haue done the ſame, if hee had not bene ſtraited by time, which in reſpect of the greatneſſe of the preſence preaching before me, and ſuch an Auditory, he durſt not preſume vpon.

As for the Father of a familie, they had of olde vnder the Law of Nature *Patriam poteſtatem*, which was *Poteſtatem vitæ & necis*, ouer their children or familie, (I meane ſuch Fathers of families as were the lineall heires of thoſe families whereof Kings did originally come:) For Kings had their firſt originall from them, who planted and ſpread themſelues in *Colonies* through the world. Now a Father may diſpoſe of his Inheritance to his children, at his pleaſure: yea, euen diſinherite the eldeſt vpon iuſt occaſions, and preferre the youngeſt, according to his liking; make them beggers, or rich at his pleaſure; reſtraine, or baniſh out of his preſence, as hee findes them giue cauſe of offence, or reſtore them in fauour againe with the penitent ſinner: So may the King deale with his Subiects.

And laſtly, as for the head of the naturall body, the head hath the power of directing all the members of the body to that vſe which the iudgement in the head thinkes moſt conuenient. It may apply ſharpe cures, or cut off corrupt members, let blood in what proportion it thinkes fit, and as the body may ſpare, but yet is all this power ordeined by God *Ad ædificationem, non ad deſtructionem.* For although God haue power aſwell of deſtruction, as of creation or maintenance; yet will it not agree with the wiſedome of God, to exerciſe his power in the deſtruction of nature, and ouerturning the whole frame of things, ſince his creatures were made, that his glory might thereby be the better expreſſed: So were hee a fooliſh father that would diſinherite or deſtroy his children without a cauſe, or leaue off the carefull education of them; And it were an idle head that would in place of phiſicke ſo poyſon or phlebotomize the body as might breede a dangerous diſtemper or deſtruction thereof.

But now in theſe our times we are to diſtinguiſh betweene the ſtate of Kings in their firſt originall, and betweene the ſtate of ſetled Kings and Monarches, that doe at this time gouerne in ciuill Kingdomes: For euen as God, during the time of the olde Teſtament, ſpake by Oracles, and wrought by Miracles; yet how ſoone it pleaſed him to ſetle a *Church* which was bought, and redeemed by the blood of his onely Sonne *Chriſt*, then was there a ceſſation of both; Hee euer after gouerning his people and Church within the limits of his reueiledwill. So in the firſt originall of

Kings,

Kings, whereof ſome had their beginning by Conqueſt, and ſome by election of the people, their wills at that time ſerued for Law; Yet how ſoone Kingdomes began to be ſetled in ciuilitie and policie, then did Kings ſet downe their minds by Lawes, which are properly made by the King onely; but at the rogation of the people, the Kings grant being obteined thereunto. And ſo the King became to be *Lex loquens*, after a ſort, binding himſelfe by a double oath to the obſeruation of the fundamentall Lawes of his kingdome: *Tacitly*, as by being a King, and ſo bound to protect aſwell the people, as the Lawes of his Kingdome; And *Expreſly*, by his oath at his Coronation: So as euery iuſt King in a ſetled Kingdome is bound to obſerue that paction made to his people by his Lawes, in framing his gouernment agreeable thereunto, according to that paction which God made with *Noe* after the deluge, *Hereafter Seed-time, and Harueſt, Cold and Heate, Summer and Winter, and Day and Night ſhall not ceaſe, ſo long as the earth remaines.* And therefore a King gouerning in a ſetled Kingdome, leaues to be a King, and degenerates into a Tyrant, aſſoone as he leaues off to rule according to his Lawes. In which caſe the Kings conſcience may ſpeake vnto him, as the poore widow ſaid to Philip of Macedon; Either gouerne according to your Law, *Aut ne Rex ſis.* And though no Chriſtian man ought to allow any rebellion of people againſt their Prince, yet doeth God neuer leaue Kings vnpuniſhed when they tranſgreſſe theſe limits: For in that ſame Pſalme where God ſaith to Kings, *Vos Dij eſtis*, hee immediatly thereafter concludes, *But ye ſhall die like men.* The higher wee are placed, the greater ſhall our fall be. *Vt caſus ſic dolor*: the taller the trees be, the more in danger of the winde; and the tempeſt beats ſoreſt vpon the higheſt mountaines. Therefore all Kings that are not tyrants, or periured, wil be glad to bound themſelues within the limits of their Lawes; and they that perſwade them the contrary, are vipers, and peſts, both againſt them and the Commonwealth. For it is a great difference betweene a Kings gouernment in a ſetled State, and what Kings in their originall power might doe in *Indiuiduo vago*. As for my part, I thanke God, I haue euer giuen good proofe, that I neuer had intention to the contrary: And I am ſure to goe to my graue with that reputation and comfort, that neuer King was in all his time more carefull to haue his Lawes duely obſerued, and himſelfe to gouerne thereafter, then I.

I conclude then this point touching the power of Kings, with this Axiome of Diuinitie, That as to diſpute what God may doe, is Blaſphemie; but *quid vult Deus*, that Diuines may lawfully, and doe ordinarily diſpute and diſcuſſe; for to diſpute *A Poſſe ad Eſſe* is both againſt Logicke and Diuinitie: So is it ſedition in Subiects, to diſpute what a King may do in the height of his power: But iuſt Kings wil euer be willing to declare what they wil do, if they wil not incurre the curſe of God. I wil not be content that my power be diſputed vpon: but I ſhall euer be willing to make the reaſon appeare of all my doings, and rule my actions according to my Lawes.

The other branch of this incident is concerning the Common Law, being conceiued by ſome, that I contemned it, and preferred the Ciuil Law thereunto. As I haue already ſaid, Kings Actions (euen in the ſecreteſt places) are as the actions of thoſe that are ſet vpon the Stages, or on the tops of houſes: and I hope neuer to ſpeake that in priuate, which I ſhall not auow in publique, and Print it if need be, (as I ſaid in my BASILICON DORON.) For it is trew, that within theſe few dayes I ſpake freely my minde touching the Common Law in my Priuie Chamber, at the time of my dinner, which is come to all your eares, and the ſame was likewiſe related vnto you by my Treaſurer; and now I will againe repeate and confirme the ſame my ſelfe vnto you. Firſt, as a King, I haue leaſt cauſe of any man to diſlike the Common Law: For no Law can bee more fauourable and aduantagious for a King, and extendeth further his Prerogatiue, then it doeth: And for a King of England to deſpiſe the Common Law, it is to neglect his owne Crowne. It is trew, that I doe greatly eſteeme the Ciuill Law, the profeſſion thereof ſeruing more for generall learning, and being moſt neceſſary for matters of Treatie with all forreine Nations: And I thinke that if it ſhould bee taken away, it would make an entrie to Barbariſme in this Kingdome, and would blemiſh the honour of England: For it is in a maner LEX GENTIVM, and maintaineth Intercourſe with all forreine Nations: but I onely allow it to haue courſe here, according to thoſe limits of Iuriſdiction, which the Common Law it ſelfe doeth allow it: And therefore though it bee not fit for the generall gouernment of the people here; it doeth not follow, it ſhould be extinct, no more, then becauſe the Latine tongue is not the Mother or Radicall Language of any Nation in the world at this time, that therefore the Engliſh tongue ſhould onely now be learned in this Kingdome, which were to bring in Barbariſme. My meaning therefore is not, to preferre the Ciuill Law before the Common Law; but onely that it ſhould not be extinguiſhed, and yet ſo bounded, (I meane to ſuch Courts and Cauſes) as haue beene in ancient vſe; As the Eccleſiaſticall Courts, Court of Admiraltie, Court of Requeſts, and ſuch like, reſeruing euer to the Common Law to meddle with the fundamentall Lawes of this Kingdome, either concerning the Kings Prerogatiue, or the poſſeſſions of Subiects, in any queſtions, either betweene the King, and any of them, or amongſt themſelues, in the points of *Meum & tuum*. For it is trew, that there is no Kingdome in the world, not onely Scotland, but not France, nor Spaine, nor any other Kingdome gouerned meerely by the Ciuill Law, but euery one of them hath their owne municipall Lawes agreeable to their Cuſtomes, as this Kingdome hath the Common Law: Nay, I am ſo farre from diſallowing the Common Law, as I proteſt, that if it were in my hand to chuſe a new Law for this Kingdome, I would not onely preferre it before any other Nationall Law, but euen before the very Iudiciall Law of *Moyſes*: and yet I ſpeake no blaſphemie in preferring it for conue-

conueniencie to this Kingdome, and at this time, to the very Law of God: For God gouerned his ſelected people by theſe three Lawes, *Ceremoniall*, *Morall*, and *Iudiciall*: The *Iudiciall*, being onely fit for a certaine people, and a certaine time, which could not ſerue for the general of all other people and times. As for example, If the Law of hanging for Theft, were turned here to reſtitution of treble or quadruple, as it was in the Law of *Moyſes*, what would become of all the middle Shires, and all the Iriſhrie and Highlanders? But the maine point is, That if the fundamentall Lawes of any Kingdome ſhould be altered, who ſhould diſcerne what is *Meum & tuum*, or how ſhould a King gouerne? It would be like the *Gregorian* Calender, which deſtroyes the old, and yet doeth this new trouble all the debts and Accompts of Traffiques and Merchandizes: Nay by that accompt I can neuer tell mine owne aage; for now is my Birth-day remooued by the ſpace of ten dayes neerer me then it was before the change. But vpon the other part, though I haue in one point preferred our Common Law, concerning our vſe, to the very Law of GOD; yet in another reſpect I muſt ſay, both our Law and all Lawes elſe are farre inferiour to that Iudiciall Law of GOD, for no booke nor Law is perfect nor free from corruption, except onely the booke and Law of GOD. And therefore I could wiſh ſome three things ſpecially to be purged & cleared in the Common Law; but alwayes by the aduiſe of Parliament: For the King with his Parliament here are abſolute, (as I vnderſtand) in making or forming of any ſort of Lawes.

Firſt I could wiſh that it were written in our vulgar Language: for now it is in an old, mixt, and corrupt Language, onely vnderſtood by Lawyers: whereas euery Subiect ought to vnderſtand the Law vnder which he liues: For ſince it is our plea againſt the Papiſts, that the language in GODS Seruice ought not to be in an vnknowne tongue, according to the rule in the Law of *Moyſes*, That the Law ſhould be written in the fringes of the Prieſts garment, and ſhould be publikely read in the eares of all the people: ſo mee thinkes ought our Law to be made as plaine as can be to the people, that the excuſe of ignorance may be taken from them, for conforming themſelues thereunto.

Next, our Common Law hath not a ſetled Text in all Caſes, being chiefly grounded either vpon old Cuſtomes, or elſe vpon the Reports and Caſes of Iudges, which ye call *Reſponſa Prudentum*. The like whereof is in all other Lawes: for they are much ruled by Preſidents (ſaue onely in *Denmarke* and *Norway*, where the letter of the Law reſolues all doubts without any trouble to the Iudge,) But though it be trew, that no Text of Law can be ſo certaine, wherein the circumſtances will not make a variation in the Caſe, (for in this aage, mens wits increaſe ſo much by ciuilitie, that the circumſtances of euery particular caſe varies ſo much from the generall Text of Law, as in the Ciuill Law it ſelfe, there are therefore ſo many Doctors that cõment vpon the Text, & neuer a one almoſt agrees with another; Otherwiſe there needed no Iudges, but the bare letter of the

Law.) Yet could I wiſh that ſome more certaintie were ſet downe in this caſe by Parliament: for ſince the very Reports themſelues are not alwayes ſo binding, but that diuers times Iudges doe diſclaime them, and recede from the iudgment of their predeceſſors; it were good, that vpon a mature deliberation, the expoſition of the Law were ſet downe by Acte of Parliament, and ſuch reports therein confirmed, as were thought fit to ſerue for Law in all times hereafter, and ſo the people ſhould not depend vpon the bare opinions of Iudges, and vncertaine Reports.

And laſtly, there be in the Common Law diuers contrary Reports, and Preſidents: and this corruption doeth likewiſe concerne the Statutes and Acts of Parliament, in reſpect there are diuers croſſe and cuffing Statutes, and ſome ſo penned, as they may be taken in diuers, yea contrary ſences. And therefore would I wiſh both thoſe Statutes and Reports, aſwell in the Parliament as Common Law, to be once maturely reuiewed, and reconciled; And that not onely all contrarieties ſhould be ſcraped out of our Bookes, but euen that ſuch penall Statutes as were made, but for the vſe of the time (from breach whereof no man can be free) which doe not now agree with the condition of this our time, might likewiſe be left out of our bookes, which vnder a tyrannous or auaritious King could not be endured. And this reformation might (me thinkes) bee made a worthy worke, and well deſerues a Parliament to be ſet of purpoſe for it.

I know now that being vpon this point of the Common Law, you looke to heare my opinion concerning *Prohibitions*; and I am not ignorant that I haue bene thought to be an enemie to all *Prohibitions*, and an vtter ſtayer of them: But I will ſhortly now informe you what hath bene my courſe in proceeding therein. It is trew that in reſpect of diuers honorable Courts, and Iuriſdictions planted in this Kingdome, I haue often wiſhed that euery Court had his owne trew limit, and iuriſdiction clearely ſet downe, and certainly knowne; which if it be exceeded by any of them, or that any of them encroch one vpon another, then I grant that a *Prohibition* in that caſe is to goe out of the *Kings Bench*, but chieflieſt out of the *Chancery*; for other Benches I am not yet ſo well reſolued of their Iuriſdiction in that point. And for my part, I was neuer againſt *Prohibitions* of this nature, nor the trew vſe of them, which is indeed to keepe euery Riuer within his owne banks and channels. But when I ſaw the ſwelling and ouerflowing of *Prohibitions* in a farre greater abundance then euer before, euery Court ſtriuing to bring in moſt moulture to their owne Mill, by multitudes of Cauſes, which is a diſeaſe very naturall to all Courts and Iuriſdictions in the world; Then dealt I with this Cauſe, and that at two ſeuerall times, once in the middeſt of Winter, and againe in the middeſt of the next following Summer; At euery of which times I ſpent three whole daies in that labour. And then after a large hearing, I told them as *Chriſt* ſaid concerning Mariage, *Ab initio non fuit ſic*. For as God conteins the Sea within his owne bounds and marches (as it is in the *Pſalmes*,) So is it my office to make

euery

euery Court conteine himselfe within his own limits; And therfore I gaue admonitions to both sides: To the other Courts, that they should be carefull hereafter euery of them, to conteine themselues within the bounds of their owne Iurisdictions; and to the Courts of Common Law, that they should not bee so forward, and prodigall in multiplying their *Prohibitions*. Two cautions I willed them to obserue in graunting their *Prohibitions*: First, that they should be graunted in a right and lawfull forme: And next, that they should not grant them, but vpon a iust and reasonable cause. As to the forme, it was, That none should be graunted by any one particular Iudge, or in time of Vacation, or in any other place, but openly in Court. And to this the Iudges themselues gaue their willing assent. And as to the Cause, That they should not be granted vpon euery sleight surmise, or information of the partie, but alwayes that a due and graue examination should first precede. Otherwise if *Prohibitions* should rashly, and headily be granted, then no man is the more secure of his owne, though hee hath gotten a Sentence with him: For as good haue no Law, or Sentence, as to haue no execution thereof. A poore Minister with much labour and expense, hauing exhausted his poore meanes, and being forced to forbeare his studie, and to become *non resident* from his flocke, obtaines a *Sentence*, and then when hee loookes to enioy the fruits thereof, he is defrauded of all by a *Prohibition*, according to the parable of Christ, That night when hee thinkes himselfe most happy, shall his soule be taken from him: And so is he tortured like *Tantalus*, who when he hath the Apple at his mouth, and that he is gaping and opening his mouth to receiue it, then must it be pulled from him by a *Prohibition*, and he not suffered to taste thereof. So as to conclude this point, I put a difference betweene the trew vse of *Prohibitions*, and the superabounding abuse thereof: for as a thing which is good, ought not therefore bee abused; so ought not the lawfull vse of a good thing be forborne, becaus of the abuse thereof.

NOw the second generall ground whereof I am to speake, concernes the matter of *Grieuances*: There are two speciall causes of the peoples presenting *Grieuances* to their King in time of Parliament. First, for that the King cannot at other times be so well informed of all the *Grieuances* of his people, as in time of Parliament, which is the representatiue body of the whole Realme. Secondly, the Parliament is the highest Court of Iustice, and therefore the fittest place where diuers natures of *Grieuances* may haue their proper remedie, by the establishment of good and wholsome Lawes. But though my Speech was before directed to the whole Body of Parliament; yet in this case I must addresse my Speech in speciall to you of the Lower House.

I am now then to recommend vnto your considerations the matter and manner of your handling and presenting of *Grieuances*. As for the manner, though I will not denie, but that yee, representing the Body of the people,

ple, may as it were both *opportunè* and *inopportunè* (I meane either in Parliament as a Body, or out of Parliament as priuate men) preſent your *Grieuances* vnto mee; yet would I haue you to vſe this caution in your behauiour in this point: which is, that your *Grieuances* be not as it were greedily ſought out by you, or taken vp in the ſtreetes (as one ſaid) thereby to ſhew a willingneſſe that you would haue a ſhew made, that there are many abuſes in the gouernment, and many cauſes of complaint: but that according to your firſt inſtitution, ye ſhould only meddle with ſuch *Grieuances*, as your ſelues doe know had neede of reformation, or had informations thereof in your countreys for which you ſerue, and not ſo to multiply them, as might make it noiſed amongſt the people, that all things in the gouernment were amiſſe and out of frame: For euen at the beginning of this very Seſſion of Parliament, the generall name of *Grieuances* being mentioned among you, ſuch a conceipt came in the heads of many, that you had a deſire to multiply and make a great muſter of them, as euery one exhibited what his particular ſpleene ſtirred him vnto. Indeed there fell out an accident vpon this occaſion, for which I haue reaſon to thanke you of the Lower houſe, I meane for your fire worke; wherein I confeſſe you did Honour to me, and right to your ſelues: For hauing one afternoone found many *Grieuances* cloſely preſented in papers, and ſo all thruſt vp in a ſacke together, (rather like *Paſquils*, then any lawfull Complaints) farre againſt your owne Orders, and diuers of them proceeding from grudging and murmuring ſpirits; you, vpon the hearing read two or three of the firſt lines of diuers of them, were not content with a publique conſent to condemne them, and to diſcharge any further reading of them, but you alſo made a publique bonefire of them. In this, I ſay, you ſhewed your care and ielouſie of my Honour, and I ſent you thankes for it by the Chancellour of the Exchequer, a member of your owne Houſe, who by your appointment, that ſame night acquainted me with your proceedings; And by him alſo I promiſed at that time, that you ſhould heare more of my thankes for the ſame at the firſt occaſion; And now I tell you it my ſelfe, that you may know how kindely I take your duetifull behauiour in this caſe. But ſince this was a good effect of an euill cauſe, I muſt not omit alſo to admoniſh you vpon the other part, to take a courſe amongſt your ſelues, to preuent the like accident in all times hereafter: otherwiſe the Lower houſe may become a place for *Paſquils*, and at another time ſuch *Grieuances* may be caſt in amongſt you, as may conteine Treaſon or ſcandal againſt Me, or my Poſterity. Therfore in this caſe, looke ouer your ancient Orders, & follow them, and ſuffer not hereafter any petitions or *Grieuances* to be deliuered obſcurely or in the darke, but openly and auowedly in your Publique houſe, and there to be preſented to the Speaker. And as to the matter of your *Grieuances*, I wiſh you here now to vnderſtand me rightly. And becauſe I ſee many writing and noting, I will craue your pardons, to holde you a little longer by ſpeaking the more diſtinctly, for feare of miſtaking.

First then, I am not to finde fault that you informe your ſelues of the particular iuſt *Grieuances* of the people; Nay, I muſt tell you, ye can neither be iuſt nor faithfull to me, or to your Countreys that truſt and imploy you, if you doe it not: For true Plaints proceede not from the perſons imployed, but from the Body repreſented, which is the people. And it may very well bee, that many Directions and Commiſſions iuſtly giuen forth by me, may be abuſed in the Execution thereof, vpon the people: and yet I neuer to receiue information, except it come by your meanes, at ſuch a time as this is; (as in the caſe of *Stephen Procter.*) But I would wiſh you to be carefull to auoide three things in the matter of *Grieuances.*

Firſt, that you doe not meddle with the maine points of Gouernment; that is my craft: *tractent fabrilia fabri*; to meddle with that, were to leſſon me: I am now an old King; for ſixe and thirtie yeeres haue I gouerned in *Scotland* perſonally, and now haue I accompliſhed my apprenticeſhip of ſeuen yeeres heere; and ſeuen yeeres is a great time for a Kings experience in Gouernment: Therefore there would not bee too many *Phormios* to teach *Hannibal*: I muſt not be taught my Office.

Secondly, I would not haue you meddle with ſuch ancient Rights of mine, as I haue receiued from my Predeceſſors, poſſeſſing them, *More Maiorum*: ſuch things I would bee ſorie ſhould bee accounted for *Grieuances.* All nouelties are dangerous as well in a politique as in a naturall Body: And therefore I would be loth to be quarrelled in my ancient Rights and poſſeſſions: for that were to iudge mee vnworthy of that which my Predeceſſors had, and left me.

And laſtly, I pray you beware to exhibite for *Grieuance* any thing that is eſtabliſhed by a ſetled Law, and whereunto (as you haue already had a proofe) you know I will neuer giue a plauſible anſwere: For it is an vndutifull part in Subiects to preſſe their King, wherein they know beforehand he will refuſe them. Now, if any Law or Statute be not conuenient, let it be amended by Parliament, but in the meane time terme it not a *Grieuance*: for to be grieued with the Law, is to be grieued with the King, who is ſworne to bee the Patron and mainteiner thereof. But as all men are fleſh, and may erre in the execution of Lawes; So may ye iuſtly make a *Grieuance* of any abuſe of the Law, diſtinguiſhing wiſely betweene the faults of the perſon, and the thing it ſelfe. As for example, Complaints may be made vnto you of the high Commiſſioners: If ſo be, trie the abuſe, and ſpare not to complaine vpon it, but ſay not there ſhall be no Commiſſion, For that were to abridge the power that is in me: and I will plainely tell you That ſomething I haue with my ſelfe reſolued annent that point, which I meane euer to keepe, except I ſee other great cauſe: which is, That in regard the high Commiſſion is of ſo high a nature, from which there is no appellation to any other Court, I haue thought good to reſtraine it onely to the two Archbiſhops, where before it was common amongſt a great part of the Biſhops in England. This Law I haue ſet to my ſelfe, and therefore you may

may be assured, that I will neuer finde fault with any man, nor thinke him the more Puritane, that will complaine to me out of Parliament, aswell as in Parliament, of any error in execution thereof, so that hee prooue it; Otherwise it were but a calumnie. Onely I would bee loath that any man should grieue at the Commission it selfe, as I haue already said. Yee haue heard (I am sure) of the paines I tooke both in the causes of the Admiralty, and of the Prohibitions: If any man therefore will bring me any iust complaints vpon any matters of so high a nature as this is, yee may assure your selues that I will not spare my labour in hearing it. In faith you neuer had a more painefull King, or that will be readier in his person to determine causes that are fit for his hearing. And when euer any of you shall make experience of me in this point, ye may be sure neuer to want accesse, nor ye shall neuer come wrong to me, in, or out of Parliament.

And now to conclude this purpose of *Grieuances*, I haue one generall *grieuance* to commend vnto you, and that in the behalfe of the Countreys from whence ye come. And this is, to pray you to beware that your *Grieuances* sauour not of particular mens thoughts, but of the generall griefes rising out of the mindes of the people, and not out of the humor of the propounder. And therefore I would wish you to take heede carefully, and consider of the partie that propounds the *grieuance*: for ye may (if ye list) easily discerne whether it bee his owne passion, or the peoples griefe, that makes him to speake: for many a man will in your house propound a *Grieuance* out of his owne humour, because (peraduenture) he accounts highly of that matter: and yet the countrey that imployes him, may perhaps either be of a contrary minde, or (at least) little care for it. As for example, I assure you, I can very well smell betweene a Petition that mooues from a generall *Grieuance*, or such a one as comes from the spleene of some particular person, either against Ecclesiasticall gouernment in generall, or the person of any one Noble man, or Commissioner in particular.

AND now the third point remaines to bee spoken of; which is the cause of my calling of this Parliament. And in this I haue done but as I vse to doe in all my life, which is to leaue mine owne errand hindmost.

It may bee you did wonder that I did not speake vnto you publikely at the beginning of this Session of Parliament, to tell you the cause of your calling, as I did (if I bee rightly remembred) in euery Session before. But the trewth is, that because I call you at this time for my particular Errand, I thought it fitter to bee opened vnto you by my Treasurer, who is my publike and most principall Officer in matters of that nature, then that I should doe it my selfe: for I confesse I am lesse naturally eloquent, and haue greater cause to distrust mine elocution in matters of this nature, then in any other thing. I haue made my Treasurer already to giue you a very cleere and trew accompt both of my hauing, and expenses: A fauour I confesse,

confeſſe, that Kings doe ſeldome beſtow vpon their Subiects, in making them ſo particularly acquainted with their ſtate. If I had not more then cauſe, you may be ſure I would be loth to trouble you: But what he hath affirmed in this, vpon the honour of a Gentleman, (whom you neuer had cauſe to diſtruſt for his honeſtie,) that doe I now confirme and auow to be trew in the word and honour of a King; And therein you are bound to beleeue me. Duetie I may iuſtly claime of you as my Subiects; and one of the branches of duetie which Subiects owe to their Soueraigne, is Supply: but in what quantitie, and at what time, that muſt come of your loues. I am not now therefore to diſpute of a Kings power, but to tell you what I may iuſtly craue, and expect with your good wills. I was euer againſt all extremes; and in this caſe I will likewiſe wiſh you to auoyd them on both ſides. For if you faile in the one, I might haue great cauſe to blame you as Parliament men, being called by me for my Errands: And if you fall into the other extreme, by ſupply of my neceſſities without reſpectiue care to auoyd oppreſſion or partialitie in the Leuie, both I and the Countrey will haue cauſe to blame you.

When I thinke vpon the compoſition of this body of Parliament, I doe well conſider that the Vpper houſe is compoſed of the Seculer Nobilitie, who are hereditary Lords of Parliament; and of Biſhops, that are liue Renter Barons of the ſame: And therefore what is giuen by the Vpper houſe, is giuen onely from the trew body of that Houſe, and out of their owne purpoſes that doe giue it; whereas the Lower houſe is but the repreſentatiue body of the Commons, and ſo what you giue, you giue it aſwell for others, as for your ſelues: and therefore you haue the more reaſon to eſchew both the extreames. On the one part, ye may the more eaſily be liberall, ſince it comes not all from your ſelues; and yet vpon the other part, if yee giue more then is fit for good and louing Subiects to yeeld vpon ſuch neceſſary occaſions, yee abuſe the King, and hurt the people; And ſuch a gift I will neuer accept: For in ſuch a caſe you might deceiue a King, in giuing your flattering conſent to that which you know might moue the people generally to grudge and murmure at it, and ſo ſhould the King find himſelfe deceiued in his *Calcule*, and the people likewiſe grieued in their hearts; the loue and poſſeſſion of which (I proteſt) I did, and euer will accompt the greateſt earthly ſecuritie (next the fauour of GOD) to any wiſe or iuſt King. For though it was vainely ſaide by one of your Houſe, That yee had need to beware, that by giuing mee too much, your throats were not in danger of cutting at your comming home: yet may ye aſſure your ſelues, that I will euer bee lothe to preſſe you to doe that which may wrong the people, and make you iuſtly to beare the blame thereof. But that yee may the better bee acquainted with my inclination, I will appeale to a number of my Priuie Councell here preſent, if that before the calling of this Parliament, and when I found that the neceſſitie of my eſtate required ſo great a ſupply, they found me more deſirous to obtaine

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that which I was forced to ſeeke, then carefull that the people might yeeld me a ſupply in ſo great a meaſure as my neceſſities required, without their too great loſſe. And you all that are Parliament men, and here preſent of both Houſes can beare me witneſſe, if euer I burthened or imployed any of you for any particular Subſidies, or ſummes by name, further then my laying open the particular neceſſities of my ſtate, or yet if euer I ſpake to any Priuie Councellour, or any of my learned Councell, to labour voyces for me to this end; I euer deteſted the hunting for *Emendicata Suffragia*. A King that will rule and gouerne iuſtly, muſt haue regard to Conſcience, Honour and Iudgement, in all his great Actions, (as your ſelfe M. Speaker remembred the other day.) And therefore ye may aſſure your ſelues, That I euer limit all my great Actions within that compaſſe. But as vpon the one ſide, I doe not deſire you ſhould yeeld to that extreame, in giuing me more then (as I ſaid formerly) vpon ſuch neceſſary occaſions are fit for good and louing Subiects to yeeld; For that were to giue me a purſe with a knife: So on the other ſide, I hope you will not make vaine pretences of wants, out of cauſeleſſe apprehenſions, or idle excuſes, neither cloake your owne humours (when your ſelues are vnwilling) by alledging the pouertie of the people. For although I will be no leſſe iuſt, as a King, to ſuch perſons, then any other: (For my Iuſtice with Gods grace, ſhalbe alike open to all) yet ye muſt thinke I haue no reaſon to thanke them, or gratifie them with any ſuits or matters of grace, when their errand ſhall come in my way; And yet no man can ſay, that euer I quarrelled any man for refuſing mee a Subſidie, if hee did it in a moderate faſhion, and with good reaſons. For him that denies a good Law, I will not ſpare to quarrell: But for graunting or denying money, it is but an effect of loue: And therefore for the point of my neceſſities, I onely deſire that I be not refuſed in that which of duety I ought to haue: For I know if it were propounded in the generall amongſt you, whether the Kings wants ought to be relieued or not, there is not one of you, that would make queſtion of it. And though in a ſort this may ſeeme to be my particular; yet it can not bee diuided from the generall good of the Common wealth; For the King that is *Parens Patriæ*, telles you of his wants. Nay, *Patria ipſa* by him ſpeakes vnto you. For if the King want, the State wants, and therefore the ſtrengthening of the King is the preſeruation and the ſtanding of the State; And woe be to him that diuides the weale of the King from the weale of the Kingdome. And as that King is miſerable (how rich ſoeuer he bee) that raines ouer a poore people, (for the hearts and riches of the people, are the Kings greateſt treaſure,) So is that Kingdome not able to ſubſiſt, how rich and potent ſoeuer the people be, if their King wants meanes to mainaine his State: for the meanes of your King are the ſinewes of the kingdome both in warre and peace: for in peace I muſt miniſter iuſtice vnto you, and in warre I muſt defend you by Armes: but neither of theſe can I do without ſufficient means, which muſt come from

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your Aide and Supply. I confeſſe it is farre againſt my nature to be burthenſome to my people: for it cannot but grieue me to craue of others, that was borne to be begged of. It is trew, I craue more then euer King of England did; but I haue farre greater and iuſter cauſe and reaſon to craue, then euer King of England had. And though my Treaſurer hath at length declared the reaſons vnto you of my neceſſities, and of a large ſupply that he craued for the ſame, wherein he omitted no arguments that can be vſed for that purpoſe; yet will I my ſelfe now ſhortly remember you ſome of the weightieſt reaſons that come in my head, to proue the equitie of my demaund.

Firſt, ye all know, that by the acceſſion of more Crownes, which in my Perſon I haue brought vnto you, my charge muſt be the greater in all reaſon: For the greater your King be, both in his dominion and number of Subiects, he cannot but be forced thereby to be at the more charge, and it is the more your honour, ſo to haue it.

Next, that poſteritie and iſſue which it hath pleaſed God to ſend me for your vſe, cannot but bring neceſſarily with it a greater proportion of charge. You all know that the late Queene of famous memory (notwithſtanding her orbitie) had much giuen vnto her, and more then euer any of her predeceſſors had before her.

Thirdly, the time of creation of my Sonne doeth now draw neere, which I chuſe for the greater honour to bee done in this time of Parliament. As for him I ſay no more; the ſight of himſelfe here ſpeakes for him.

Fourthly, it is trew I haue ſpent much; but yet if I had ſpared any of thoſe things, which cauſed a great part of my expenſe, I ſhould haue diſhonored the kingdome, my ſelfe, and the late Queene. Should I haue ſpared the funerall of the late Queene? or the ſolemnitie of mine and my wiues entrie into this Kingdome, in ſome honourable ſort? or ſhould I haue ſpared our entrie into *London*, or our Coronation? And when moſt of the Monarches, and great Princes in Chriſtendome ſent their Ambaſſadours to congratulate my comming hither, and ſome of them came in perſon, was I not bound, both for my owne honour, and the honour of the Kingdome, to giue them good entertainement? But in caſe it might be obiected by ſome, that it is onely vpon occaſions of warre, that Kings obtaine great Supplies from their Subiects: notwithſtanding my interne Peace, I am yet in a kinde of warre, which if it bee without, the more is your ſafetie: For (as the Treaſurer tolde you at large) I am now forced both in reſpects of State, and my promiſe, and for the generall cauſe of Religion, to ſend a Supply of forces to *Cleues*, and how long that occaſion may laſt, or what greater ſupply the neceſſitie of that Errand may draw mee vnto, no man can yet tell. Beſides that, although I haue put downe that forme of warlike keeping of *Barwicke*; yet are all thoſe commaunders my penſioners that were the late Queenes ſouldiers. And I hope I ſuſtaine a prettie Seminarie of Souldiers in my Forts within this Kingdome, beſides

the two cautionary Townes in the Low-countreys, *Flushing* and *Brill*. And as for *Ireland*, yee all know how vncertaine my charges are euer there, that people being so easily stirred, partly through their barbaritie, and want of ciuilitie, and partly through their corruption in Religion to breake foorth in rebellions. Yee know, how vnlooked for a Rebellion brake foorth there the last yeere, which could not but put mee to extraordinary charges. Besides I doe maintaine there continually an Armie, which is a goodly Seminarie of expert and old Souldiers. And I dare neuer suffer the same to be diminished, till this Plantation take effect, which (no doubt) is the greatest moate that euer came in the Rebels eyes: and it is to be looked for, that if euer they will bee able to make any stirre, they will presse at it by all meanes, for the preuenting and discouraging this Plantation. Now it is trew, that besides all these honourable and necessary occasions of my charge, I haue spent much in liberalitie: but yet I hope you will consider, that what I haue giuen, hath bene giuen amongst you; and so what comes in from you, goes out againe amongst you. But it may be thought that I haue giuen much amongst Scottishmen. Indeed if I had not beene liberall in rewarding some of my old seruants of that Nation, ye could neuer haue had reason to expect my thankefulnesse towards any of you that are more lately become my Subiects, if I had beene ingrate to the old: And yet yee will find, that I haue dealt twice as much amongst English men as I haue done to Scottishmen. And therefore he that in your House was not ashamed to affirme, that the siluer and gold did so abound in *Edenburgh*, was very farre mistaken; but I wish him no worse punishment, then that hee should onely liue vpon such profit of the money there. But I hope you will neuer mislike me for my liberalitie, since I can looke very few of you this day in the face, that haue not made suits to mee, at least for some thing, either of honour or profit. It is trew, a Kings liberalitie must neuer be dried vp altogether: for then he can neuer maintaine nor oblige his seruants and well deseruing Subiects: But that vastnesse of my expence is past, which I vsed the first two or three yeeres after my comming hither: And, as I oft vsed to say, that Christmas and open tide is ended: For at my first comming here, partly ignorance of this State (which no man can acquire but by time and experience) and partly the forme of my comming being so honourable and miraculous, enforced me to extend my liberalitie so much the more at the beginning. Ye saw I made Knights then by hundreths, and Barons in great numbers: but I hope you find I doe not so now, nor minde not to doe so hereafter. For to conclude this point anent expences, I hold that a Kings expence must alwayes bee honourable, though not wastefull, and the charges of your King in maintaining those ancient honourable formes of liuing that the former Kings of *England* my Predecessours haue done, and his liuing to bee ruled according to the proportion of his greatnesse, is aswell for the honour of your Kingdome,

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as of your King. Now this cannot be ſupplied out of the ayre or liquid elements, but muſt come from the people. And for remouing of that diffidence which men may haue, that I minde not to liue in any waſtefull ſort hereafter, will you but looke vpon my ſelfe and my poſteritie; and if there were no more but that, it will teach you that if I were but a naturall man, I muſt needs bee carefull of my expences: For as for my owne perſon, I hope none that knowes me well, can thinke me but as little inclined to any prodigall humours of vnneceſſary things, as any other reaſonable man of a farre meaner eſtate. Therefore ſince (as I haue ſaid) I cannot be helped but from the people; I aſſure my ſelfe that you will well allow mee ſuch meaſure of Supplie, as the people may beare, and ſupport him with more Honourable meanes then others haue had, that (as I may ſay without vaunting) hath brought you more Honour then euer you had: For I hope there are no good Subiects either within, or out of the Parliament Houſe, that would not be content for ſetting ſtreight once and ſetling the Honourable State of their King, to ſpare ſo much euery one of them out of their purſes, which peraduenture they would in one night throw away at Dice or Cards, or beſtow vpon a horſe for their fancies, that might breake his necke or his legge the next morning: Nay I am ſure euery good Subiect would rather chuſe to liue more ſparingly vpon his owne, then that his Kings State ſhould be in want.

For concluſion then of this purpoſe, I wiſh you now to put a ſpeedie end to your buſineſſe. Freeneſſe in giuing graceth the gift, *Bis dat, qui citò dat*; The longer I want helpe, the greater will my debt ſtill riſe: and ſo muſt I looke for the greater helpes. And now I would pray you to turne your eyes with mee from home, and looke vpon forreine States. Conſider that the eyes of all forreine States are vpon this affaire, and in expectation what the ſucceſſe thereof will be; And what can they thinke, if ye depart without relieuing mee in that proportion that may make me able to maintaine my State, but that either ye are vnwilling to helpe mee, thinking me vnworthy thereof, or at leaſt that my State is ſo deſperate, as it cannot be repaired, and ſo that the Parliament parts in diſgrace with the King, and the King in diſtaſte with the Parliament, which cannot but weaken my reputation both at home and abroad? For of this you may be aſſured, that forreine Princes care the more one for an other, if they may haue reaſon to expect that they may bee able to doe them good or harme in Retribution. And ye know, that if a King fall to be contemned with his neighbours, that cannot but bring an oppreſſion and warre by them vpon him, and then will it be too late to ſupport the King, when the cure is almoſt deſperate. Things foreſeene and preuented, are euer eaſlieſt remedied: And therefore I would aduiſe you now ſo to ſettle your buſineſſe, as ye may not take in hand ſo many things at once, as may both croſſe my errand, and euery one of them croſſe another. Yee remember the French Prouerbe, *Qui trop embraſſe, rien eſtreint*; We are not in this

Parliament to make our Teſtament, as if wee ſhould neuer meete againe, and that all things that were to be done in any Parliament, were to be done at this time: and yet for filling vp of your vacant houres, I will recommend to your conſideration ſuch nature of things, as are to bee ſpecially thought vpon in theſe times. Firſt I will beginne at GOD: for the beginning with him makes all other actions to bee bleſſed: And this I meane by the cauſe of Religion. Next I will ſpeake of ſome things that concerne the Common-wealth. And thirdly, matters of Pleaſure and ornament to the Kingdome.

As for Religion, we haue all great cauſe to take heed vnto it; Papiſts are waxed as proud at this time as euer they were, which makes many to think they haue ſome new plot in hand. And although the pooreſt ſort of them bee (God be thanked) much decreaſed, yet doeth the greater ſort of them dayly increaſe, eſpecially among the fœminine Sexe; nay they are waxed ſo proud, that ſome ſay, no man dare preſent them, nor Iudges meddle with them, they are ſo backed and vpholden by diuers great Courtiers. It is a ſurer and better way to remooue the materials of fire before they bee kindled, then to quench the fire when once it is kindled.

Nam leuius lædit quicquid præuidimus antè.

I doe not meane by this to mooue you to make ſtronger Lawes then are already made, but ſee thoſe Lawes may bee well executed that are in force; otherwiſe they cannot but fall into contempt and become ruſtie. I neuer found, that blood and too much ſeueritie did good in matters of Religion: for, beſides that it is a ſure rule in Diuinitie, that God neuer loues to plant his Church by violence and bloodſhed; naturall reaſon may euen perſwade vs, and dayly experience prooues it trew, That when men are ſeuerely perſecuted for Religion, the gallantneſſe of many mens ſpirits, and the wilfulnes of their humors, rather then the iuſtneſſe of the cauſe, makes them to take a pride boldy to endure any torments, or death it ſelfe, to gaine thereby the reputatiom of Martyrdome, though but in a falſe ſhadow.

Some doubts haue beene conceiued anent the vſing of the Oath of Allegiance, and that part of the Acte which ordaines the taking thereof, is thought ſo obſcure, that no man can tell who ought to bee preſſed therewith. For I my ſelfe, when vpon a time I called the Iudges before mee at their going to their Circuits, I mooued this queſtion vnto them; wherein, as I thought they could not reſolutely anſwere me: And therefore if there bee any ſcruple touching the miniſtring of it, I would wiſh it now to bee cleared. And ſince I haue with my owne pen brought the Popes quarell vpon mee, and proclaimed publique defiance to *Babylon* in maintaining it; ſhould it now ſleepe, and ſhould I ſeeme (as it were) to ſteale from it againe?

As for Recuſants, let them bee all duely preſented without exception: for in times paſt there hath beene too great a conniuence, and forbearing of

of them, especially of great mens wiues, and their kinne and followers. None ought to be spared from being brought vnder the danger of Law, and then it is my part to vse mercie, as I thinke conuenient. To winke at faults, and not to suffer them to bee discouered, is no Honour, nor Mercy in a King, neither is he euer thanked for it; It onely argues his dulnesse: But to forgiue faults after they are confessed, or tried, is Mercie. And now I must turne me in this case to you, my Lords the Bishops, and euen exhort you earnestly, to be more carefull, then you haue bene, that your Officers may more duely present Recusants, then heretofore they haue done, without exception of persons; That althought it must be the worke of GOD that must make their mindes to bee altered, yet at least by this course they may be stayed from increasing, or insulting vpon vs.

And that yee all may know the trewth of my heart in this case, I diuide all my Subiects that are Papists, into two rankes: either olde Papists, that were so brought vp in times of Poperie, like old Queene *Mary* Priests, and those, that though they bee younger in yeeres, yet haue neuer drunke in other milke, but beene still nusled in that blindnesse: Or else such as doe become Apostats; hauing once beene of our Profession, and haue forsaken the trewth, either vpon discontent, or practise, or else vpon a light vaine humour of Noueltie, making no more scruple to seeke out new formes of Religion, then if it were but a new forme of Garment, or a new cut or courtsey after the French fashion.

For the former sort, I pitie them; but if they bee good and quiet Subiects, I hate not their persons; and if I were a priuate man, I could well keepe a ciuill friendship and conuersation with some of them: But as for those Apostates, who, I know, must be greatest haters of their owne Sect, I confesse I can neuer shew any fauourable countenance toward them, and they may all of them be sure without exception, that they shall neuer finde any more fauour of mee, further then I must needs in Iustice afford them. And these would I haue the Law to strike seuerelieſt vpon, and you carefullest to discouer. Yee know there hath beene great stirre kept for begging Concealements these yeeres past; and I pray you, let mee begge this concealement both of the Bishops, and Iudges, That Papists be no longer concealed.

Next, as concerning the Common wealth, I doe specially recommend vnto you the framing of some new Statute for preseruation of woods. In the end of the last Session of Parliament, ye had a Bill amongst you of that subiect; but because you found some faults therein, you cast out the whole Bil: But I could haue rather wished that yee had either mended it, or made a new one; For to cast out the whole Bill because of some faults, was euen as if a man, that had a new garment brought him, would chuse rather to go naked, then haue his garment made fit for him: But on my cõscience, I cannot

imagine why you ſhould ſo lightly haue eſteemed a thing, ſo neceſſary for the Common wealth, if it were not out of a litle frowardneſſe amongſt you at that time, that what I then recommended earneſtly vnto you, it was the worſe liked of. The maintenance of woods is a thing ſo neceſſary for this Kingdome, as it cannot ſtand, nor be a Kingdome without it: For it concernes you both in your *Eſſe*, *Bene eſſe*, and in pleaſures. Your *Eſſe*: for without it you want the vſe of one of the moſt neceſſarie Elements (which is Fire and fewell to dreſſe your meate with; for neither can the people liue in theſe colde Countries, if they want fire altogether, nor yet can you dreſſe your meate without it; and I thinke you will ill liue like the Cannibals vpon raw fleſh: for the education of this people is farre from that. As to your *bene eſſe*; The decay of woods will neceſſarily bring the decay of Shipping, which both is the ſecurity of this Kingdome, ſince God hath by nature made the Sea to bee the wall of this Iland; and the rather now, ſince God hath vnited it all in my Perſon and Crowne; As alſo by the decay of Shipping will you looſe both all your forraine commodities that are fit for this countrey, and the venting of our owne, which is the loſſe of Trade, that is a maine pillar of this kingdome. And as for Pleaſure, yee know my delight in Hunting and Hawking, and many of your ſelues are of the ſame minde; and all this muſt needes decay, by the decay of Woods: Ye haue reaſon therefore to prouide a good Law vpon this Subiect.

Now as to the laſt point concerning matters of Pleaſure, it conſiſts in the preſeruing of Game, which is now almoſt vtterly deſtroyed through all the Kingdome. And if you offer not now a better Law for this, then was made in the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, I will neuer thanke you for it: For as for your Law anent Partridge and Pheſant, you haue giuen leaue to euery man how poore a Farmour that euer hee bee, to take and deſtroy them in his owne ground how he liſt. But I pray you, how can the Game bee maintained, if Gentlemen that haue great Lordſhips ſhall breed and preſerue them there, and ſo ſoone as euer they ſhall but flie ouer the hedge and light in a poore fellowes Cloſe, they ſhall all be deſtroyed? Surely I know no remedie for preſeruing the Game that breedes in my grounds, except I caſt a roofe ouer all the ground, or elſe put veruels to the Partridges feet with my Armes vpon them, as my Hawkes haue: otherwiſe I know not how they ſhall bee knowen to be the Kings Partridges, when they light in a Farmours Cloſe.

And by your Lawe againſt ſtealing of Deere or Conies, after a long diſcourſe and prohibition of ſtealing them, you conclude in the end with a reſtriction, that all this puniſhment ſhall bee vnderſtood to bee vſed againſt them that ſteale the Game in the night: Which hath much encouraged all the looſer ſort of people, that it is no fault to ſteale Deere, ſo they doe it not like theeues in the night. As was that Law of the *Lacedemonians*

againſt

againſt theft, that did not forbid theft, but onely taught them to doe it cunningly, and without diſcouerie: Whereupon a fooliſh boy ſuffered a Foxe to gnaw his heart through his breaſt. And this doctrine is like that Leſſon of the Cannon Law, *Si non caſtè, tamen cautè.* I knowe you thinke that I ſpeake partially in this caſe like a Hunter; But there is neuer a one of you that heares mee, that cares the leaſt for the ſport, for preſeruation of the Game, but he would be as glad to haue a paſtie of Veniſon if you might get it, as the beſt Hunter would: And if the Game be not preſerued, you can eate no Veniſon. As for Partridge and Pheſant, I doe not denie that Gentlemen ſhould haue their ſport, and ſpecially vpon their owne ground. But firſt I doe not thinke ſuch Game and pleaſures ſhould be free to baſe people. And next I would euen wiſh that Gentlemen ſhould vſe it in a Gentlemanlike faſhion, and not with Nets, or Gunnes, or ſuch other vngentlemanlike faſhions that ſerue but for vtter deſtruction of all Game, nor yet to kill them at vnſeaſonable times, as to kill the Pheſant and Partridges when they are no bigger then Mice, when as for euery one their Hawkes kill, ten will be deſtroyed with their Dogs and Horſe feet; beſides the great and intolerable harme they doe to Corne in that ſeaſon.

And now in the end of all this faſchious Speach, I muſt conclude like a Grey Frier, in ſpeaking for my ſelfe at laſt. At the beginning of this Seſſion of Parliament, when the Treaſourer opened my neceſſities vnto you, then my Purſe onely laboured; But now that word is ſpread both at home and abroad of the demaunds I haue made vnto you; my Reputation laboureth aſwell as my Purſe: For if you part without the repairing of my State in ſome reaſonable ſort, what can the world thinke, but that the euill will my Subiects beare vnto mee, hath bred a refuſe? And yee can neuer part ſo, without apprehending that I am diſtaſted with your behauiour, and yet to be in feare of my diſpleaſure. But I aſſure and promiſe my ſelfe farre otherwiſe.

THus haue I now performed my promiſe, in preſenting vnto you the Chriſtall of your Kings heart.

Yee know that principally by three wayes yee may wrong a Mirrour.

Frſt, I pray you, looke not vpon my Mirrour with a falſe light: which yee doe, if ye miſtake, or miſ-vnderſtand my Speach, and ſo alter the ſence thereof.

But ſecondly, I pray you beware to ſoile it with a foule breath, and vncleane hands: I meane, that yee peruert not my words by any corrupt affections,

fections, turning them to an ill meaning, like one, who when hee heares the tolling of a Bell, fancies to himselfe, that it speakes those words which are most in his minde.

And lastly, (which is worst of all) beware to let it fall or breake; (for glasse is brittle) which ye doe, if ye lightly esteeme it, and by contemning it, conforme not your selues to my perswasions.

To conclude then: As all these three dayes of *Iubile* haue fallen in the midst of this season of penitence, wherein you haue presented your thanks to me, and I the like againe to you: So doe I wish and hope, that the end of this Parliament will bee such, as wee may all haue cause (both I your Head, and yee the Body) to ioyne in Eucharisticke Thanks and Praises vnto God, for our so good and happie an end.

(* * *)

A SPEACH

A SPEACH IN THE STARRE-CHAMBER, *THE XX. OF IVNE.* ANNO 1616.

GIVE THY IVDGEMENTS TO THE KING, O GOD, AND THY RIGHTEOVSNES TO THE KINGS SONNE.

These be the first words of one of the Psalmes of the Kingly Prophet *Dauid*, whereof the literall sense runnes vpon him, and his sonne *Salomon*, and the mysticall sense vpon GOD and CHRIST his eternall Sonne: but they are both so wouen together, as some parts are, and can onely bee properly applied vnto GOD and CHRIST, and other parts vnto *Dauid* and *Salomon*, as this Verse, *Giue thy Iudgements to the King, O God, and thy Righteousnesse to the Kings Sonne*, cannot be properly spoken of any, but of *Dauid* and his sonne; because it is said, *Giue thy Iudgements, &c.* Now God cannot giue to himselfe. In another part of the same Psalme, where it is said, that *Righteousnes shall flourish, and abundance of Peace, as long as the Moone endureth*, it signifieth eternitie, and cannot be properly applied but to GOD and CHRIST: But both senses, aswell literall as mysticall, serue to Kings for imitation, and especially to Christian Kings: for Kings sit in the Throne of GOD, and they themselues are called Gods.

And therefore all good Kings in their gouernment, must imitate GOD and

and his Christ, in being iust and righteous; *Dauid* and *Salomon*, in being godly and wise: To be wise, is vnderstood, able to discerne, able to iudge others: To be godly is, that the fountaine be pure whence the streames proceed: for what auailes it though all his workes be godly, if they proceed not from godlinesse: To bee righteous, is to a mans selfe: To bee iust, is towards others. But Iustice in a King auailes not, vnlesse it be with a cleane heart: for except he bee Righteous aswell as Iust, he is no good King; and whatsoeuer iustice he doeth, except he doeth it for Iustice sake, and out of the pureneſſe of his owne heart, neither from priuate ends, vaine-glory, or any other by-respects of his owne, all such Iustice is vnrighteousnesse, and no trew Iustice. From this imitation of GOD and CHRIST, in whose Throne wee sit, the gouernment of all Commonwealths, and especially Monarchies, hath bene from the beginning setled and established. Kings are properly Iudges, and Iudgement properly belongs to them from GOD: for Kings sit in the Throne of GOD, and thence all Iudgement is deriued.

In all well setled Monarchies, where Law is establisshed formerly and orderly, there Iudgement is deferred from the King to his subordinate Magistrates; not that the King takes it from himselfe, but giues it vnto them: So it comes not to them *Priuatiuè*, but *cumulatiuè*, as the Shoolemen speake. The ground is ancient, euer sithence that Counsell which *Iethro* gaue to *Moses*: for after that *Moses* had gouerned a long time, in his owne person, the burthen grew so great, hauing none to helpe him, as his father in law comming to visite him, found him so cumbred with ministring of Iustice, that neither the people were satisfied, nor he well able to performe it; Therefore by his aduice, Iudges were deputed for easier questions, and the greater and more profound were left to *Moses*: And according to this establishment, all Kings that haue had a formall gouernement, especially Christian Kings in all aages haue gouerned their people, though after a diuers maner.

This Deputation is after one manner in *France*, after another here, and euen my owne Kingdomes differ in this point of gouernment: for *Scotland* differs both from *France* and *England* herein; but all agree in this, (I speake of such Kingdomes or States where the formalitie of Law hath place) that the King that sits in Gods Throne, onely deputes subalterne Iudges, and he deputes not one but a number (for no one subalterne Iudges mouth makes Law) and their office is to interprete Law, and administer Iustice. But as to the number of them, the forme of gouernement, the maner of interpretation, the distinction of Benches, the diuersitie of Courts; these varie according to the varietie of gouernment, and institution of diuers Kings: So this ground I lay, that the seate of Iudgement is properly Gods, and Kings are Gods Vicegerents; and by Kings Iudges are deputed vnder them, to beare the burden of gouernement, according to the first example of *Moses* by the aduice of *Iethro*, and

sithence

ſithence practiſed by *Dauid* and *Salomon*, the wiſeſt Kings that euer were; which is in this Pſalme ſo interlaced, that as the firſt verſe cannot be applied properly but to *Dauid* and *Salomon*, in the words, *Giue thy Iudgements to the King*, &c. So the other place in the ſame Pſalme, *Righteouſneſſe ſhall flouriſh, and abundance of peace ſhall remaine as long as the Moone endureth*, properly ſignifieth the eternitie of CHRIST. This I ſpeake, to ſhew what a neere coniunction there is betweene God and the King vpward, and the King and his Iudges downewards: for the ſame coniunction that is betweene God and the King vpward; the ſame coniunction is betweene the King and his Iudges downewards.

As Kings borrow their power from God, ſo Iudges from Kings: And as Kings are to accompt to God, ſo Iudges vnto God and Kings; and both Kings and Iudges by imitation, haue two qualities from God and his Chriſt, and two qualities from *Dauid* and his *Salomon*: Iudgement and Righteouſneſſe, from God and Chriſt: Godlineſſe and Wiſedome from *Dauid* and *Salomon*. And as no King can diſcharge his accompt to God, vnleſſe he make conſcience not to alter, but to declare and eſtabliſh the will of God: So Iudges cannot diſcharge their accompts to Kings, vnleſſe they take the like care, not to take vpon them to make Law, but ioyned together after a deliberate conſultation, to declare what the Law is; For as Kings are ſubiect vnto Gods Law, ſo they to mans Law. It is the Kings Office to protect and ſettle the trew interpretation of the Law of God within his Dominions: And it is the Iudges Office to interprete the Law of the King, whereto themſelues are alſo ſubiect.

Hauing now perfourmed this ancient Prouerbe, *A Ioue principium*; which though it was ſpoken by a Pagan, yet it is good and holy: I am now to come to my particular Errand, for which I am heere this day; wherein I muſt handle two parts: Firſt, the reaſon why I haue not theſe fourteene yeeres, ſithence my Coronation vntill now, ſatisfied a great many of my louing ſubiects, who I know haue had a great expectation, and as it were a longing, like them that are with child, to heare mee ſpeake in this place, where my Predeceſſors haue often ſitten, and eſpecially King *Henry* the ſeuenth, from whom, as diuers wayes before, I am lineally deſcended, and that doubly to this Crowne; and as I am neereſt deſcended of him, ſo doe I deſire to follow him in his beſt actions.

The next part is the reaſon, Why I am now come: The cauſe that made mee abſtaine, was this: When I came into *England*, although I was an old King, paſt middle aage, and practiſed in gouernment euer ſithence I was twelue yeeres olde; yet being heere a ſtranger in gouernement, though not in blood, becauſe my breeding was in another Kingdome; I reſolued therefore with *Pythagoras* to keepe ſilence ſeuen yeeres, and learne my ſelfe the Lawes of this Kingdome, before I would take vpon mee to teach them vnto others: When this Apprentiſhip was ended, then another impediment came, which was in the choice of that cauſe, that ſhould firſt

bring

bring me hither. I expected ſome great cauſe to make my firſt entry vpon: For I thought that hauing abſtained ſo long, it ſhould be a worthy matter that ſhould bring mee hither. Now euery cauſe muſt be great or ſmall: In ſmall cauſes I thought it diſgracefull to come, hauing beene ſo long abſent: In great cauſes, they muſt be either betwixt the King and ſome of his Subiects, or betwixt Subiect and Subiect.

In a cauſe where my ſelfe was concerned, I was loath to come, becauſe men ſhould not thinke I did come for my owne priuate, either Prerogatiue or profit; or for any other by-reſpect: And in that caſe I will alwayes abide the triall of men and Angels, neuer to haue had any particular end, in that which is the Maine of all things, *Iuſtice.*

In a great cauſe alſo betweene partie and partie, great in reſpect either of the queſtion, or value of the thing, my comming might ſeeme, as it were obliquely, to be in fauour of one partie, and for that cauſe this Counſellour, or that Courtier might be thought to mooue me to come hither; And a meane cauſe was not worthy of mee, eſpecially for my firſt entrance: So lacke of choice in both reſpects kept mee off till now: And now hauing paſſed a double apprentiſhip of twice ſeuen yeeres, I am come hither to ſpeake vnto you. And next as to the reaſons of my comming at this time, they are theſe.

I haue obſerued in the time of my whole Reigne here, and my double Apprentiſhip, diuers things fallen out in the Iudicatures here at *Weſtminſter* Hall, that I thought required and vrged a reformation at my hands; whereupon I reſolued with my ſelfe, that I could not more fitly begin a reformation, then here to make an open declaration of my meaning. I remember Chriſts ſaying, *My ſheepe heare my voyce*, and ſo I aſſure my ſelfe, my people will moſt willingly heare the voyce of me, their owne Shepheard and King; whereupon I tooke this occaſion in mine owne perſon here in this Seate of Iudgement, not iudicially, but declaratorily and openly to giue thoſe directions, which, at other times, by piece-meale, I haue deliuered to ſome of you in diuers leſſe publike places; but now will put it vp in all your audience, where I hope it ſhall bee trewly caried, and cannot be miſtaken, as it might haue bene when it was ſpoken more priuately: I will for order ſake take mee to the methode of the number of Three, the number of perfection, and vpon that number diſtribute all I haue to declare to you.

FIrſt, I am to giue a charge to my ſelfe: for a King, or Iudge vnder a King, that firſt giues not a good charge to himſelfe, will neuer be able to giue a good charge to his inferiours; for as I haue ſaid, Good riuers cannot flow but from good ſprings; if the fountaine be impure, ſo muſt the riuers be.

Secondly, to the Iudges: And thirdly, to the Auditory, and the reſt of the inferiour miniſters of Iuſtice.

Firſt,

First, I proteſt to you all, in all your audience, heere ſitting in the ſeate of Iuſtice, belonging vnto GOD, and now by right fallen vnto mee, that I haue reſolued, as Confirmation in Maioritie followeth Baptiſme in minoritie; ſo now after many yeeres, to renew my promiſe and Oath made at my Coronation concerning Iuſtice, and the promiſe therein for maintenance of the Law of the Land. And I proteſt in GODS preſence, my care hath euer beene to keepe my conſcience cleare in all the points of my Oath, taken at my Coronation, ſo farre as humane frailtie may permit mee, or my knowledge enforme mee, I ſpeake in point of Iuſtice and Law; For Religion, I hope I am reaſonably well knowen already: I meane therefore of Lawe and Iuſtice; and for Law, I meane the Common Law of the Land, according to which the King gouernes, and by which the people are gouerned. For the Common Law, you can all beare mee witneſſe, I neuer preſſed alteration of it in Parliament; but on the contrary, when I endeauoured moſt an Vnion reall, as was already in my perſon, my deſire was to conforme the Lawes of *Scotland* to the Law of *England*, and not the Law of *England* to the Law of *Scotland*; and ſo the prophecie to be trew of my wiſe Grandfather *Henry* the ſeuenth, who foretold that the leſſer Kingdome by marriage, would follow the greater, and not the greater the leſſer; And therefore married his eldeſt daughter *Margaret* to *Iames* the fourth, my great Grandfather.

It was a fooliſh Querke of ſome Iudges, who held that the Parliament of *England*, could not vnite *Scotland* and *England* by the name of *Great Britaine*, but that it would make an alteration of the Lawes, though I am ſince come to that knowledge, that an Acte of Parliament can doe greater wonders: And that old wiſe man the Treaſourer *Burghley* was wont to ſay, Hee knew not what an Acte of Parliament could not doe in *England*; For my intention was alwayes to effect vnion by vniting *Scotland* to *England*, and not *England* to *Scotland*: For I euer meant, being euer reſolued, that this Law ſhould continue in this Kingdome, and two things mooued mee thereunto; One is, that in matter of Policie and State, you ſhall neuer ſee any thing anciently and maturely eſtabliſhed, but by Innouation or alteration it is worſe then it was, I meane not by purging of it from corruptions, and reſtoring it to the ancient integritie; Another reaſon was, I was ſworne to maintaine the Law of the Land, and therefore I had beene periured if I had altered it; And this I ſpeake to root out the conceit and miſapprehenſion, if it be in any heart, that I would change, damnifie, vilifie or ſuppreſſe the Law of this Land: GOD is my Iudge I neuer meant it; And this confirmation I make before you all.

To this I ioyne the point of Iuſtice, which I call *Vnicuique ſuum tribuere*. All my Councell, and Iudges dead and aliue, can, and could beare mee witneſſe, how vnpartiall I haue beene in declaring of Law.

And where it hath concerned mee in my owne inheritance, I haue as willingly ſubmitted my intereſt to the Lawe, as any my Subiects could doe; and it becomes mee ſo to doe, to giue example to others: much leſſe then will I be partiall to others, where I am not to my ſelfe. And ſo reſolue your ſelues, Iuſtice with mee may bee moderated in point of clemencie: for no Iuſtice can be without mercie. But in matters of Iuſtice to giue euery man his owne, to be blinde without eyes of partialitie; This is my full reſolution.

I vſed to ſay when I was in *Scotland*, if any man mooued mee to delay Iuſtice, that it was againſt the Office of a King ſo to doe; But when any made ſuite to haſten Iuſtice, I told them I had rather grant fourtie of theſe ſuits, then one of the other: This was alwayes my cuſtome and ſhall be euer, with Gods leaue.

Now what I haue ſpoken of Law and Iuſtice, I meane by the Lawe kept in her owne bounds: For I vnderſtand the inheritance of the King, and Subiects in this land, muſt bee determined by the Common Law, &c; and that is, by the Law ſet downe in our forefathers time, expounded by learned men diuers times after in the declaratory Comments, called *Reſponſa Prudentum*; Or elſe by Statute Law ſet downe by Acte of Parliament, as occaſion ſerues: By this I doe not ſeclude all other Lawes of *England*, but this is the Law of inheritance in this Kingdome.

There is another Law, of all Lawes free and ſupreame, which is GODS LAVV: And by this all Common and municipall Lawes muſt be gouerned: And except they haue dependance vpon this Law, they are vniuſt and vnlawfull.

When I ſpeake of that Law, I onely giue this touch, That that Law in this Kingdome hath beene too much neglected, and Churchmen too much had in contempt; I muſt ſpeake trewth, Great men, Lords, Iudges, and people of all degrees from the higheſt to the loweſt, haue too much contemned them: And God will not bleſſe vs in our owne Lawes, if wee doe not reuerence and obey GODS LAVV; which cannot bee, except the interpreters of it be reſpected and reuerenced.

And it is a ſigne of the latter dayes drawing on; euen the contempt of the Church, and of the Gouernours and Teachers thereof now in the Church of ENGLAND, which I ſay in my Conſcience, of any Church that euer I read or knew of, preſent or paſt, is moſt pure, and neereſt the Primitiue and Apoſtolicall Church in Doctrine and Diſcipline, and is ſurelieſt founded vpon the word of God, of any Church in Chriſtendome.

Next vnto this Law is the Law of Nations, which God forbid ſhould bee barred, and that for two cauſes: One, becauſe it is a Law to ſatisfie Strangers, which will not ſo well hold themſelues ſatisfied with other municipall Lawes: Another, to ſatisfie our owne Subiects in matters of Piracie, Marriage, Wills, and things of like nature: That Law I

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diuide into Ciuil and Canon; And this Law hath bene ſo much encroched vpon, ſithence my comming to the Crowne, and ſo had in contempt, that young men are diſcouraged from ſtudying, and the reſt wearie of their liues that doe profeſſe it, and would be glad to ſeeke any other craft.

So, ſpeaking of the Common Law, I meane the Common Law kept within her owne limits, and not derogating from theſe other Lawes, which by longer cuſtome haue beene rooted here; firſt, the Law of GOD and his Church; and next, the Law Ciuill and Canon, which in many caſes cannot be wanting.

To conclude this charge which I giue my ſelfe, I profeſſe to maintaine all the points of mine Oath, eſpecially in Lawes, and of Lawes, eſpecially the Common Law.

And as to maintaine it, ſo to purge it; for elſe it cannot bee maintained: and eſpecially to purge it from two corruptions, Incertaintie and Nouel-tie: Incertaintie is found in the Law it ſelfe, wherein I will bee painefull to cleare it to the people; and this is properly to bee done in Parliament by aduice of the Iudges.

The other corruption is introduced by the Iudges themſelues, by Ni-cities that are vſed, where it may be ſaid, *Ab initio non fuit ſic.*

Nothing in the world is more likely to be permanent to our eyes then yron or ſteele, yet the ruſt corrupts it, if it bee not kept cleane: which ſheweth, nothing is permanent here in this world, if it be not purged; So I cannot diſcharge my conſcience in maintaining the Lawes, if I keepe them not cleane from corruption.

And now that I may bee like the Paſtor, that firſt takes the Sacrament himſelfe, and then giues it to the people: So I haue firſt taken my owne charge vpon me, before I giue you your Charge, leſt it might be ſaid,

Turpe eſt doctori, cùm culpa redarguit ipſum.

NOw my Lords the Iudges for your parts, the Charge I haue to giue you, conſiſts likewiſe in three parts.

Firſt in generall, that you doe Iuſtice vprightly, as you ſhall anſwere to GOD and mee: For as I haue onely GOD to anſwere to, and to expect puniſhment at his hands, if I offend; So you are to anſwere both to GOD and to mee, and expect puniſhment at GODS hands and mine, if you be found in fault.

Secondly, to doe Iuſtice indifferently betweene Subiect and Subiect, betweene King and Subiect, without delay, partialitie, feare or bribery, with ſtout and vpright hearts, with cleane and vncorrupt hands.

When I bid you doe Iuſtice boldly, yet I bid you doe it fearefully; fearefully in this, to vtter your owne conceites, and not the trew mea-ning of the Law: And remember you are no makers of Law, but Inter-pretours of Law, according to the trew ſence thereof; for your Office is *Ius dicere*, and not *Ius dare*: And that you are ſo farre from making Law, that euen in the higher houſe of Parliament, you haue no voyce in

making of a Law, but only to giue your aduice when you are required.

And though the Laws be in many places obſcure, and not ſo wel knowen to the multitude as to you; and that there are many parts that come not into ordinary practiſe, which are knowen to you, becauſe you can finde out the reaſon thereof by bookes and preſidents; yet know this, that your interpretations muſt be alwayes ſubiect to common ſenſe and reaſon.

For I will neuer truſt any Interpretation, that agreeth not with my common ſenſe and reaſon, and trew Logicke: for *Ratio eſt anima Legis* in all humane Lawes, without exception; it muſt not be Sophiſtrie or ſtraines of wit that muſt interprete, but either cleare Law, or ſolide reaſon.

But in Countreys where the formalitie of Law hath no place, as in *Denmarke*, which I may trewly report, as hauing my ſelfe beene an eye-witneſſe thereof; all their State is gouerned onely by a written Law, there is no Aduocate or Proctour admitted to plead, onely the parties themſelues plead their owne cauſe, and then a man ſtands vp and reads the Law, and there is an end, for the very Law-booke it ſelfe is their onely Iudge. Happy were all Kingdomes if they could be ſo: But heere, curious wits, various conceits, different actions, and varietie of examples breed queſtions in Law: And therefore when you heare the queſtions if they be plaine, there is a plaine way in it ſelfe; if they be ſuch as are not plaine (for mens inuentions dayly abound) then are you to interprete according to common ſenſe, and draw a good and certaine *Minor* of naturall reaſon, out of the *Maior* of direct Lawe, and thereupon to make a right and trew *Concluſion*.

For though the Common Law be a myſtery and skill beſt knowen vnto your ſelues, yet if your interpretation be ſuch, as other men which haue Logicke and common ſenſe vnderſtand not the reaſon, I will neuer truſt ſuch an Interpretation.

Remember alſo you are Iudges, and not a Iudge, and diuided into Benches, which ſheweth that what you doe, that you ſhould doe with aduice and deliberation, not haſtily and raſhly, before you well ſtudy the caſe, and conferre together; debating it duely, not giuing ſingle opinions, *per emendicata ſuffragia*; and ſo to giue your Iudgement, as you will anſwer to God and me.

Now hauing ſpoken of your Office in generall, I am next to come to the limits wherein you are to bound your ſelues, which likewiſe are three. Firſt, Incroach not vpon the Prerogatiue of the Crowne: If there fall out a queſtion that concernes my Prerogatiue or myſtery of State, deale not with it, till you conſult with the King or his Councell, or both: for they are tranſcendent matters, and muſt not be ſliberely caried with ouer-raſh wilfulneſſe; for ſo may you wound the King through the ſides of a priuate perſon: and this I commend vnto your ſpeciall care, as ſome of you of late haue done very well, to blunt the ſharpe edge and vaine popular humour of ſome Lawyers at the Barre, that

that thinke they are not eloquent and bold ſpirited enough, except they meddle with the Kings Prerogatiue: But doe not you ſuffer this; for certainely if this liberty be ſuffered, the Kings Prerogatiue, the Crowne, and I, ſhall bee as much wounded by their pleading, as if you reſolued what they diſputed: That which concernes the myſterie of the Kings power, is not lawfull to be diſputed; for that is to wade into the weakeneſſe of Princes, and to take away the myſticall reuerence, that belongs vnto them that ſit in the Throne of God.

Secondly, That you keepe your ſelues within your owne Benches, not to inuade other Iuriſdictions, which is vnfit, and an vnlawful thing; In this I muſt inlarge my ſelfe. Beſides the Courts of Common Law, there is the Court of Requeſts; the Admiraltie Court; the Court of the Preſident and Councell of Walles, the Preſident and Councell of the North; High Commiſſion Courts, euery Biſhop in his owne Court.

Theſe Courts ought to keepe their owne limits and boundes of their Commiſſion and Inſtructions, according to the ancient Preſidents: And like as I declare that my pleaſure is, that euery of theſe ſhall keepe their owne limits and boundes; So the Courts of Common Lawe are not to encroach vpon them, no more then it is my pleaſure that they ſhould encroach vpon the Common Law. And this is a thing Regall, and proper to a King, to keepe euery Court within his owne bounds.

In *Weſtminſter* Hall there are foure Courts: Two that handle cauſes Ciuill, which are the Common-pleas, and the Exchequer: Two that determine cauſes Criminall, which are the Kings-Bench, and the Starre-Chamber, where now I ſit. The Common-Pleas is a part and branch of the Kings-Bench; for it was firſt all one Court; and then the Common-Pleas being extracted, it was called Common-Pleas; becauſe it medled with the Pleas of Priuate perſons, and that which remained, the Kings-Bench. The other of the Courts for ciuill Cauſes, is the Exchequer, which was ordeined for the Kings Reuenew: That is the principall Inſtitution of that Court, and ought to be their chiefe ſtudie; and as other things come orderly thither by occaſion of the former, they may be handled, and Iuſtice there adminiſtred.

Keepe you therefore all in your owne bounds, and for my part, I deſire you to giue me no more right in my priuate Prerogatiue, then you giue to any Subiect; and therein I will be acquieſcent: As for the abſolute Prerogatiue of the Crowne, that is no Subiect for the tongue of a Lawyer, nor is lawfull to be diſputed.

It is A thieſme and blaſphemie to diſpute what God can doe: good Chriſtians content themſelues with his will reuealed in his word. ſo, it is preſumption and high contempt in a Subiect, to diſpute what a King can doe, or ſay that a King cannot doe this, or that; but reſt in that which is the Kings reuealed will in his Law.

The Kings-Bench is the principall Court for criminall cauſes, and in

ſome reſpects it deales with Ciuill cauſes.

Then is there a Chancerie Court; this is a Court of Equitie, and hath power to deale likewiſe in Ciuill cauſes: It is called the diſpenſer of the Kings Conſcience, following alwayes the intention of Law and Iuſtice; not altering the Law, not making that blacke which other Courts made white, nor *è conuerſo*; But in this it exceeds other Courts, mixing Mercie with Iuſtice, where other Courts proceed onely according to the ſtrict rules of Law: And where the rigour of the Law in many caſes will vndoe a Subiect, there the Chancerie tempers the Law with equitie, and ſo mixeth Mercy with Iuſtice, as it preſerues men from deſtruction.

And thus (as before I told you) is the Kings Throne eſtabliſhed by Mercy and Iuſtice.

The Chancerie is vndependant of any other Court, and is onely vnder the King: There it is written *Teſte meipſo*; from that Court there is no Appeale. And as I am bound in my Conſcience to maintaine euery Courts Iuriſdiction, ſo eſpecially this, and not ſuffer it to ſuſtaine wrong; yet ſo to maintaine it, as to keepe it within the owne limits, and free from corruption. My Chancellour that now is, I found him Keeper of the Seale, the ſame place in ſubſtance, although I gaue him the Stile of Chancellour, and God hath kept him in it till now; and I pray God he may hold it long; and ſo I hope he will. He will beare mee witneſſe, I neuer gaue him other warrant, then to goe on in his Court according to Preſidents, warranted by Law in the time of the beſt gouerning Kings, and moſt learned Chancellours: Theſe were the limits I gaue vnto him; beyond the ſame limits he hath promiſed me he will neuer goe.

And as he hath promiſed me to take no other Iuriſdiction to himſelfe, ſo is it my promiſe euer to maintaine this Iuriſdiction in that Court: Therefore I ſpeake this to vindicate that Court from miſconceipt and contempt.

It is the duetie of Iudges to puniſh thoſe that ſeeke to depraue the proceedings of any the Kings Courts, and not to encourage them any way: And I muſt confeſſe I thought it an odious and inept ſpeach, and it grieued me very much, that it ſhould be ſaid in *Weſtminſter* Hall, that a *Premunire* lay againſt the Court of the Chancery and Officers there: How can the King grant a *Premunire* againſt himſelfe?

It was a fooliſh, inept, and preſumptuous attempt, and fitter for the time of ſome vnworthy King: vnderſtand mee aright; I meane not, the Chancerie ſhould exceed his limite; but on the other part, the King onely is to correct it, and none elſe: And therefore I was greatly abuſed in that attempt: For if any was wronged there, the complaint ſhould haue come to mee. None of you but will confeſſe you haue a King of reaſonable vnderſtanding, and willing to reforme; why then ſhould you ſpare to complaine to me, that being the high way, and not goe the other way, and backe-way, in contempt of our Authoritie?

And

And therefore ſitting heere in a ſeat of Iudgement, I declare and command, that no man hereafter preſume to ſue a *Premunire* againſt the Chancery; which I may the more eaſily doe, becauſe no *Premunire* can bee ſued but at my Suit: And I may iuſtly barre my ſelfe at mine owne pleaſure.

As all inundations come with ouerflowing the bankes, and neuer come without great inconuenience, and are thought prodigious by Aſtrologers in things to come: So is this ouerflowing the bankes of your Iuriſdiction in it ſelfe inconuenient, and may proue prodigious to the State.

Remember therefore, that hereafter you keepe within your limits and Iuriſdictions. It is a ſpeciall point of my Office to procure and command, that amongſt Courts there bee a concordance, and muſicall accord; and it is your parts to obey, and ſee this kept: And, as you are to obſerue the ancient Lawes and cuſtomes of *England*; ſo are you to keepe your ſelues within the bound of direct Law, or Preſidents; and of thoſe, not euery ſnatched Preſident, carped now here, now there, as it were running by the way; but ſuch as haue neuer beene controuerted, but by the contrary, approued by common vſage, in times of beſt Kings, and by moſt learned Iudges.

The *Starre-Chamber* Court hath bene likewiſe ſhaken of late, and the laſt yeere it had receiued a ſore blow, if it had not bene aſſiſted and caried by a few voyces; The very name of *Starre-Chamber*, ſeemeth to procure a reuerence to the Court.

I will not play the Criticke to deſcant on the name; It hath a name from heauen, a Starre placed in it; and a Starre is a glorious creature, and ſeated in a glorious place, next vnto the Angels. The *Starre-Chamber* is alſo glorious in ſubſtance: for in the compoſition, it is of foure ſorts of perſons: The firſt two are Priuie Counſellours and Iudges, the one by wiſedome in matters of State; the other, by learning in matters of Law, to direct and order all things both according to Law and State: The other two ſorts are Peeres of the Realme, and Biſhops: The Peeres are there by reaſon of their greatneſſe, to giue authority to that Court: The Biſhops becauſe of their learning in Diuinitie, and the intereſt they haue in the good gouernment of the Church: And ſo, both the learning of both Diuine and humane Law, and experience and practiſe in Gouernment, are conioyned together in the proceedings of this Court.

There is no Kingdome but hath a Court of Equitie, either by it ſelfe, as is heere in *England*, or elſe mixed, and incorporate in their Office that are Iudges in the Law, as it is in *Scotland*: But the order of *England* is much more perfect, where they are diuided. And as in caſe of Equitie, where the Law determines not clearely, there the Chancerie doeth determine, hauing Equitie belonging to it, which doeth belong to no other Court: So the *Starre-Chamber* hath that belonging to it, which belongs to no other Court: For in this Court Attempts are puniſhable, where other Courts puniſh onely facts; And alſo where the Law puniſheth facts eaſily,

easily, as in case of Riots or Combates, there the Starre-Chamber punisheth in a higher degree; And also all combinations of practises and conspiracies; And if the King be dishonoured or contemned in his Prerogatiue, it belongeth most properly to the Peeres and Iudges of this Court to punish it: So then this Court being instituted for so great causes, it is great reason it should haue great honour.

Remember now how I haue taught you brotherly loue one toward another: For you know well, that as you are Iudges, you are all brethren, and your Courts are sisters. I pray you therefore, labour to keepe that sweete harmonie, which is amongst those sisters the *Muses*. What greater miserie can there bee to the Law, then contempt of the Law? and what readier way to contempt, then when questions come, what shall bee determined in this Court, and what in that? Whereupon two euils doe arise; The one, that men come not now to Courts of iustice, to heare matters of right pleaded, and Decrees giuen accordingly, but onely out of a curiositie, to heare questions of the Iurisdictions of Courts disputed, and to see the euent, what Court is like to preuaile aboue the other; And the other is, that the Pleas are turned from Court to Court in an endlesse circular motion, as vpon *Ixions* wheele: And this was the reason why I found iust fault with that multitude of Prohibitions: For when a poore Minister had with long labour, and great expence of charge and time, gotten a sentence for his Tithes, then comes a Prohibition, and turnes him round from Court to Court, and so makes his cause immortall and endlesse: for by this vncertaintie of Iurisdiction amongst Courts, causes are scourged from Court to Court, and this makes the fruit of Suits like *Tantalus* fruite, still neere the Suiters lips, but can neuer come to taste it. And this in deed is a great delay of Iustice, and makes causes endlesse: Therefore the onely way to auoyd this, is for you to keepe your owne bounds, and nourish not the people in contempt of other Courts, but teach them reuerence to Courts in your publique speaches, both in your Benches, and in your Circuits; so shall you bring them to a reuerence, both of GOD, and of the King.

Keepe therefore your owne limits towards the King, towards other Courts, and towards other Lawes, bounding your selues within your owne Law, and make not new Law. Remember, as I said before, that you are Iudges, to declare, and not to make Law: For when you make a Decree neuer heard of before, you are Law-giuers, and not Law-tellers.

I haue laboured to gather some Articles, like an *Index expurgatorius*, of nouelties new crept into the Law, and I haue it ready to bee considered of: Looke to *Plowdens* Cases, and your old *Responsa prudentum*; if you finde it not there, then (*ab initio non fuit sic*) I must say with CHRIST, Away with the new polygamie, and maintaine the ancient Law pure and vndefiled, as it was before.

To

TO the Auditory I haue but little to say, yet that little will not bee ill bestowed to be said at this time.

Since I haue now renewed and confirmed my resolution to maintaine my Oath, the Law and Iustice of the Land; So doe I expect, that you my Subiects doe submit your selues as you ought, to the obseruance of that Law.

And as I haue diuided the two former parts of my Charge; So will I diuide this your submission into three parts, for orderly diuisions and methode, cause things better to be remembred.

First in generall, that you giue due reuerence to the Law; and this generall diuides it selfe into three.

First, not to sue, but vpon iust cause.

Secondly, beeing sued, and Iudgement passed against you, Acquiesce in the Iudgement, and doe not tumultuate against it; and take example from mee, whom you haue heard here protest, that when euer any Decree shall be giuen against me in my priuate right, betweene me and a Subiect, I will as humbly acquiesce as the meanest man in the Land. Imitate me in this, for in euery Plea there are two parties, and Iudgement can be but for one, and against the other; so one must alwayes be displeased.

Thirdly, doe not complaine and importune mee against Iudgements; for I hold this Paradoxe to bee a good rule in Gouernment, that it is better for a King to maintaine an vniust Decree, then to question euery Decree and Iudgement, after the giuing of a sentence, for then Suites shall neuer haue end: Therefore as you come gaping to the Law for Iustice, so bee satisfied and contented when Iudgement is past against you, and trouble not mee; but if you finde briberie or corruption, then come boldly: but when I say boldly, beware of comming to complaine, except you bee very sure to prooue the iustice of your cause: Otherwise looke for *Lex Talionis* to bee executed vpon you; for your accusing of an vpright Iudge, deserues double punishment, in that you seeke to lay infamie vpon a worthy person of that reuerent calling.

And be not tild on with your own Lawyers tales, that say the cause is iust for their owne gaine; but beleeue the Iudges that haue no hire but of me.

Secondly, in your Pleas, presume not to meddle with things against the Kings Prerogatiue, or Honour: Some Gentlemen of late haue beene too bold this wayes; If you vse it, the Iudges will punish you; and if they suffer it, I must punish both them and you. Plead not vpon new Puritanicall straines, that make all things popular; but keepe you within the ancient Limits of Pleas.

Thirdly, make not many changes from Court to Court: for hee that changeth Courts, shewes to mistrust the iustnesse of the cause. Goe to the right place, and the Court that is proper for your cause; change not thence, and submit your selues to the Iudgement giuen there.

Thus hauing finished the Charge to my selfe, the Iudges and the Auditorie,

torie, I am to craue your pardon if I haue forgotten any thing, or beene inforced to breake my Methode; for you muſt remember, I come not hither with a written Sermon: I haue no Bookes to reade it out of, and a long ſpeach, manifold buſineſſe, and a little leaſure may well pleade pardon for any fault of memorie; and trewly I know not if I haue forgotten any thing or not.

And now haue I deliuered, Firſt my excuſe, why I came not till now: Next, the reaſons why I came now: Thirdly, my charge, and that to my ſelfe, to you my Lords the Iudges, and to the Auditory.

I haue alſo an ordinary charge that I vſe to deliuer to the Iudges before my Councell, when they goe their Circuits; and ſeeing I am come to this place, you ſhall haue that alſo, and ſo I will make the old ſaying trew, *Combe ſeldome, combe ſore*, I meane by my long deteining you at this time, which will bee ſo much the more profitable in this Auditorie; becauſe a number of the Auditorie will be informed here, who may relate it to their fellow Iuſtices in the countrey.

My Lords the Iudges, you know very well, that as you are Iudges with mee when you ſit here; ſo are you Iudges vnder mee, and my Subſtitutes in the Circuits, where you are Iudges Itinerant to doe Iuſtice to my people.

It is an ancient and laudable cuſtome in this Kingdome, that the Iudges goe thorow the Kingdome in Circuits, eaſing the people thereby of great charges, who muſt otherwiſe come from all the remote parts of the Kingdome to *Weſtminſter Hall*, for the finding out and puniſhing of offences paſt, and preuenting the occaſion of offences that may ariſe.

I can giue you no other charge in effect, but onely to remember you againe of the ſame in ſubſtance which I deliuered to you this time Twelue-moneth.

Firſt, Remember that when you goe your Circuits, you goe not onely to puniſh and preuent offences, but you are to take care for the good gouernment in generall of the parts where you trauell, as well as to doe Iuſtice in particular betwixt party and party, in cauſes criminall and ciuill.

You haue charges to giue to Iuſtices of peace, that they doe their dueties when you are abſent, aſwell as preſent: Take an accompt of them, and report their ſeruice to me at your returne.

As none of you will hold it ſufficient to giue a charge, except in taking the accompt, you finde the fruit of it: So I ſay to you, it will not bee ſufficient for you, to heare my charge, if at your returne you bring not an accompt to the harueſt of my ſowing, which cannot be done in generall, but in making to me a particular report what you haue done.

For, a King hath two Offices.

Firſt, to direct things to be done:

Secondly, to take an accompt how they are fulfilled; for what is it the better for me to direct as an Angel, if I take not accompt of your doings.

I know

I know not whether misunderstanding, or slackness bred this, that I had no accompt but in generall, of that I gaue you in particular in charge the last yeere: Therefore I now charge you againe, that at your next returne, you repaire to my Chancellour, and bring your accompts to him in writing, of those things which in particular I haue giuen you in charge: And then when I haue seene your accompts, as occasion shall serue, it may bee I will call for some of you, to be informed of the state of that part of the countrey where your Circuit lay.

Of these two parts of your seruice, I know the ordinary Legall part of *Nisi prius* is the more profitable to you: But the other part of Iustice is more necessary for my seruice. Therefore as CHRIST said to the Pharises, *Hoc agite*, as the most principall: yet I will say, *Et illud non omittite:* which, that you may the better doe, I haue allowed you a day more in your Circuits, then my Predecessours haue done.

And this you shall finde, that euen as a King, (let him be neuer so godly, wise, righteous, and iust) yet if the subalterne Magistrates doe not their parts vnder him, the Kingdome must needes suffer: So let the Iudges bee neuer so carefull and industrious, if the Iustices of Peace vnder them, put not to their helping hands, in vaine is all your labour: For they are the Kings eyes and eares in the countrey. It was an ancient custome, that all the Iudges both immediatly before their going to their Circuits, and immediatly vpon their returne, repaired to the Lord Chancellour of *England*, both to receiue what directions it should please the King by his mouth to giue vnto them; as also to giue him an accompt of their labours, who was to acquaint the King therewith: And this good ancient custome hath likewise beene too much slacked of late; And therefore first of all, I am to exhort and command you, that you be carefull to giue a good accompt to me and my Chancellour, of the dueties performed by all Iustices of Peace in your Circuits: Which gouernment by Iustices, is so laudable and so highly esteemed by mee, that I haue made *Scotland* to bee gouerned by Iustices and Constables, as *England* is. And let not Gentlemen be ashamed of this Place; for it is a place of high Honour, and great reputation, to be made a Minister of the Kings Iustice, in seruice of the Common-wealth.

Of these there are two sorts, as there is of all Companies, especially where there is a great number; that is, good and bad Iustices: For the good, you are to enforme me of them, that I may know them, thanke them, and reward them, as occasion serues: For I hold a good Iustice of Peace in his Countrey, to doe mee as good seruice, as hee that waites vpon mee in my Priuie Chamber, and as ready will I be to reward him; For I accompt him as capable of any Honour, Office, or preferment about my Person, or for any place of Councell or State, as well as any Courteour that is neere about mee, or any that haue deserued well of me in forreine employments: Yea, I esteeme the seruice done me by a good Iustice of

of Peace, three hundred miles, yea ſixe hundred miles out of my ſight, as well as the ſeruice done me in my preſence: For as God hath giuen me large limits, ſo muſt I be carefull that my prouidence may reach to the farthеſt parts of them: And as Law cannot be honoured, except Honour be giuen to Iudges: ſo without due reſpect to Iuſtices of Peace, what regard will be had of the ſeruice?

Therefore let none be aſhamed of this Office, or be diſcouraged in being a Iuſtice of Peace, if he ſerue worthily in it.

The Chancellour vnder me, makes Iuſtices, and puts them out; but neither I, nor he can tell what they are: Therefore wee muſt bee informed by you Iudges, who can onely tell, who doe well, and who doe ill; without which, how can the good be cheriſhed and maintained, and the reſt put out? The good Iuſtices are carefull to attend the ſeruice of the King and countrey, for thanks onely of the King, and loue to their countrey, and for no other reſpect.

The bad are either idle Slowbellies, that abide alwayes at home, giuen to a life of eaſe and delight, liker Ladies then men; and thinke it is enough to contemplate Iuſtice, when as *Virtus in actione conſiſtit*: contemplatiue Iuſtice is no iuſtice, and contemplatiue Iuſtices are fit to be put out.

Another ſort of Iuſtices are buſie-bodies, and will haue all men dance after their pipe, and follow their greatneſſe, or elſe will not be content; A ſort of men, *Qui ſe primos omnium eſſe putant, nec ſunt tamen*: theſe proud ſpirits muſt know, that the countrey is ordained to obey and follow GOD and the King, and not them.

Another ſort are they, that goe ſeldome to the Kings ſeruice, but when it is to helpe ſome of their kindred or alliance; So as when they come, it is to helpe their friends, or hurt their enemies, making Iuſtice to ſerue for a ſhadow to Faction, and tumultuating the countrey.

Another ſort are Gentlemen of great worth in their owne conceit, and cannot be content with the preſent forme of Gouernement, but muſt haue a kind of libertie in the people, and muſt be gracious Lords, and Redeemers of their libertie; and in euery cauſe that concernes Prerogatiue, giue a ſnatch againſt a Monarchie, through their Puritanicall itching after Popularitie: Some of them haue ſhewed themſelues too bold of late in the lower houſe of Parliament: And when all is done, if there were not a King, they would be leſſe cared for then other men.

And now hauing ſpoken of the qualities of the Iuſtices of Peace, I am next to ſpeake of their number. As I euer held the midway in all things to be the way of Vertue, in eſchewing both extremities: So doe I in this: for vpon the one part, a multitude of Iuſtices of Peace in the countrey more then is neceſſary, breeds but confuſion: for although it be an old Prouerbe, that *Many handes make light worke*; yet too many make ſlight worke; and too great a number of Iuſtices of Peace, will make the buſineſſe of the countrey to be the more neglected, euery one truſting to another, ſo as nothing

ſhall

ſhall bee well done; beſides the breeding of great corruption: for where there is a great number, it can hardly bee, but ſome will bee corrupted. And vpon the other part, too few Iuſtices of Peace, will not be able to vndergoe the burthen of the ſeruice; And therefore I would neither haue too few, nor too many, but as many in euery countrey, as may, according to the proportion of that countrey, bee neceſſary for the performing of the ſeruice there, and no more.

As to the Charge you are to giue to the Iuſtices, I can but repeat what formerly I haue told you; yet in ſo good a buſineſſe,

Lectio lecta placet, decies repetita placebit.

And as I began with fulfilling the Prouerbe, *A Ioue principium*; ſo will I begin this Charge you are to giue to the Iuſtices with Church-matters: for GOD will bleſſe euery good buſineſſe the better, that he and his Church haue the precedence. That which I am now to ſpeake, is anent Recuſants and Papiſts. You neuer returned from any Circuit, but by your accompt made vnto me, I both conceiued great comfort and great griefe: Comfort, when I heard a number of Recuſants in ſome Circuits to be diminiſhed: Griefe to my heart and ſoule, when I heard a number of Recuſants to be in other Circuits increaſed.

I proteſt vnto you, nothing in the earth can grieue mee ſo much, as mens falling away from Religion in my dayes; And nothing ſo much ioyes mee, as when that Religion increaſeth vnder mee. GOD is my witneſſe, I ſpeake nothing for vaine-glory; but ſpeake it againe; My heart is grieued when I heare Recuſants increaſe: Therefore I wiſh you Iudges, to take it to heart, as I doe, and preuent it as you can; and make me knowen to my people, as I am.

There are three ſorts of Recuſants: The firſt are they that for themſelues will bee no Recuſants, but their wiues and their families are; and they themſelues doe come to Church, but once or twice in a yeere, inforced by Law, or for faſhion ſake; Theſe may be formall to the Law, but more falſe to GOD then the other ſort.

The ſecond ſort are they that are Recuſants and haue their conſcience miſſe-led, and therefore refuſe to come to Church, but otherwiſe liue as peaceable Subiects.

The third ſort are practiſing Recuſants: Theſe force all their ſeruants to bee Recuſants with them; they will ſuffer none of their Tenants, but they muſt bee Recuſants; and their neighbours if they liue by them in peace, muſt be Recuſants alſo.

Theſe you may finde out as a foxe by the foule ſmell, a great way round about his hole; This is a high pride and preſumption, that they for whoſe ſoules I muſt anſwere to GOD, and who enioy their liues and liberties vnder mee, will not onely be Recuſants themſelues, but infect and draw others after them.

As I haue ſaid in Parliament houſe, I can loue the perſon of a Papiſt,

being otherwiſe a good man and honeſtly bred, neuer hauing knowen any other Religion: but the perſon of an Apoſtate Papiſt, I hate. And ſurely for thoſe Polypragmaticke Papiſts, I would you would ſtudie out ſome ſeuere puniſhment for them: for they keepe not infection in their owne hearts onely, but alſo infect others our good Subiects. And that which I ſay for Recuſants, the ſame I ſay for Prieſts: I confeſſe I am loath to hang a Prieſt onely for Religion ſake, and ſaying Maſſe; but if he refuſe the Oath of Alleagiance (which, let the Pope and all the deuils in Hell ſay what they will) yet (as you finde by my booke and by diuers others, is meerely Ciuill) thoſe that ſo refuſe the Oath, and are Polypragmaticke Recuſants; I leaue them to the Law; it is no perſecution, but good Iuſtice.

And thoſe Prieſts alſo, that out of my Grace and Mercy haue beene let goe out of priſons, and baniſhed, vpon condition not to returne; aske mee no queſtions touching theſe, quit me of them, and let mee not heare of them: And to them I ioyne thoſe that breake priſon; for ſuch Prieſts as the priſon will not hold, it is a plaine ſigne nothing will hold them but a halter: Such are no Martyrs that refuſe to ſuffer for their conſcience. *Paul*, notwithſtanding the doores were open, would not come foorth: And *Peter* came not out of the priſon till led by the Angel of God: But theſe will goe forth though with the angel of the Diuell.

I haue giuen order to my Lord of *Canterbury*, and my Lord of *London* for the diſtinction, &c. of the degrees of Prieſts; and when I haue an accompt from them, then will I giue you another charge concerning them.

Another thing that offendeth the Realme, is abundance of Ale-houſes; and therefore to auoyd the giuing occaſion of euill, and to take away the root, and puniſh the example of vice, I would haue the infamous Ale houſes pulled downe, and a command to all Iuſtices of Peace that this be done.

I may complaine of Ale-houſes, for receipt of Stealers of my Deere; but the countrey may complaine for ſtealing their horſes, oxen, and ſheepe; for murder, cutting of purſes, and ſuch like offences; for theſe are their haunts. Deuouring beaſts, as Lyons and Beares, will not bee where they haue no dennes nor couert; So there would be no theeues, if they had not their receipts, and theſe Ale-houſes as their dennes.

Another ſort, are a kinde of Alehouſes, which are houſes of haunt and receipt for debauſhed rogues and vagabonds, and idle ſturdie fellowes; and theſe are not properly Ale-houſes, but baſe victuallers, ſuch as haue nothing elſe to liue by, but keeping houſes of receipt for ſuch kinde of cuſtomers. I haue diſcouered a ſtrange packe of late, That within tenne or twelue miles of *London*, there are ten or twelue perſons that liue in ſpight of mee, going with Piſtols, and walking vp and downe from harbour to harbour killing my Deere, and ſo ſhift from hold to hold, that they cannot be apprehended.

For Rogues, you haue many good Acts of Parliament: *Edward* the ſixt, though

though hee were a child, yet for this, he in his time gaue better order then many Kings did in their aage: You muſt take order for theſe Beggars and Rogues; for they ſo ſwarme in euery place, that a man cannot goe in the ſtreetes, nor in the high wayes, nor any where for them.

Looke to your houſes of Correction, and remember that in the chiefe Iuſtice *Pophams* time, there was not a wandering begger to bee found in all *Somerſetſhire*, being his natiue countrey.

Haue a care alſo to ſuppreſſe the building of Cottages vpon Commons, which are as bad as Alehouſes, and the dwellers in them doe commonly ſteale Deere, Conies, ſheepe, oxen, horſes, breake houſes, and doe all maner of villanies. It is trew, ſome ill Iuſtices make gaine of theſe baſe things: take an accompt of the Iuſtices of Peace, that they may know they doe theſe things againſt the will of the King.

I am likewiſe to commend vnto you a thing very neceſſarie, High-wayes and Bridges; becauſe no Common weale can bee without paſſage: I proteſt, that as my heart doeth ioy in the erection of Schooles and Hoſpitals, which haue beene more in my time, then in many aages of my predeceſſours; ſo it grieues mee, and it is wonderfull to ſee the decay of charitie in this; how ſcant men are in contributing towards the amendment of High-wayes and Bridges: Therefore take a care of this, for that is done to day with a penie, that will not bee done hereafter with an hundred pounds, and that will be mended now in a day, which hereafter will not be mended in a yeere; and that in a yeere, which will not bee done in our time, as we may ſee by *Pauls* Steeple.

Another thing to be cared for, is, the new Buildings here about the Citie of *London*; concerning which my Proclamations haue gone foorth, and by the chiefe Iuſtice here, and his Predeceſſor *Popham*, it hath bene reſolued to be a generall nuſans to the whole Kingdome: And this is that, which is like the Spleene in the body, which in meaſure as it ouergrowes, the body waſtes. For is it poſſible but the Countrey muſt diminiſh, if *London* doe ſo increaſe, and all ſorts of people doe come to *London?* and where doeth this increaſe appeare? not in the heart of the Citie, but in the ſuburbes; not giuing wealth or profit to the Citie, but bringing miſerie and ſurcharge both to Citie and Court; cauſing dearth and ſcarſitie through the great prouiſion of victuals and fewel, that muſt be for ſuch a multitude of people: And theſe buildings ſerue likewiſe to harbour the worſt ſort of people, as Alehouſes and Cottages doe. I remember, that before Chriſtmas was Twelue-moneth I made a Proclamation for this cauſe, That all Gentlemen of qualitie ſhould depart to their owne countreys and houſes, to maintaine Hoſpitalitie amongſt their neighbours; which was equiuocally taken by ſome, as that it was meant onely for that Chriſtmas: But my will and meaning was, and here I declare that my meaning was, that it ſhould alwayes continue.

One of the greateſt cauſes of all Gentlemens deſire, that haue no calling

or errand, to dwell in *London*, is apparently the pride of the women: For if they bee wiues, then their husbands; and if they be maydes, then their fathers muſt bring them vp to *London*, becauſe the new faſhion is to bee had no where but in *London*: and here, if they be vnmarried, they marre their marriages, and if they be married, they looſe their reputations, and rob their husbands purſes. It is the faſhion of *Italy*, eſpecially of *Naples*, (which is one of the richeſt parts of it) that all the Gentry dwell in the principall Townes, and ſo the whole countrey is emptie: Euen ſo now in *England*, all the countrey is gotten into *London*; ſo as with time, *England* will onely be *London*, and the whole countrey be left waſte: For as wee now doe imitate the French faſhion, in faſhion of Clothes, and Lackeys to follow euery man; So haue wee got vp the Italian faſhion, in liuing miſerably in our houſes, and dwelling all in the Citie: but let vs in Gods Name leaue theſe idle forreine toyes, and keepe the old faſhion of *England*: For it was wont to be the honour and reputation of the Engliſh Nobilitie and Gentry, to liue in the countrey, and keepe hoſpitalitie; for which we were famous aboue all the countreys in the world; which wee may the better doe, hauing a ſoile abundantly fertile to liue in.

And now out of my owne mouth I declare vnto you, (which being in this place, is equall to a Proclamation, which I intend likewiſe ſhortly hereafter to haue publikely proclaimed,) that the Courtiers, Citizens, and Lawyers, and thoſe that belong vnto them, and others as haue Pleas in Terme time, are onely neceſſary perſons to remaine about this Citie; others muſt get them into the Countrey; For beſide the hauing of the countrey deſolate, when the Gentrie dwell thus in *London*, diuers other miſchiefes ariſe vpon it: Firſt, if inſurrections ſhould fall out (as was lately ſeene by the Leuellers gathering together) what order can bee taken with it, when the countrey is vnfurniſhed of Gentlemen to take order with it? Next, the poore want reliefe for fault of the Gentlemens hoſpitalitie at home: Thirdly, my ſeruice is neglected, and the good gouernment of the countrey for lacke of the principall Gentlemens preſence, that ſhould performe it: And laſtly, the Gentlemen loſe their owne thrift, for lacke of their owne preſence, in ſeeing to their owne buſineſſe at home. Therefore as euery fiſh liues in his owne place, ſome in the freſh, ſome in the ſalt, ſome in the mud: ſo let euery one liue in his owne place, ſome at Court, ſome in the Citie, ſome in the Countrey; ſpecially at Feſtiuall times, as Chriſtmas and Eaſter, and the reſt.

And for the decreaſe of new Buildings heere, I would haue the builders reſtrained, and committed to priſon; and if the builders cannot be found, then the workemen to be impriſoned; and not this onely, but likewiſe the buildings to bee caſt downe; I meane ſuch buildings as may be ouerthrowen without inconuenience, and therefore that to be done by order and direction.

There may be many other abuſes that I know not of; take you care my Lords

Lords the Iudges of theſe, and of all other; for it is your part to looke vnto them. I heare ſay, robbery begins to abound more then heretofore, and that ſome of you are too mercifull; I pray you remember, that mercy is the Kings, not yours, and you are to doe Iuſtice where trew cauſe is: And take this for a rule of Policie, That what vice moſt abounds in a Common-wealth, that muſt be moſt ſeuerely puniſhed, for that is trew gouernment.

And now I will conclude my Speach with GOD, as I began. Firſt, that in all your behauiours, aſwell in your Circuits as in your Benches, you giue due reuerence to GOD, I meane, let not the Church nor Churchmen bee diſgraced in your Charges, nor Papiſts nor Puritanes countenanced: Countenance and encourage the good Church-men, and teach the people by your example to reuerence them: for, if they be good, they are worthy of double honour for their Office ſake; if they be faultie, it is not your place to admoniſh them; they haue another *Forum* to anſwere to for their misbehauiour.

Next, procure reuerence to the King and the Law, enforme my people trewly of mee, how zealous I am for Religion, how I deſire Law may bee maintained and flouriſh; that euery Court ſhould haue his owne Iuriſdiction; that euery Subiect ſhould ſubmit himſelfe to Law; So may you liue a happie people vnder a iuſt KING, freely enioying the fruite of PEACE and IVSTICE, as ſuch a people ſhould doe.

Now I confeſſe, it is but a *Tandem aliquando*, as they ſay in the Schooles, that I am come hither: Yet though this bee the firſt, it ſhall not, with the grace of GOD, bee the laſt time of my comming, now my choice is taken away; for hauing once bene here, a meaner occaſion may bring mee againe: And I hope I haue euer caried my ſelfe ſo, and by GODS grace euer will, as none will euer ſuſpect, that my comming here will be to any partiall end; for I will euer bee carefull in point of Iuſtice, to keepe my ſelfe vnſpotted all the dayes of my life. And vpon this my generall proteſtation, I hope the world will know, that I came hither this day to maintaine the Law, and doe Iuſtice according to my Oath.

(***)

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